



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

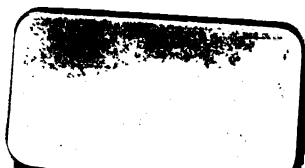
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>













21-24

DR. RICHARD BENTLEY'S  
**DISSERTATIONS**

UPON  
**THE EPISTLES OF PHALARIS,  
THEMISTOCLES, SOCRATES, EURIPIDES,  
AND UPON  
THE FABLES OF ÆSOP.**

---

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

**WILHELM WAGNER, PH. D.,**  
PROFESSOR AT THE JOHANNEUM, HAMBURG,



BERLIN.

S. CALVARY AND CO.

1874.

29981.

e. 19  
Digitized by Google



## CONTENTS.

---

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	I—XI
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ON THE PHALARIS CONTROVERSY . .	XII—XVIII
DISSERTATION UPON THE EPISTLES OF PHALARIS . . . . .	1—507
BENTLEY'S INDEX . . . . .	508—512
DISCREPANCIES OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE DISSERTATION UPON PHALARIS	513—524
DISSERTATION UPON THE EPISTLES OF THEMISTOCLES . . . . .	527—534
DISSERTATION UPON THE EPISTLES OF SOCRATES. . . . .	535—553
DISSERTATION UPON THE EPISTLES OF EURIPIDES . . . . .	554—568
DISSERTATION UPON THE FABLES OF ÆSOP	579—581
BENTLEY'S LETTER TO JOSHUA BARNES	582—586
BENTLEY'S LETTER TO DR. DAVIES . .	587—590
INDEX . . . . .	591—624.

---



## INTRODUCTION.

The controversy which arose in France in the latter half of the seventeenth century concerning the relative position and value of ancient and modern literature, and in which two French writers, Charles Perrault and Fontenelle, had maintained the absolute superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients,<sup>1)</sup> while Boileau became the champion of classical literature — this peculiar controversy found an echo on the English side of the Channel, and little as the original dispute may interest us now, led to the publication of Bentley's immortal Dissertation on Phalaris.

The well-known politician Sir William Temple<sup>2)</sup>, whom De Quincey with one of his smooth turns of

---

1) Hallam Lit. Hist. IV p. 306—308.

2) See Macaulay's Essay on him, Essays, Student's ed., London 1869, p. 418—468. Boyle and his friends always affect to speak of Sir William Temple with the greatest respect, and some of their exaggerated expressions are ironically repeated by Bentley, though even he does not venture to say anything against a nobleman that enjoyed such high esteem among his contemporaries. Macaulay's judgment, and we believe, the general judgment of posterity is not so favourable as the opinion of the contemporaries. Macaulay says «Temple is one of those men whom the world has agreed to praise highly without knowing much about them, and who are therefore more likely to lose than to gain by a close examination» See also Macaulay's History of England, ch. II. (vol. 1 p. 114 sq. in the ed. in four volumes, Lond. 1869.) But it is not with his political career that we are concerned here. There is no doubt but that in his Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning he was completely out of his depth. «As to his qualifications for the task, it is sufficient to say that he knew not a word of Greek. . . The style of the treatise is very good, the matter ludicrous and contemptible to the last degree.» (Macaulay.) Hallam (IV p. 324) speaks of this performance with equal severity.

phrase styles 'the accomplished progenitor of Lord Palmerston'<sup>3</sup>), had in an evil hour and with more zeal than prudence come forth as the defender of the Ancients against the shallow attacks of the French writers. But this defence was even worse than the attack had been. Not content with asserting the superiority of the Ancients in the department of literature, Temple goes so far as to deny them to have been surpassed in science, taking the term in its fullest sense. Temple's Essay, childish as it was, was translated into French, and 'he was supposed by many to have made a brilliant vindication of injured antiquity.'<sup>4</sup>)

It so happens that the passage we shall have to quote, is in every way calculated to give us an idea of the whole tenour of the work. Temple's doctrine is that the intellectual capacities of the human race are continually on the wane, and this extravagant assertion he supports by maintaining that the oldest books in every department of literature are still the best. He quotes above all two instances of this, saying that Aesop's Fables are still the best fables, and the Letters of Phalaris the best letters of the world. It is this very passage which Bentley prefixed to the first edition of his Dissertations, and on it Macaulay has the following comment — 'On the merit of the Letters of Phalaris Temple dwells with great warmth and with extraordinary felicity of language. Indeed we could hardly select a more favourable specimen of the graceful and easy majesty to which his style sometimes rises than this unlucky passage.' It runs as follows<sup>5</sup>) —

---

<sup>3</sup>) De Quincey's works, vol. VI (Edinb. 1863) p. 60.

<sup>4</sup>) Hallam IV p. 325.

<sup>5</sup>) Reprinted from Bentley's Dissertation &c, London 1697, p. 3 sq. In Temple's Essay it is p. 58.



*It may perhaps be further affirmed, in favour of the Ancients; That the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best. The two most Ancient that I know of in Prose, among those we call Profane Authors, are Aesop's Fables, and Phalaris's Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since for the greatest Master in his kind; and all others of that sort have been but Imitations of his Original: so I think the Epistles of Phalaris to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever seen either Ancient or Modern. I know, several Learned Men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Critics) have not esteemed them Genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: but I think he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original. Such Diversity of Passions, upon such Variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government; such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression; such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies; such Honour of Learned Men, such Esteem of Good; such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death; with such Fierceness of Nature, and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them. And I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of Writing, than of Acting what Phalaris did. In all One writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist; and all, the Other, the Tyrant and the Commander.*

The opinion of Sir William Temple was powerful enough to produce an impression among the students of Christ Church at Oxford. This college was at that period celebrated as a seat of learning and of wit, though the learning of its scholars was more showy than deep, and their wit rather brilliant than

solid. Bentley himself scornfully said that these young men fancied themselves Scaligers, if they could write a copy of Latin verses with only two or three small faults.<sup>6)</sup>

Dean Aldrich, who was then at the head of the College, had the practice to employ the most promising youths among his students in editing Greek and Latin books, and in conformity with this habit Charles Boyle, son of the Earl of Orrery and nephew of Robert Boyle, the great experimental philosopher, was selected to edit the epistles of Phalaris. In this task he was assisted by his tutor Francis Atterbury, an ingenious though superficial scholar — a man destined at a later time to hold a conspicuous position among his contemporaries and acquire a favourable name among English prose-writers.<sup>7)</sup>

The edition appeared 1695: *Φαλάριδος Ἀκραγαντινῶν τυράννου Ἐπιστολαί*. Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epistolae. Ex Mss. Recensuit, versione, annotationibus, et Vita insuper Authoris donavit Car. Boyle ex Aede Christi. *Ἐκ Θεάτρου ἐν Ὁξονίᾳ, ἔτει αχϞε'*. Excudebat Johannes Crooke. It is dedicated to Aldrich, on whom the greatest eulogies are bestowed. It should be observed that Aldrich himself had previously dedicated to Boyle a System of Logic drawn up specially for his use.

In this edition Boyle had also the assistance of John Freind, then a junior student; and afterwards the celebrated physician. But in spite of all Atterbury's and Freind's help, the edition was far from satisfactory. Macaulay is, however, perhaps a little too severe in saying «It was an edition such as

<sup>6)</sup> Macaulay, Essays, p. 465.

<sup>7)</sup> See Macaulay's article on Atterbury in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, reprinted in his 'Miscellaneous Writings', London 1865, p. 282—290.

might be expected from people who would stoop to edit such a book. The notes were worthy of the text; the Latin version of the Greek original.<sup>8)</sup>

But it is true that this work would scarcely ever be mentioned, but for being the immediate cause of provoking Bentley to write his first Dissertation on Phalaris.

The great uncle of the young editor of Phalaris<sup>9)</sup> had, on his death (Dec. 30, 1691), founded for ever a lecture in defence of the Christian Faith against infidels, i. e. chiefly these philosophers who had attacked the Christian religion. This lecture was intended to form a championship on behalf of the Christian Faith, and no doubt it was held a great honour to preach this course of lectures. Bentley had the honour of the first appointment, and the series of lectures which he preached in discharge of his duty may be pronounced an interesting and valuable work to this day. In fact, his lectures were so successful as to obtain for him a second invitation to the Boyle lecture in 1694.<sup>10)</sup>

After leaving College, Bentley had first been appointed to the headmastership of Spalding School, which situation he exchanged after about a year for the enviable one of domestic tutor to the son of Stillingfleet, then Dean of St. Paul's; a truly good and great man, and excellent scholar.<sup>11)</sup>

After about six years spent in this family, — a time in which he chiefly laid the foundation of

---

<sup>8)</sup> Misc. Writ. p. 283.

<sup>9)</sup> Hallam IV p. 341 styles Robert Boyle «the most faithful, the most patient, the most successful disciple who carried forward the experimental philosophy of Bacon.»

<sup>10)</sup> De Quincey, l. c. p. 56—59. Dyce's edition of Bentley's works, vol. III.

<sup>11)</sup> De Quincey p. 48.

his stupendous learning —, Bentley removed with his pupil early in 1689 to Oxford. About the same time Stillingfleet was raised to the see of Worcester. 1691 Bentley published his first important contribution to classical scholarship, his *Epistola ad Millium*, in the edition of John Malalas, a Byzantine writer then first printed. Mill only superintended the edition of the book, the prolegomena having been written by Hody (a learned chaplain of Bishop Stillingfleet's), the notes and Latin translation by Chilmead in the reign of Charles I. «In a desultory and almost garrulous strain, Bentley pours forth an immense store of novel learning and of acute criticism especially on his favourite subject, which was destined to become his glory, the scattered relics of the ancient dramatists.»<sup>12)</sup> Bentley now became a prebendary of Worcester, and in April 1694, library-keeper to the king. In the following year, Bentley was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to the king.

What now follows, may be gathered by the reader himself from Bentley's preface to his second edition of the *Dissertation on Phalaris*, where the facts are stated in full; we shall, therefore, only touch on the most important of them.

While Boyle's edition of *Phalaris* was in preparation, Bentley had contrived to offend the young editor by not granting such extended use of one of the King's Mss. as Boyle seems to have claimed as his due. The case was made worse by the misrepresentations of a London bookseller, Bennet, and the negligence of the person to whom the task of collating had been entrusted. It is, however, certain that Bentley afforded every facility for the use of

---

<sup>12)</sup> Hallam IV p. 10. On some peculiar English censures see also De Quincey p. 53 sqq.

the Ms. consistent with his duty. Boyle, in the preface to his edition, inserted a bitter reflection on Bentley's *humanitas*, and subsequently as good as refused to right Bentley by cancelling the leaf in question.

Perhaps Bentley would have let matters rest here but for the interference of a third party, his friend Wotton, then Chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham.<sup>13)</sup> His book on Ancient and Modern Learning, the first edition of which appeared in 1694, had been directed against Sir W. Temple's Essay. He showed, with much judgment, that in the departments of poetry and eloquence ancient literature would still continue to furnish us with models, but avoided the tasteless and pedantic judgment of Temple, and at the same time pointed out the superiority of the Moderns in the whole range of physical science.<sup>14)</sup>

This book was now going into a second edition, and as a means of increasing its interest, the author claimed of Bentley the fulfilment of an old promise to write a paper exposing the spurious Epistles of Phalaris and the recent origin of the extant fables of Aesop. Bentley complied with Wotton's request, and the first edition of his Dissertations appeared in 1697.

The Members of Christ Church were more offended by this book than either Boyle or Temple.

---

<sup>13)</sup> «Wotton had been a boy of astonishing precocity; at six years old he could readily translate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; at seven he added some knowledge of Arabic and Syriac. He entered Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in his tenth year; at thirteen, when he took the degree of bachelor of arts, he was acquainted with twelve languages. There being no precedent of granting a degree to one so young, a special record of his extraordinary proficiency was made in the registers of the University.» Hallam IV p. 325.

<sup>14)</sup> Hallam, l. c.

Boyle had been treated with forbearance, but Christ Church had received very contemptuous treatment at Bentley's hands; he had thus contrived to provoke the wrath of a most influential and closely connected body of men. In their eyes, the honour of the College was at stake, and it was absolutely necessary to 'put down', annul and crush the Cambridge pedant who had attacked them. Boyle being unequal to the task of refuting Bentley, a number of the choice Spirits of the College were deputed to write an answer to his dissertation.

The chief author of this answer which goes by the name of Boyle against Bentley and which was first published in 1698, was Atterbury. Macaulay gives a very fair characteristic of the whole performance,<sup>15)</sup> by saying that it is the most extraordinary instance that exists of the art of making much show with little substance. Smalridge, who afterwards succeeded Atterbury in his deaneries both at Carlisle and at Christ Church,<sup>16)</sup> contributed some witticisms, John Freind, Robert Freind and Anthony Alsop (who wrote the part about Aesop) being the other contributors. «This tissue of superficial learning, ingenious sophistry, dexterous malice, and happy raillery, immediately reached a second edition.»<sup>17)</sup> All London spoke of it, and as Swift (who was the intimate friend and literary executor of Temple) sided with the Wits against Bentley, the whole nation was near agreeing that Bentley was the model of a presumptuous pedant justly punished for his arrogance. In his «Battle of the Books», Swift introduced Boyle clad in armour, the gift of

---

<sup>15)</sup> Misc. Writ. p. 284.

<sup>16)</sup> Mac., Misc. Writ. p. 286.

<sup>17)</sup> Dyce's Preface, p. X.

all the gods, and directed by Apollo in the form of a human friend, for whose name a blank is left.<sup>18)</sup> Even in the letters appended to the Diary of Pepys we may trace the interest this controversy excited outside the pale of learned circles. One of the men who were most active against Bentley and on whom he poured the cup of his wrath in the Preface to the enlarged Dissertation on Phalaris, was Dr. William King, likewise a student of Christ Church, a wit and a scholar. Disraeli has observed that Bentley would perhaps have treated King somewhat better, had he been acquainted with the extensive reading of this scholar,<sup>19)</sup> and King himself has a witty retort on Bentley's remarks concerning his reading. In a letter to Boyle he says «He (Bentley) thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as meanly I think of his sense, his modesty, or his manners: and yet for all that I dare say I have read more than any man in England beside him and me — for I have read his book all over.»<sup>20)</sup> In the second edition of Boyle's Examination King added a Short Account of Dr. Bentley by way of Index — a very original morsel of literary satire, but at the same time as galling as it is possible to be.

But Bentley's Answer came out, being an enlarged edition of his first dissertation on Phalaris, with a splendid Preface which is in itself an independent work. The reader has this remarkable performance in his hands; we have said enough by way of introduction.

---

<sup>18)</sup> Mac., Misc. Writ. p. 285.

<sup>19)</sup> Disraeli, Calamities and Quarrels of Authors, edited by his son, p. 385.

<sup>20)</sup> See King's Poetical Works, Edinburgh, at the Apollo Press, 1781, vol. 1 p. XVI. — King died on Christmasday 1712. See also the short biographical notice in Disraeli, l. c. p. 358 sq.

Temple died in January 1699, before the appearance of Bentley's book, and in the happy conviction that Bentley was for ever discomfited. But now the champions of Temple and Phalaris were silenced for ever.

Hallam is right in saying that in this dissertation which Bentley wrote at the age of thirty-eight years, he stood forth as «master of a learning, to which nothing parallel had been known in England, and that directed by an understanding prompt, discriminating, not idly sceptical, but still farther removed from trust in authority, sagacious in perceiving corruption of language, and ingenious, at the least, in removing them, with a style rapid, concise, amusing, and superior to Boyle in that which he had chiefly to boast, a sarcastic wit.»<sup>21)</sup> As to the philological importance of the Dissertation, it seems almost superfluous to speak of it. We will, however, refer to the excellent remarks of the latest biographer of Bentley, Mähly, p. 35 sqq. It is well known that the greatest philologists after Bentley have never mentioned this work without always expressing their admiration of it in the strongest terms. Westermann, in one of his treatises *de epistolarum scriptoribus graecis* (April 30, 1854) p. 11 says «rem ita confecit Bentleius, ut iam Phalaridis velle patrociniū suscipere vel insipientibus absurdum esse videatur.» Yet all is possible and quite recently a Russian scholar, de Koutorga, has questioned the validity of Bentley's arguments against the authenticity of the letters of Themistocles.<sup>22)</sup>

---

<sup>21)</sup> Hallam IV p. 10 sq. I have quoted this passage in full to give the incontrovertible judgment of a competent authority on Bentley's English style, which had been ridiculed by the wits of Christ Church.

<sup>22)</sup> See W. Ribbeck, *Rhein. Mus.* vol. XVII 202—215.



The present edition is a faithful reprint of the text of the edition of 1699 in the Dissertation on Phalaris, the discrepancies from the first edition being added in an appendix. The minor Dissertations on the letters of Themistocles, Socrates and Euripides and the fables of Aesop have been carefully reprinted from the first publication in the second edition of Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning. The utmost care has been taken to ensure correctness. I have deemed it very important to preserve Bentley's spelling, though even Dyce has replaced it by modern spelling. In my notes, I have occasionally drawn attention to the importance of preserving Bentley's words quite intact, as his language evidently retains some peculiarities of what we are accustomed to call Elizabethan English. In rectifying the citations I have largely availed myself of W. Ribbeck's German translation, though in some instances I have substituted references to more modern editions; the original illustrations derived from Dyce or Ribbeck I have carefully distinguished from my own notes by adding the letters *D* and *R*.

I venture to hope that this edition of Bentley's immortal Dissertations will prove acceptable both to my own countrymen, who now study English literature with so much zeal, and to the author's countrymen, among whom I feel happy to number many excellent friends.

---

## CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

exhibiting a view of the Phalaris Controversy from its commencement to its close, by ALEXANDER DYCE.

1. *Miscellanea. The Second Part. In Four Essays. I. Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. II. Upon the Gardens of Epicurus. III. Upon Heroick Vertus. IV. Upon Poetry.* By Sir William Temple, Baronet. — *Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.* The Second Edition. London, 1690, 8vo. pp. 341.

2. *ΦΑΛΑΡΙΔΟΣ ΑΚΡΑΤΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.* *Phalaridis Agrigentini Tyranni Epistolae. Ex MSS. recensuit, Versione, Annotationibus, et Vita insuper Authoris donavit Car. Boyle, ex Aede Christi. Ex Θεατρου ἐν Οξονια, Ἐται ἀρχε'.* [1695.] 8vo. pp. 156, not including Dedicatio, Praefatio, Vita, Index, &c.

This volume was reprinted in 1718.

3. *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning.* By William Wotton, B. D. Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham. The Second Edition, with Large Additions. With a Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, &c. and Aesop's Fables. By Dr. Bentley. London, 1697. 8vo pp. 421 by Wotton, not including Preface, &c., and pp. 152 by Bentley.

On the title-page, immediately before his *Dissertation* (which was sold separately to the purchasers of the first ed. of the *Reflections*), Bentley is styled *D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary and Library-keeper to his Majesty.* — Wotton's work was originally published in 1694: the third edition came forth in 1705, when that part of Bentley's *Dissertation* which relates to Phalaris was omitted, in consequence of the appearance of his enlarged essay in 1699.

4. *Fabularum Aesopicarum Delectus. Oxoniae, e Theatro Sheldoniano, An. Dom. MDCXCVIII.* 8vo. pp. 128, not including Dedicatio, Praefatio, Testimonia, and Indices.

One of the Christ Church publications, under the auspices of Dr. Aldrich. It was edited by Anthony Alsop, who, in the preface, sneers at Bentley (— «quendam Bentleium virum in volvendis Lexicis satis diligentem» —); and

in the concluding Fable, *Canis in Præsepi*, alludes to his refusal of the MS. to Boyle. It formed a sort of prelude to the piece next mentioned.

5. *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Aesop, Examined by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq.*

— *Remember Milo's End,  
Wedg'd in that Timber, which he strove to rend.  
Roscomm. Ess. of Transl. Vers.*

London, 1698. 8vo. pp. 290, not including Preface.

A second edition appeared during the same year, with a Letter from Boyle to Bennet the bookseller, (occupying one page), prefixed to it, and «A Short Account of Dr. Bentley by way of Index,» (filling two leaves at the end), under such heads as, «Dr Bentley's civil usage of Mr. Boyle,» — «his Singular Humanity to,» — «his elegant similes,» — «his clean and gentle metaphors,» — «his respect to the Bible,» — «his modesty and decency in contradicting great men,» &c. &c. A third edition, with some *Additions occasioned by a Book entituled a View of the Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, &c.* came forth in 1699: these «Additions» are contained in the last two leaves. A fourth edition was printed in 1745.

6. *A View of the Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, &c. Lately Publish'd by the Reverend Dr. Bentley. Also of the Examination of that Dissertation by the Honourable Mr. Boyle. In order to the Manifesting the Incertitude of Heathen Chronology.* Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι, χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς μυρίαί διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. *Plutarch in Vit. Solon.* — London, 1698. 8vo. pp. 78, not including Preface.

Written by John Milner, a man of no ordinary learning, and author of various publications. He was Vicar of Leeds and Prebendary of Ripon; but when the Revolution took place, having lost his preferments for nonjurancy, he retired to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he continued till his death in 1702.

7. *A Free but Modest Censure on the late Controversial Writings and Debates*

Of { *The Lord Bishop of Worcester and Mr. Locke:*  
*Mr. Edwards and Mr. Locke:*  
*The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Boyle, Esq. and Dr. Bentley.*

*Together with Brief Remarks on Monsieur Le Clerc's Ars Critica.* By F. B., M. A. of Cambridg. London, 1696. 4to. pp. 31.

8. *Examen Poeticum Duplex*, &c. Oxon. 1698.

A collection of Latin verses thus mentioned by Rymer in his *Essay*, &c. p. 69 (vide the next article): «I find in another book published last week, called *Examen Poeticum Duplex*, &c., that he [Dr. Aldrich] has suffered some of his college to make sport with him [Bentley] in their occasional compositions. Amongst other things somebody has endeavoured his character in two Epigrams . . . . I am assured they were made in Christ Church, and either by the Dean himself, or a brother Doctor at least.» One of the pieces in question was entitled *Intellectus agens illuminat phantasmata*, *Ad R. B. Bibliothecarium philocriticum*, the other, *Articuli Pacis*.

9. *An Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning: In which are contained some Short Reflections on the Controversy betwixt Sir William Temple and Mr. Wotton; and that betwixt Dr. Bentley and Mr. Boyle*. By T. R., Esq. London 1698. 12mo. pp. 77.

Thomas Rymer, the author of this tract, was well known at the time by his critical essays, *The Tragedies of the last Age considered*, &c., and *A Short View of Tragedy*; but is now remembered only as the compiler of the *Foedera*.

10. *An Answer to a late Pamphlet called an Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning*. London 1698. 8vo.

This piece was written by some member of Christ Church, Rymer having severely censured that society: vide Dr. Monk's *Life of Bentley*, vol. 1. p. 114.

11. *A Vindication of an Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning: in which are contained some short Reflections on the Controversie betwixt Sir William Temple and Mr. Wotton; and that betwixt Dr. Bentley and Mr. Boyle. In Answer to an Oxford Pamphlet. By the Author of that Essay*. [Rymer].

*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis  
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.*

London, 1698. 12mo. pp. 54.

12. *A dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris. With An Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esquire. By Richard Bentley, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary and Library-keeper to His Majesty*. London, 1699. 8vo. pp. CXII of Preface, pp. 549 [545] of Dissertation, not including Index.

On the reverse of the title-page —

*Mordear opprobriis falsis, mutemque Colores?  
Falsus Honor juvat, & Mendax infamia terret  
Quem, nisi mendacem & mendosum?*

*Horat. Epist. 1. 16.*

It is unnecessary to point out in what respects this great work differs from the original *Dissertation*, as both are now presented to the reader. A very incorrect edition, including the *Dissertations on the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and Aesop's Fables*, from the first essay, and with notes by Dr. Salter, appeared in 1777, 8vo. The work of 1699 was reprinted in 1816, 8vo; and Salter's edition in 1817, 8vo.

Lennepe's translation is entitled, *Richardi Bentleii Dissertatio de Phalaridis, Themistoclis, Socratis, Euripidis, aliorumque Epistolis, et de fabulis Aesopi. Nec non ejusdem Responsio, qua Dissertationem de Epistolis Phalaridis vindicat a censura Caroli Boyle. Omnia ex Anglico in Latinum sermonem convertit Joannes Daniel a Lennepe, Groningae, 1777, 4to.* This version, and the *Epistola ad Millium*, make up the volume called *Richardi Bentleii Opuscula Philologica, Lipsiae, 1781, 8vo.*

13. *The Epistles of Phalaris. Translated into English from the Original Greek by T. S. Together with an Appendix of some other Epistles lately discovered in a French MS. London 1699. 8vo. pp. 223, not including Preface, &c.*

The following work appears to be either a different edition of the volume just noticed, or the same edition with a new title-page and a few additions:

*The Epistles of Phalaris Translated into English from the Original Greek. By S. Whately, late of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, M. A. To which is added Sir W. Temple's Character of the Epistles of Phalaris. Together with an Appendix of some other Epistles lately Discovered in a French MS. London, 1699 8vo. pp. 223.*

14. *A Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice to those Authors who have written before him: With an Honest Vindication of Tho. Stanley, Esquire, and his Notes on Callimachus. To which are added, Some other Observations on that Poet. In a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq.; With a Postscript, in Relation to Dr. Bentley's late Book against him. To which is added an Appendix, by the Bookseller [Bennet] wherein the Doctor's Mis-Representations of all the Matters of Fact wherein he is concern'd, in his late Book about Phalaris's Epistles, are modestly consider'd; with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq. on that Subject.*

*quum repetitum venerit unda  
 Grex avium plumas, risum Cornicla movebit,  
 Furtivis nudata Coloribus*

*When all the Birds shall claim their own  
 And every borrow'd Feather's flown,  
 How mean the Jackdaw looks, for all is gone!*

London 1699. 8vo. pp. 140, not including Preface.

By the Christ Church wits. The *Short Account* was just ready for publication when Bentley's second *Dissertation* came forth; the *Appendix* (which Dr. Monk conjectures to be written by King) was added after the appearance of the work.

15. *An Answer to a late Book written against the Learned and Reverend Dr. Bentley, relating to some Manuscript Notes on Callimachus. Together with an Examination of Mr. Bennet's Appendix to the said Book.* London 1699. p. 209, not including Preface.

An advertisement at the end of the Preface informs us that this piece was by the author of the translation of the *Epistles of Phalaris*. See article 13.

16. *A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Bentley upon the Controversie between him and Mr. Boyle.* London 1699. 8vo.

This tract, noticed in Dr. Monk's *Life of Bentley*, vol. 1 p. 131, I have not seen.

17. *A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras, and of other Famous Men his Contemporaries. With an Epistle to the R<sup>d</sup>. Dr. Bentley, about Porphyry's and Jamblichus' Lives of Pythagoras. By the Right Reverend Father in God, William, L<sup>d</sup>. Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield.* London 1699. 8vo. pp. 58 of the Epistle (which is placed first), and pp. 18 of the Chron. Acc.

By Dr. Lloyd, to whom, as «an incomparable historian and chronologer,» Bentley had appealed.

18. *Dialogues of the Dead. Relating to the present Controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris. By the Author of the Journey to London.* London 1699. 8vo. pp. 83, not including Preface &c.

By Dr. King, who smarted under the severe castigation he had received from Bentley.

19. *A short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley. With Suitable Reflections upon it. And the Dr.'s Advantageous Character of himself at full length. Recommended to the serious perusal of such as propose to be considered*

for their Fairness, Modesty and good temper in Writing. London, 1701. 8vo. pp. 144, not including Preface.

Dr. Monk has no hesitation in believing that this piece was from Atterbury's pen, *Life of Bentley*, vol. I p. 178.

20. *Miscellanea. The Third Part. Containing. — I. An Essay on Popular Discontents. II. An Essay upon Health and Long Life. III. A Defence of the Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning. With some other Pieces. By the late Sir William Temple, Bar. Published by Jonathan Swift, A. M. Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin.* London, 1701. 8vo. pp. 368, not including Preface.

The third of these essays, which on the title-page immediately preceding it, is called *Some Thoughts upon reviewing the Essay of Ancient and Modern Learning*, was left unfinished by the author.

21. *Exercitationes Duae: Prima, De Aetate Phalaridis; Secunda, De Aetate Pythagorae Philosophi. Ab Henrico Dowello, A. M. Dubliniensi.* Londini, 1704. 8vo. pp. 264, not including Praefatio, &c.

22. *A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. Diu multumque desideratum. To which is added, An Account of a Battel between the Ancient and Modern Books in St. James's Library.*

*Basima eacabasa eanaa irraurista, diarba de caeotuba jobor camelanthi. Iren. lib. i. c. 18.*

*Juvatque novos decerpere flores,  
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,  
Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Musae.*

Lucret.

London, 1704. 8vo. pp. 322, not including Dedication &c. *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (not mentioned in the title-page of the volume), follows the *Battle of the Books*.

By Swift. Though not published till 1704, the *Tale of a Tub* and the *Battle of the Books* appear to have been ready for the press in 1697. In these pieces Swift directs the full bitterness of his inimitable humour against the adversaries of his patron, Sir W. Temple. For the ridicule on Bentley, see, in the *Tale of a Tub*, «The Dedication to Prince Posterity,» and sections III v. and X.; and in the *Battle of the Books*; particularly «The Episode of Bentley and Wotton.»

23. *A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning in Answer to the Objections of Sir W. Temple, and*

*Others. With Observations upon The Tale of a Tub. By William Wotton, B. D. London, 1705. 8vo. pp. 69.*

This tract which was sold separately to the purchasers of the earlier editions of Wotton's *Reflections*, &c., was also printed (with new paging) as the concluding portion of a third edition of that work, 1705.

24. *Memoirs of the Life and Character Of the late Earl of Orrery, and of the Family of the Boyles. Containing several Curious Facts and Pieces of History, from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the present Times: Extracted from Original Papers and Manuscripts never yet Printed. With a Short Account of the Controversy between the late Earl of Orrery and the Reverend Doctor Beniley; and some Select Letters of Phalaris, the famous Sicilian Tyrant, Translated from the Greek. By Eustace Budgell, Esq.*

*Te, animo repentem Exempla tuorum,  
Et Pater Aeneas, et Avunculus excitet Hector.*

*Virg.*

London 1732. 8vo. pp. 258, not including Dedication &c.



A  
DISSERTATION  
Upon the EPISTLES of  
PHALARIS.  
WITH  
An ANSWER  
TO THE  
OBJECTIONS

Of the HONOURABLE  
*Charles Boyle, Esquire.*

---

BY  
RICHARD BENTLEY, D. D.  
Chaplain in Ordinary and Library-keeper  
to His MAJESTY.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *J. H.* for *Henry Mortlock* at the *Phœnix*  
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and *John Hartley*  
over-against *Gray's Inn* in *Holborn*, 1699.

**Mordear OPPROBRIIS FALSIS, mutemque Colores?  
FALSUS HONOR juvat, & MENDAX INFANIA terret  
Quem, nisi MENDACEM & MENDOSUM? ———**

*Horat. Epist. I, 16.*

## THE PREFACE.

---

**I**n the former Edition of this *Dissertation*, A. D. MDCXCVII, I thought my self oblig'd, to take notice of a certain Passage in a Preface to *Phalaris's Epistles*, publish'd at *Oxford* two years before. Which I did in these words:

»The late Editors of *Phalaris* have told the World in  
»their Preface, That among other Specimens of their diligence, they<sup>1)</sup> collated the King's Manuscript, as far as  
»the XL Epistle; and would have done so throughout, but  
»that the Library-keeper out of his singular Humanity denied  
»them the further use of it. This was meant as a lash for  
»me, who had the Honour then and since to serve His Majesty in that Office. I must own, 'twas very well resolv'd  
»of them, to make the Preface and the Book all of a piece:  
»for they have acted in this Calumny both the injustice of  
»the Tyrant, and the forgery of the Sophist. For my own  
»part, I should never have honour'd it with a Refutation  
»in Print, but have given it that neglect, that is due to  
»Weak Detraction; had I not been engag'd to my Friend  
»to write a Censure upon *Phalaris*; where to omit to take  
»notice of that Slander, would be tacitly to own it. The  
»true Story is thus: A Bookseller came to me, in the name  
»of the Editors, to beg the use of the Manuscript. It was  
»not then in my custody: but as soon as I had the power  
»of it, I went voluntarily and offer'd it him, bidding him tell  
»the Collator not to lose any time; for I was shortly to  
»go out of Town for two Months. 'Twas deliver'd, us'd,  
»and return'd. Not a word said by the Bearer, nor

---

<sup>1)</sup> Collatas etiam curavi usque ad Ep. 40. cum MS<sup>to</sup> in Bibliotheca Regia, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari sua humanitate negavit.

»the least suspicion in Me, that they had not finish'd  
 »the Collation. For I speak from Experiment, they  
 »had more Days to compare it in, than they needed to  
 »have Hours. 'Tis a very little Book, and the Writing  
 »as legible as Print. Well; the Collation, it seems was  
 »sent defective to *Oxon*; and the blame, I suppose, laid  
 »upon Me. I return'd again to the Library some Months  
 »before the Edition was finish'd: No application was made  
 »for further use of the Manuscript. Thence I went for a  
 »whole Fortnight to *Oxon*, where the Book was then print-  
 v »ing; conversed in the very College, where the Editors  
 »resided. Not the least whisper there of the Manuscript.  
 »After a few days, out comes the new Edition, with this  
 »Sting in the Mouth of it. 'Twas a surprize indeed, to  
 »read there, that our Manuscript was not perused. Could  
 »not they have ask'd for it again then, after my return?  
 »'Twas neither *singular*, nor *common Humanity*, not to en-  
 »quire into the Truth of the thing, before they ventur'd  
 »to Print, which is a Sword in the Hand of a Child. But  
 »there's a reason for every thing; and the Mystery was  
 »soon reveal'd. For, it seems, I had the hard hap, in some  
 »private conversation, to say, the *Epistles* were a spurious  
 »piece, and unworthy of a new Edition. *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ*.  
 »This was a thing deeply resented; and to have spoken to  
 »Me about the Manuscript, had been to lose a plausible  
 »occasion of taking Revenge.

This I then thought was sufficient to vindicate my  
 self from that little Aspersion. But I am now constrain'd  
 by the worse usage, that I have since met with from the  
 same Quarter, to give an account of some Particulars; which  
 then I omitted, partly out of an unwillingness to trouble  
 the Publick with complaints about private and personal  
 injuries, but chiefly out of a tenderness for the Honour of  
 the Editor.

vi The first time I saw his new *Phalaris*, was in the  
 Hands of a person of Honour, to whom it had been pre-  
 sented; and the rest of the Impression was not yet pub-  
 lish'd. This encourag'd me to write the very same Evening  
 to Mr. *Boyle* at *Oxford*, and to give him a true informa-  
 tion of the whole matter; expecting that upon the receipt  
 of my Letter he would put a stop to the publication of

his Book, till he had alter'd that Passage, and printed the Page anew; which he might have done in one Day, and at the charge of Five Shillings. I did not expresly desire him to take out that Passage, and reprint the whole Leaf; That I thought was too low a submission. But I said enough to make any Person of common Justice and Ingenuity have own'd me thanks for preventing him from doing a very ill Action.

I am sorry I have not the Letter it self to produce on this occasion: but I neither took any Copy of it; nor was I carefull to keep the Gentleman's Letter, which I receiv'd in answer. I had no apprehension at that time, that the Business could have been blown to this Hight. But the Gentleman, it seems, had something at that time in his view, and was more carefull to keep My Letter, a part of which he has thus publish'd<sup>1)</sup>: *Mr. Bennet desir'd me to lend him the Manuscript Phalaris to be collated; because a Young Gentleman, Mr. Boyle of Christ-church, was going* VII *to publish it. I told him, That a Gentleman of that Name and Family, to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an Honour for, might command any service, that lay in my Power. These he acknowledges to be civil expressions*<sup>2)</sup>: and I dare trust my Memory so far, as to aver that all the rest were of the same strain. Nay, as the Examiner has given us this Fragment of my Letter, because he thought he saw a Fault in't, which I shall answer anon: so if there had been any thing else in that Letter, either in the Words or the Matter, that he could but have cavill'd at; without doubt he would have favour'd us with more of it: for we may easily see his Good Will to me, both from his *Preface* and his *Examination*.

But what return did he make me for my *expressions of great Civility*<sup>3)</sup>? After a delay of two Posts; on purpose, as one may justly suspect, that the Book might be vended (as it was) and spread abroad in the mean time; I receiv'd an answer to this effect: *That what I had said in my own behalf, might be true; but that Mr. Bennet had represented the thing quite otherwise: If he had had my account before, he should have consider'd of it: and now that the Book was*

---

1) P. 19.

2) Ibid. & p. 4.

3) P. 4.

*made public, he would not interpose, but that I might do my*  
 VIII *self right in what method I pleas'd.* This was the import  
 of his Answer, as I very well remember: there was not  
 the least hint, that he had or would stop the publication  
 of his Book, till the matter was farther examin'd.

The Gentleman himself, in his late Treatise<sup>1</sup>), has  
 been pleas'd to give some account of the same Letter;  
 and he represents his expression thus: That if the matter  
 appear'd as I had told it, *he meant to give me satisfaction*  
*as publickly as he had injur'd me.* But I am sorry that his  
 Civility comes three years too late. Less than this would  
 have pass'd with me for good satisfaction. But it was not,  
*that He would give me satisfaction, but that I had his free*  
*leave to take it:* which was in answer to a Paragraph of  
 my Letter, *that perhaps I might think my self oblig'd to*  
*make a public vindication.* And this, as I take it, was so  
 far from being a just Satisfaction, that it was plainly a  
 Defiance, and an addition to the Affront.

The Gentleman and I here differ a little about the  
 Expression in his Answer; but I suppose the very Cir-  
 cumstances will plainly discover, whose account is the truer.  
 For what probability is there, that He should promise  
 such fair satisfaction; and yet let the Book be publish'd  
 when it was in his power to stop it? If he had writ me  
 IX *word the very next Post, that he had stopp'd the Books*  
*in the Printing-House, and would suffer no more to go*  
*abroad till the matter was fairly examin'd: this had been*  
*just and civil.* And then if he had found himself misin-  
 form'd by his Bookseller, he might have cut out the Leaf,  
 and printed a new one; which in all respects had been  
 the fairest, and cheapest, and quickest Satisfaction.

Several persons have been so far misinform'd by false  
 reports of this Story; that they think, the Editor himself  
 desir'd the MS, either by Letter to Me, or by a personal  
 Visit. I heartily wish it had been so; for then all this  
 Dispute had been prevented. But the Gentleman was not  
 pleas'd to honour me with his Commands. If he had fa-  
 vour'd me with one Line, or had sent his desire by any  
 Scholar; I would not only have lent the Book: but, have

---

<sup>1</sup>) P. 4.

collated it my self for him. But it was both our misfortunes, that he committed the whole affair to the Care or rather Negligence of his Bookseller: and the first application Himself made to me, was by that complement in his printed Preface.

I am surpriz'd, to see an *Honourable* Person think he has fully justified himself for abusing me, by reasons that he has found out, since the time of the Abuse. For even take his own account; and when he printed that *x* Preface, he had heard nothing but on one side. And was that like a man of his Character to put a public Affront upon me, upon the bare complaint of a Bookseller, who was the party suspected of the Fault? What? never to enquire at all, whether he had not misinform'd him? when there was such reason to suppose, that he might lay the blame upon Me, to excuse his own Negligence? when he had such opportunities of asking me, either directly, or by some common Friends? Turn it over on every side, and the whole conduct of it is so very extraordinary; that one cannot but suspect there were some secret reasons for this usage, that are not yet brought above-board. Be it as it will; 'tis in vain to hope to justify that Calumny in his Preface, by such testimonies as he knew nothing of, when he ventur'd to print it. He is fallen under his own reproof<sup>1</sup>), *That he wrote his Preface first, and finds reasons for it afterwards.*

When his *Phalaris* came first abroad, 'twas the opinion of my Friends, who were soon satisfied that the thing was a Calumny, That it was the duty of my Place, as Keeper of the Royal Library, to defend the Honour of it against such an Insult. But yet out of a natural aversion to all quarrels and broils, and out of regard to the Editor himself, I resolv'd to take no notice of it, but to let the *x* matter drop.

Thus it rested for two Years; and should have done so for ever; had not some Accidents fallen out, which made it necessary for me to give a public account of it. I had formerly made a promise to my worthy Friend Mr. *Wotton*<sup>2</sup>),

---

<sup>1</sup>) P. 2. <sup>2</sup>) Concerning *Wotton* see the Introduction. — W.

to give him a Paper of some Reasons, why I thought *Phalaris's* Epistles supposititious, and the present *Æsopian* Fables not to be *Æsop's* own. And upon such an occasion, I was plainly obliged to speak of that Calumny: for my silence would have been interpreted as good as a Confession. Especially considering with what industrious Malice the false Story had been spread all over *England*; for as it's generally practis'd, they thought one Act of Injustice was to be supported and justified by doing many more.

The Gentleman is pleased to insinuate,<sup>1)</sup> that all this is *pure Fiction*; and that I writ that Dissertation out of revenge, and purely for an occasion of telling the Story: the very contrary of which is true; for I was unwilling to meddle in that Dissertation, because I should be necessitated to give an account of that Story: as it will plainly appear from Mr. *Wotton's* own Testimony, which I have by me under his hand.

XII *I Do declare, that in the Year 1694, when my Discourse about Ancient and Modern Learning was first put to the Press, Dr. Bentley at my desire undertook to write a Dissertation about Phalaris and Æsop, to be added to my Book. But being called away into the Country, he could not at that time be as good as his word. Afterwards when the Second Edition of my Book was in the Press, I renew'd my request to him, and challeng'd his Promise. He desir'd me to excuse him; because now the case was alter'd, and he could not write that Dissertation without giving a Censure of the late Edition at Oxford. But I did not think that a sufficient reason, why I should lose that Treatise to the World, by receding from the Right and Power that he had given me to demand it.*

W. Wotton.

The Reader will please to observe, that Mr. *Wotton's* Discourse was first printed 1694; and *Phalaris* the Year after. A plain argument, that the Examiner is quite out in his reckoning; when he pretends, that I first engag'd

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 4. 24. etc.



in that Dissertation, purely to fall foul on his Book. I was so far from harbouring such *vengeance in my heart*, that if the Editor or any body from him, had but given me leave to say in his Name, *That he had been misinform'd*; all this Story, and all the Errors of his Edition had slept quiet in their obscurity. XIII

About Nine months after my Dissertation was printed, the Editor of *Phalaris* oblig'd the World with a Second Piece, call'd *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations examin'd*. He has begun that elaborate Work with stating an account of this Story in opposition to what I had said of it: and That he does upon the Credit of Testimonies of the *Bookseller* and the *Collator*, and of a *Third Informant*, who overheard some Discourse of mine. I will give a clear and full Answer to every part of their Depositions; and I question not but to make it plain, that the Examiner has been impos'd on, not only by the Author of *Phalaris's* Letters, but by others that are every way of lower Qualifications than He.

The Bookseller avers<sup>1)</sup>, *That he was employ'd by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, and by Him only, to borrow the MS. of Phalaris from Dr. Bentley. And after about NINE Months Solicitation* says he, *it was deliver'd into my Custody, without any time limited for the Return of it.* I now perceive, I had more reason, than I was then aware of, when I said in my *Dissertation*, That a Falshood about Time was the truest and surest method of detecting Impostures. XIV And Mr. B. I hope, will allow that a Chronological Argument will be a good Proof against his Bookseller; though he will not admit it against his Book. The Bookseller, we see, it positive, that I did not lend him the MS. *till after about NINE Months Solicitation.* And Mr. B. himself repeats it<sup>2)</sup> *That there was about NINE Months Solicitation us'd to procure it:* and in another place<sup>3)</sup> he affirms, *That the Bookseller gave him Liberty to assure the World, that he was ready to justifie it with his OATH, when it should be duly requir'd of him.* Now if, instead of these *NINE Months*, I make it appear beyond Contradiction, That from my very first Admission to the Office of Library Keeper, to the Time

---

1) P. 6.

2) P. 19.

3) P. 5.

that the Bookseller not only had, but return'd the MS, there was but *ONE* single Month; I humbly conceive, the World will be satisfied, that not the Word only, but the very *OATH* of this Witness is little to be regarded.

The Royal Patent, which Constitutes me *Keeper of His MAJESTY'S Libraries* (which may be seen not only in my own Hands, but in the Patent Office) bears date the *xviii*th day of *April*, *MDCXCIV*. The Words are, *In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Testibus Nobis Ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Duodecimo Die Aprilis, Anno Regni Nostri Sexto*. Now I may appeal to any Body, that has ever been concern'd in a Patent; if by reason of the Delays that necessarily attend a thing of that nature, it may not fairly be suppos'd that the remaining part of that Month expir'd, before all could be finish'd. I find in a Book of my private Accounts, that I took the Patent out of the Patent Office the *xviii*th day of that Month: and the several Offices to be attended after that, before I could have admission to the Library, may be allow'd to take up the rest of the Month. But I shall prove the thing directly by Two Witnesses, beyond all Exception, the Worthy Masters of *St. Paul's* and *St. James's* Schools, who gave me this Account under their own Hands.

*Some time after the Death of Mr. Justell, late Library-keeper to His Majesty, we were desir'd by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, then Lord Bishop of Lincoln<sup>1)</sup>, in pursuance of a Command from the Late Queen of Blessed Memory, to take a Catalogue of the Royal Library at St. James's. We began it in October 1693, finish'd, and had it transcrib'd, and presented to Her Majesty by the Easter*  
*Following, during all which time we had the Key of the said Library constantly in our keeping, as also some Weeks longer. And then as we were directed, we deliver'd it up to Sir John Lowther, now the Right Honourable the Lord Lonsdale, who was at that time Vice-Chamberlain to His Majesty.*

Jo. Postlethwayt.  
 Rich. Wright.

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Thomas Tenison, translated from Lincoln to Canterbury in 1694. — Ed. 1777.

It is plain then from the Date of a Public Record, join'd with Mr. *Postlethwayt's* and Mr. *Wright's* Testimonies, that I had not actual Custody of the Royal Library before *May*. For in that Year *Easter* fell upon *April* the *viii*<sup>th</sup>. And it's depos'd here, that the Key of the Library was not deliver'd to the Vice-Chamberlain, from whose hands I was to receive it, till *some Weeks* after *Easter*. And in the same *May* I deliver'd the MS to the Bookseller; for, as I had said before, *as soon as I had it in my power, I went voluntarily to the Bookseller and offer'd it him*. The Bookseller has not yet thought fit to deny, that the Book was deliver'd to him in *May*; and to save him from the Temptation of denying it hereafter, I will prove by another Record, that the Book was used and restor'd to me again, and lodg'd in His Majesty's Library before the end of that Month. For the Reason why I insisted to have *xvii* the MS speedily return'd, was because I was oblig'd to make a Journey to *Worcester* to keep my Residence there as Prebendary of that Church: and that I was at *Worcester* by the First of *June* following; the following Certificate will prove, the Original of which I have by me.

*It appears by the Chantor's Rolls kept to note the Presence of the Dean and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, that Dr. Richard Bentley Prebendary of the said Cathedral Church was present at Prayers in the Quire there on the First day of June in the Year 1694, and continued his Attendance there till September the 26<sup>th</sup> following, not absenting more than Two Days at any one time all the while. Witness my Hand this 25<sup>th</sup> Day of May, 1698.*

Andrew Trebeck, Chantor.

*We have seen and examin'd the Chantors Rolls above mention'd, and do find them, as He hath above certified; and we did see him sign this Certificate,*

Jo. Price, Chancellour.

Ch. Moore, Pub. Not. Reg.

Tho. Oliver, Pub. Notary.

I must crave leave to observe to the Reader; that the *xviii* Residence Roll for the Month of *May*, though diligently

sought for, could not be found. But if it ever happen to come to sight, I make no doubt, but it will appear by it, that I was present at *Worcester* some part of that *May*. For it's great odds, that the First Day of my being there would not fall upon the First of *June*. The last note of Time, before I took my Journey, that I can now find among all my Papers, is the *xvth* Day of *May*. And I find a Letter to me out of *Surry*, Dated *May* the *xth*, that then wishes me a good Journey. All which makes me believe, that I left *London* upon *Monday May* the *xxist*, and that the MS was return'd to me the *Saturday* Night before.

But not to insist upon that; I suppose it's sufficiently manifest from His Majesty's Patent, Mr. *Postlethwayt's* and Mr. *Wright's* Testimonies, and the Residence Rolls of the Church of *Worcester*, That the MS was deliver'd, us'd, and return'd within the space of *ONE* Month after I had the custody of the Library. So that the Deposition of the Bookseller, *That he could not obtain the MS till after about NINE Months Sollicitation*, is demonstrated to be a notorious Falshood: and since he has farther declar'd that it was in his Intention a Perjury; he has Pillouried himself for't in  
 XIX Print, as long as that Book shall last.

I have been inform'd by several good Hands, that when the Starters of this Calumny heard, how I could disprove from the very Date of the Patent, this Story of *NINE Months Sollicitation*; they betook themselves to this Refuge, That though the Patent was not finish'd till about *May*, yet I had the Power and Trust of the Library for *NINE* months before. But besides the folly of this Evasion, which is visible at first view (for how could I demand the Key of the Library, before I had a Right to it?) Mr. *Postlethwayt* and Mr. *Wright* give a direct Evidence, that *they had the Key constantly in their Keeping all the time from October to May*; so that I had not the MS in my Power; till the very time that I lent it. Nay the very Warrant, where His Majesty first nominated me to that Employment, was but taken out of the Secretary's Office Decemb. XXIII, 1693. There were but *FIVE* months therefore in all from the first Rumour of my being Library Keeper to the Time that they had the MS. And the Bookseller even by this

account was plainly guilty of an intended Perjury; when he was ready to Swear, *that he used about NINE Months Sollicitation.* But suppose it were true, that *NINE* months had elaps'd from the Date of the Warrant to my admission **xx** to the Library: yet what an honest and ingenuous Narrative is here of *Nine Months SOLLICITATION*? That word carries this accusation in't, that I could have lent them the Book if I pleas'd: which appears now to be a mere Calumny and Slander, since it lays that to my Charge, which was not in my Power.

By his talking of *SOLLICITATION* one would be apt to imagine, that he had worn the very Streets with frequent Journeys to solicit for the MS. I had said in my former account, *that a Bookseller CAME to me in the Name of the Editors*: which is a word of more Concession, than the Pains he was at deserv'd. For to the best of my Memory, he never ask'd me for the MS. but at his own Shop, or as I casually met him. Neither can I call to mind, that either He or his Apprentice came once to my Lodgings or to the Library for't; till the time that he sent for't by my appointment, and receiv'd it.

I had said, *That I order'd him to tell the Collator, not to lose any time, for I was shortly to go out of Town for two Months.* Now this was to be denied by the Bookseller, or else his whole Deposition had signified nothing; for the Blame would still lie at his own Door. He resolutely affirms therefore<sup>1)</sup>, *That no time was limited for the return* **xxi** *of it.* What can be done in this Case? here are two contrary affirmations; and the matter being done in private, neither of us have any Witness. I might plead, as *Aemilius Scaurus* did against one *Varius of Sucro*<sup>2)</sup>. *Varius Sucronensis ait, Aemilius Scaurus negat. utri creditis, Quirites?* I hope, upon an account my Credit will go further than this Bookseller's, especially after his manifest Falshood, in his Story of the *Nine Months.*

But let us enquire into the Nature of the Thing. Is it likely or probable, that I should put the MS into his Hands, to be kept as long as He pleas'd? without any intimating that after a competent time for using it he

---

1) P. 6.

2) Val. Max 3. 7.

should restore it again? They must certainly have an odd Opinion of their Readers, that expect to make such stuff as this pass upon them for Truth. Besides it appears upon Record, that I took a Journey soon after the lending of it: which was not a sudden and unexpected one: for the time of my Residence had been fixed six months before. I must needs know then of my intended Journey, when I lent the MS to the Bookseller: and 'tis very unlikely that I should omit to give him notice of it; unless it be suppos'd, that I had then a private design to disappoint them of the use of the MS.

XXII But that I had no such design, but on the contrary a true intention and desire to give them full opportunity of using it, I conceive the very circumstances of the affair, besides my own Declaration which I here solemnly make, will put it out of all question. For, I pray, what interest, what passion could I serve by hindring them? I could have no pique against the Editor, whom I had never seen nor heard of before; and who, as soon as I heard of him, both deserv'd and had my respect upon account of his Relation to a Person of glorious Memory. Neither could I envy him the Honour of publishing the MS; or repine that such an opportunity of getting Fame was taken out of my own hands: for I suppose my *Dissertation* alone is a convincing argument, that I my self had never any design of setting out *Phalaris*.

But I have a better proof still behind of my sincerity in lending the MS: though I cannot produce it, without accusing my self. For it's the duty of my Place to let no Book go out of the King's Library without particular Order. This the Learned Dr. *Mill* and several others know, who having occasion for some Books in the time of my Predecessor, were oblig'd to procure his Majesty's Warrant for them. If it were my design then to keep the Book out of the Editor's hands, what fairer pretense, XXIII what readier excuse could be wished, than this? »That I »was ready to serve the Gentleman to the utmost of my »Power; but it was a Rule with my Predecessors to let »no Book go abroad without a Royal Warrant. And I durst »not venture to transgress the Rule at my very first entrance upon my Office. If the Gentleman would obtain

»an Order in the usual method, I would wait upon him  
 »the first moment and deliver the Book. I could have  
 refus'd the MS in this manner, with all the appearance  
 of Civility: but out of a particular desire of obliging the  
 Editor, I ventur'd beyond my Power, and lent the Book  
 privately without any Order. I confess I have justly suffer'd  
 for it since; and the very men I aim'd to oblige, were  
 my Enemies, (as they give it out) only on that account.  
 Had I kept my self firm to the Rules of my Office, with-  
 out straining a point of Courtesie beyond the bounds of  
 my Duty; all their Calumnies had been avoided. But I  
 hope I shall have caution enough for the future; to know  
 Persons a little better, before I put my self in their Power.

I had said, that *I had no suspicion, that the Collation  
 was not finish'd*: In opposition to this the Bookseller de-  
 poses, *that I call'd upon him for the Book upon Saturday  
 at Noon; and staid while he sent to the Collator, and word* xxiv  
*was brought by the Messenger, That it was not collated.* That  
 I call'd then at the Bookseller's Shop, I believe may be  
 true: for having business to dispatch in *Paul's Church-*  
*yard*, and some Friends there to take leave of, before I  
 began my Journey, I took that occasion to call upon this  
 Bookseller, and to mind him of his engagement to restore  
 the Book on *Saturday Evening*. But that I staid there,  
 till his Messenger return'd from the Collator, I do not  
 remember. But suppose, that I did stay; what then? the  
 Message he says was brought *at Noon*, that the Book was  
 not then Collated. But the Bookseller well knows; that  
 I did not require the Book, till the Evening, nor was it  
 return'd before. The Collator indeed might be behind  
 hand at Noon, and as I might suppose, want about two  
 or three Pages. But must I needs think him still behind  
 hand at Nine a Clock<sup>1</sup>) at Night? That's a sort of Conse-  
 quence that I am not us'd to make. For if he had not  
 done one page of the Book at Noon; yet he had time  
 more than enough to have finish'd it by the Evening. For,  
 as I said before, *it is as legible as Print*, being written in

1) Bentley writes a Clock, i. e. a' clock, not o' clock,  
 as we say now-a-days. See Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar  
 § 140. — W.

a modern Hand, and without Abbreviations; and wants One and Twenty Epistles that are extant in the Printed Copies, which is a seventh part of the whole Book; so  
 xxv that the work of Collating is so much the shorter. I had a mind for the Experiment's sake, to collate the first Forty Epistles, which are all that the Collator has done. And I had finish'd them in an Hour and Eighteen Minutes; though I made no very great haste. And yet I remark'd and set down above Fifty various Lections, though the Editor has taken notice of One only. Now if 40 Epistles can be collated in an Hour and 18 Min. the whole MS, which contains but 127 Epistles, may be collated in Four Hours. The Collator then, had he been diligent, might have finish'd the whole Collation twice over, between Noon and the close of the Evening, when the Book was return'd.

As for the Collator, I am utterly a stranger both to his Person and Character: and have nothing to say to him, but that his Testimony is as useless and imperfect as his Collations. Indeed it's hard to conjecture, to what purpose it is produc'd. The sum of it is<sup>1)</sup> *That the MS was sent for before he had finish'd*; which is confess'd on all Hands. It had been more to the purpose, if he had told us, what he was doing all that time, that the MS was in his Hands. I say, *five or six days*; the Bookseller says<sup>2)</sup>, *a few*; Mr. Boyle, *not nine*. By the shortest account, it now appears,  
 xxvi as I said before, *that he had more Days to compare it in, than he needed to have Hours*. And how did he spend the last Afternoon, which was more than sufficient to do the whole work in? Whether he undertook it for a Reward, or out of Kindness; the Editor was not very much oblig'd to him.

The Bookseller adds further, *That I utterly refus'd to leave the MS with him beyond Saturday, though he beg'd but to have it till Sunday Morning, and engag'd to oblige the Collator, to sit up at it all Saturday Night*. How false and silly this is, the sagacious Readers must needs see and acknowledge. This was spoken on *Saturday at Noon*, by the Bookseller's own Confession. And he had then free leave to keep it, and did keep it till the Evening. And

---

1) P. 7.

2) P. 20.



the whole Collation was but the work of four Hours, as I have proved by Experiment. And yet he has the Face to tell the World, that he would engage the Collator to sit up all Night to finish it: when the Whole might be done from the beginning to the end twice over before Candle-light. Why I would not have spar'd it till *Sunday Morning*, suppose I had been ask'd, there might be several good reasons. I was to take Coach for *Worcester* by Five a Clock on *Monday* morning: And I could have no leisure on *Sunday* to put the Book into the Library; for at that time I liv'd with the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Worcester*<sup>1)</sup> at a good distance from the Library. The Key too of the outward Door was then in custody of another; xxvii who perhaps might not be met with upon *Sunday*. Besides, that there was time enough and to spare before *Saturday Evening*: and what obligation had I to neglect my own Business to humour others in their Laziness?

*But*, he says; *I gave him not the least hopes, that if he applied to me upon my return out of the Country, He should have leave to get the Collation perfected.* That I gave him not any hopes of it by an express promise, I verily believe. For how could I do that, when I was fully perswaded, they would finish the Collation, before I went into the Country? But what he saw in me, that forbad him to hope it, if there should be occasion, I cannot imagin. He knew, the Reason why I then demanded the Book, was my Journey into the Country. I was to make so long a stay there, that it was not fit to expose the Book all that while to the Hazard of being lost. I told the Bookseller then, *that I was to be absent for Two Months*: but it appears now upon Record, that I was Four Months at *Worcester*. And how many Accidents might have happen'd in that time? Should I who was under a Trust, and accountable to God and Man, run such a risk without any Warrant? The Editor and his Witnesses may calumniate as they please: but I wish I could as well justify my lending the MS out, xxviii as my calling it in.

The Bookseller concludes<sup>2)</sup>; *That I made some Reflections from time to time, when he spoke to me from Mr. B.*

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Edward Stillingfleet. — Ed. 1777.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 6.

but considering his Employment, it may not be proper to add an account of them. So that he puts off that piece of work to one Dr. King of the Commons, as the Examiner stiles him. Now what he means by *Reflections*, or what harm there is in making *Reflections*, I do not understand. A Great Person, one of the Examiner's Family<sup>1)</sup>, made a whole Book of *Reflexions*, and I never yet heard it was counted a Crime in him. I am as much to seek too for his Meaning, That his Employment makes it not proper for him to add an account of those *Reflections*. His Employment, as a Bookseller, I think a very reputable one, if He himself be not a Disgrace to't. And if that make it not proper for him to bear false witness against his Neighbour by a pretended account of those *Reflections*: methinks the Profession of the Dr. to whom he refers himself, is more improper for that work. The Dr. indeed by his Profession may be enabled to do it with more Cunning, but he would do it with the greater Crime. But let us hear the Dr's Testimony; the Air and Spirit of it is so very extraordinary; the Virulency and Insolence so far above the common pitch; that it puts one in mind of *Rupilius King*, a great Ancestor of the Dr's, commended to Posterity by *Horace*<sup>2)</sup> under this honourable Character,

*Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum,  
The Filth and Venom of Rupilius King.*

And if the Dr. do not inherit the Estate<sup>3)</sup> of *Rupilius*; yet the whole World must allow, that he is Heir of his Virtues; as his own Writings will vouch for him, his Deposition here against me, his Buffoonry upon the Learned Dr. *Lister*<sup>4)</sup>, and some other Monuments of his Learning and his Morals.

*I have endeavour'd*, says the Dr.<sup>5)</sup> *as far as I can, to recollect what pass'd between Mr. Bennet and Dr. Bentley*

1) P. 3.

2) Horat. Sat. I, 7.

3) The allusion is not exactly to the point, as it is not *Rupilius*, but his adversary *Persius* that is represented as a rich merchant in *Horace's* satire. — W.

4) King had published a humorous piece, entitled *A Journey to London, in the year 1698, after the ingenious method of that made by Dr. Martin Lister to Paris, in the same year &c.*: see it in *King's Original Works*, I. 187. — D.

5) P. 8.

concerning a *MS* of the *Epistles* of *Phalaris*. I cannot be certain, as to *ANY OTHER* Particulars, than that among other things, the *Dr.* said, That if the *MS* were collated, it would be worth nothing for the future. Now the Reader may please to take notice, That the *Dr.* here publicly owns, That he cannot be certain, as to any other Particulars: and yet he endeavour'd to recollect, as far as he could; and the *Scorn*, he says<sup>1</sup>), and *Contempt* which he has naturally for *Pride* and *Insolence*, made him remember that, which otherwise he might have forgot. Now if the Doctor, even whetted with his *Scorn* and *Contempt*, could but call *xxx* to mind *ONE* Particular, and if that Particular have nothing at all in't about *Mr. B.* nor any thing that borders upon *Pride* and *Insolence*; what pretense has he for traducing me here, as a proud and insolent man, and an Abuser of *Mr. Boyle*? If the *Dr.* as he owns, has but *ONE* Particular from his *Memory*, the rest he must have from his *Invention*. I am oblig'd indeed to the *Dr.* for he has effectually disprov'd himself in his own Deposition. For he first declares he knows but *ONE* Particular; and yet presently runs into a Charge, whereof nothing can be made out from that Particular. And would such an Evidence, as this is, pass in *Drs. Commons*? I am much mistaken, if the Worthy Persons, that preside there, would dismiss such a Witness as this without marks of their Dissatisfaction.

To account then for that *One Particular* that the *Dr.* is certain of. The Reader must give me leave to tell him a short story. After I was nominated to the Library-keeper's Office (before the Patent was finish'd) I was inform'd, that *One Copy* of every Book printed in *England*, which were due to the Royal Library by Act of Parliament, had not of late been brought into the Library according to the said Act. Upon this I made application to the Master of the *Stationers Company*, to whom the Act directed me, *xxxi* and demanded the Copies. The effect whereof was, that I procured near a Thousand Volumes of one sort or other, which are now lodg'd in the Library. While this was transacting, I chanc'd to call upon *Mr. Bennet*, (whom I

---

<sup>1</sup>) Ibid.

had several times oblig'd) and acquainted him with it, not questioning, but he would be very ready to comply, as far as his share went; which was then but very little. But to my surprize he answer'd me very pertly, That he knew not what Right the Parliament had to give away any man's Property; that he hop'd the Company of *Stationers* would refuse, and try it out at Law; That they were a Body, and had a common Purse; and more to this purpose. Some little time after, calling there again, upon a fresh discourse about the MS *Phalaris*, which I had formerly promis'd to lend him, as soon as I had power; I ask'd him, Upon what account he could refuse to give the Royal Library its Due settled on it by Act of Parliament; and at the same time expect a Favour out of it, that would make his own Book more vendible, and the MS less valuable? *For after the various Lectons were once taken and printed, the MS would be like a squeez'd Orange, and little worth for the future.* Since therefore he was resolv'd to try the Law against the Library, he ought in justice to present to it some Book of competent value, to make amends for the damage it would sustain by his using the MS.

XXXII

This Discourse I very well remember, and I believe I can bring witness that heard me relate it, long before the Dr's Deposition came abroad; and I take it for certain, that this was the very same Conversation, which Dr. *King* overheard. 'Tis true, there is some small difference in the account: I said, that the MS would be worth *little* for the future; and the Dr. says, *worth Nothing*. But that is no material change, and may be excused in the Dr. who is not over-nice in his Expressions. But do I remember, that the Dr. was present then? no, nor any time else: for I know him not, if I meet him; and perhaps my *Pride and Insolence* might lie in that, that I did not know a Person of such Known Credit in the World.<sup>1)</sup> Allowing then, that this was the *free Conference* (as the Examiner calls it<sup>2)</sup> which the Dr. overheard, I have a few things to observe in the Narrative that he has made of it.

It appears first, that his pert Reflection, which he thought carried such a sting in it, is very silly and insipid.

---

1) P. 5.

2) P. 9.

Which I took the more notice of, says he, because I thought a MS good for nothing, unless it were collated. Wonderfull xxxiii remark, and worthy of such Eves-droppers that are proling<sup>1)</sup> after that which does not concern them, and catch at little scraps of other mens Discourses. 'Tis true, Sir, a MS not collated is upon that account worth nothing to the rest of the World: but to the Owner 'tis the better for it, if a Price was to be set on't. And I think, with submission, that a fresh MS newly brought out of Greece, and never yet printed, would sell for more, *cæteris paribus*, than another already printed. Do you think the *Alexandrian MS* of as great a value now, since the Edition of the *English Polyglot*, as when *Cyril the Greek Patriarch* first presented it to King *Charles the First*? but what do I talk to him of MSS, who has so little relish and sense of such things, as to declare deliberately,<sup>2)</sup> That he does not believe the various Readings of ANY BOOK are so much worth, as that Mr. Boyle should be used so scurvily to obtain them. And this he says, when he is giving Evidence: where all declamings and Rhetorical aggravations above the naked and strict Truth are unlawfull, and border<sup>3)</sup> near upon Perjury. But we must not expect from the Dr. that he should know the worth of Books: for he is better skill'd in the Catalogues of Ales, his<sup>4)</sup> *Humty Dumty, Hugmatee, Three-Threads*, and the rest of that glorious List,<sup>5)</sup> than xxxiv in the Catalogues of MSS.

But, pray, what was that *scurvy usage* that I gave to Mr. Boyle? The Dr. remembers but *ONE Particular*, and that has no relation to Mr. Boyle. I am almost persuaded, that Mr. Boyle's Name was not once mention'd in that Conversation. For this talk was not had the last time, when I call'd for the MS; but long before, when my Patent was not yet past, and before I had the custody of

<sup>1)</sup> This is Bentley's spelling instead of *prowling*. It is of interest for the way in which he may be supposed to have pronounced the word. — W. <sup>2)</sup> P. 8.

<sup>3)</sup> Bentley had first written *is* and *borders*. — W.

<sup>4)</sup> See his *Journey to London*.

<sup>5)</sup> The passage is this: "*He answered me, that he had a thousand such sort of liquors, as 'humtie-dumtie, three-threads, old Pharoah, knockdown, hugmetee'*" &c. — D.

the Library. But suppose Mr. B. was nam'd then, I am sure it must be with Respect. For how could I use him *scurvily* in denying him a MS which was not then in my power to give? Before the time of that discourse, I had promis'd that the MS, when I could come at it, should be at Mr. Boyle's service; and in such words, as Mr. Boyle himself owns to be *expressions of great civility*<sup>1</sup>): That a Gentleman of that Name and Family to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an honour for, might command any service that lay in my power. That I really used these expressions even the Bookseller himself is my Witness: for if it had not been true, he would never have let it be printed, without contradicting it. Now how is it credible, that I should use a man so *civilly*, and yet so  
 XXXV *scurvily* too? A man must be dos'd with *Humty Dumty*, that could talk so inconsistently. And how could I abuse a young Gentleman, whom I had never heard of before, without any provocation, in a public place, and before his own Friends? I dare appeal to any, that ever was acquainted with me, if he think me capable of doing so.

All the discourse then, that the Dr. overheard, had relation only to the Bookseller. Mr. Boyle was sure of the MS, which I had promised before. But I had a mind to make the Bookseller sensible of his ill manners, in denying Justice to the King's Library, at the same time that he ask'd Favours. And I do further declare, that I was but in jest, when I told him, That he should give a Book to the Royal Library, to recompense for the use of the MS: and I had no design in't, but to mortifie him a little for his pertness about going to Law. For when the time came, that I could lend him the MS: he had it freely, without giving to the Library the value of a printed Sermon.<sup>2</sup>) Tho' I remember, when I once told this Story to a very Great Man; his Answer was, That if I was not in earnest, I ought to have been so.

The Bookseller says, *His Employment makes it not proper for him to give an account of the Reflections I made, as*  
 XXXVI *we talk'd about Phalaris.* But I'll help him out for once, and give an account of One, that I very well remember.

1) P. 4, 19.

2) A proverbial expression. — W.

The Bookseller once ask'd me privately, that I would do him the favour to tell my opinion, if the new Edition of *Phalaris*, then in the Press, would be a vendible Book: For he had a concern in the Impression, and hop'd it would sell well: such a great Character being given of it in . . . *Essays*; as made it mightily enquir'd after<sup>1</sup>). I told him, He would be safe enough, since he was concern'd for nothing but the sale of the Book: for the great Names of those that recommended it would get it many Buyers. But however under the Rose, the Book was a spurious piece, and deserv'd not to be spread in the World by another Impression. His *Employment*, it seems, could suffer him to betray this Discourse to some concern'd in the Edition, as I was inform'd from a very good hand; and this I meant, when I said in my former Account, *that it was my hard hap in some private conversation to say, the Epistles were spurious, and unworthy of a new Edition. What influence this might have towards the Civility in the Preface to Phalaris I leave others to judge. But I dare say, this was all the Reflection, that I had ever made at that time, to Mr. Boyle's disadvantage. Si hoc peccare est, fateor.*<sup>2</sup>) If there be no way of gaining his good opinion, but to believe *Phalaris* a good writer, I must needs submit to my Fate, that has excluded me from his Friendship.

Mr. B. is pleased to observe,<sup>3</sup>) *That Mr. Bennet is so little interested in this Dispute, that he may intirely be depended on.* So very little; that the best part of his Interest and his Trade lay at stake. For is not this the plain state of the Case? Mr. Boyle commits the Affair of collating the King's MS to his Bookseller. The Bookseller by his own neglect having failed in his trust, for fear of losing the Gentleman's Favour and Custom, lays the fault upon Me. This occasion'd a private grudge against me, which terminated in an affront in print. I verily believe that the Bookseller did not think at first, that Mr. Boyle would have carried his resentment so high: otherwise per-

<sup>1</sup>) This refers to Sir William Temple's *Essays*. See the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup>) Ter. Andr. V. 3, 25 = 896 Fl. The editions give *id* instead of *hoc*. — W.

<sup>3</sup>) P. 9.

haps he would have invented some other excuse of his negligence. But the Business was afterwards past recalling; and he must go on of necessity, being once engag'd in the Cause. The whole of his Trade and Business seem'd to depend upon Mr. B. and his Friends. The Temptation indeed was strong; and I pray God forgive him.

xxxviii Having now, as I humbly conceive, given a full and satisfactory Answer to all the matters of Fact, that the Examiner's Witnesses lay to my Charge; I am very little concern'd at the Inferences he draws from them, or the Satyr<sup>1)</sup> and Grimace that he plentifully sprinkles. All these must drop of themselves, and fall down upon the Author of them, when the Foundation that they stood on is taken away. But however I shall take some short notice of every thing he has said, that is not intirely included in the Testimonies of his Witnesses.

The Dr. says he,<sup>2)</sup> *seem'd to be satisfy'd and willing to let the Dispute drop, by his not writing to me any further about it, or discoursing Mr. Bennet concerning it, to whom my Letter plainly referr'd him.* The Doctor, 'tis true, was willing to let the Dispute drop; but whether either or both of these Reasons ought to have made Mr. B. suppose I was satisfied, I leave it to the Judgment of those that know good Breeding. I had writ him, as himself owns,<sup>3)</sup> a *very civil* Letter, complaining of the fraud of his Bookseller, and representing the matter quite otherwise than he had told it. After a delay of Two Posts, when the Books were spread abroad in the mean time, I had an Answer giving me leave to take my own Satisfaction, and, as he here says, referring me to discourse with his Bookseller. Now what person of any Courage or Spirit, such xxxix as Innocence always gives one, would either write again to Mr. B. after this repeated Affront, or go with his finger in his eye to tell his Story to the Bookseller, who was the Principal in the Injury? Mr. B. must sure have an odd cast of his Head,<sup>4)</sup> to think that I or any man else would submit to such Indignities. I had done all that became Me in writing him a timely Account of the whole

1) Bentley does not spell *satire*, as D. edits. — W.

2) P. 4.

3) P. 19.

4) P. 106.



Truth with *Expressions of great Civility to him.*<sup>1)</sup> But when I saw the civility of his Answer, which bid me right my self as I pleas'd, and referr'd me to his Bookseller; *I neither thought my Station so little, nor the Editor's so very great, nor the Calumny so terrible, that I should make a second Application after such a repulse.*<sup>2)</sup> I design'd indeed to drop the Dispute; but not because I either own'd or fear'd, but because I despis'd the Detraction; being conscious that it was false, and well knowing, that if ever I pleas'd, I could make the Authors asham'd on't.

Mr. B. has such an affection for Chicanry and Banter, that he cannot abstain from it, when he ought to be most serious. He pretends to draw up a heavy Charge against me; because I say, *the Editors of Phalaris:*<sup>3)</sup> and in another place, *They have collated.*<sup>4)</sup> *How came I, says he, to be multiplied at this rate?* Well, I will submit to the Chastisement of this great *Aristarchus*: though I thought I **XL** might have the common liberty of changing Numbers, which is familiar in all the Languages that I know of either Old or New. Who knows not, that *οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα, οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλη* are often put for *Plato* and *Aristotle* alone? *As certain of your own POETS have said,* says the Apostle:<sup>5)</sup> and yet he meant only *Aratus*. And how often do we say *We*, and yet speak of our selves only; without thinking we are *multiply'd*; or doubled like *Sosia* in *Plautus's Amphitryo*? I do not question but some Examples of this may be found in his own Book, if the matter was worth the search. I am sure, that in another piece of Grimace he is guilty of the very expression, that he would turn to ridicule. I had said, 'Twas a surprize indeed to find there, that our MS was not perused. *Our MS,* says the Examiner,<sup>6)</sup> that is, *His Majesty's and mine. He fancies himself to have some Interest in't. 'Tis like the Ego E Rex meus of Cardinal Wolsey.* Very smart and witty! so that by the same Rule, when Mr. B. himself says,<sup>7)</sup> *& will be very hard upon OUR Sicilian Prince;* we must interpret it *Ego & Phalaris meus, I and my Prince Phalaris.* And when he so often says,<sup>8)</sup> *OUR Critic,* meaning his

<sup>1)</sup> P. 4.<sup>2)</sup> P. 21.<sup>3)</sup> P. 18, 19.<sup>4)</sup> P. 17.<sup>5)</sup> [Act. ap. 17, 28.]<sup>6)</sup> P. 21.<sup>7)</sup> P. 43.<sup>8)</sup> P. 109. 142.

Humble Servant; the World is to take it, That he has some Dominion over me; which is an Honour I am not  
 xli worthy of. And when I my self often say, *OUR Editors*, and *OUR Edition*, Mr. B. by this rule may infer, That I claim a Share and a Concern in his Edition of *Phalaris*: which I should take for a Complement more severe, than any thing he has yet said on me.

There's a certain Temper of Mind, that *Cicero*<sup>1)</sup> calls *PHALARISM*, a Spirit like *Phalaris's*; and one would be apt to imagin that a Portion of it had descended upon some of his Translators. The Gentleman has given a broad hint more than once in his Book, that if I proceed further against *Phalaris*, I may draw perhaps a Duel or a Stab upon my self. Which is a generous Threat, especially to a Divine, who neither carries Arms nor Principles fit for that sort of Controversie. 'Tis the same kind of Generosity, though in a lower Degree, when he forbids<sup>2)</sup> me to meddle with Banter and Ridicule, which even when luckily hit on, are not very suitable to my Character. And yet the sharpest, nay almost the only Arguments that He himself uses, are Banter and Ridicule. So that *We Two*, as he says, must end this Dispute<sup>3)</sup>, but he takes care to allow me none of the Offensive Arms, that himself fights with. These are extraordinary Instances, both of his Candour and his Courage. However I've endeavour'd to take his advice,  
 xlii and avoid all Ridicule, where it was possible to avoid it: and if ever that odd Work of his<sup>4)</sup> has irresistibly mov'd me to a little Jest and Laughter, I am content that what is the greatest Virtue of His Book should be counted the greatest Fault of Mine.

The facetious Examiner seems resolv'd to vye with *Phalaris* himself in the Science of *PHALARISM*. For his Revenge is not satisfied with one single Death of his Adversary, but he will kill me over and over again. He has slain me twice, by two several Deaths, one in the First Page of his Book, and another in the Last. In the Title page I die the Death of *Milo the Crotonian*,

1) *Cic. ad Attic.* VII, 12, [2]. Istum quidem, cujus *Phalaris* σμὸν times, omnia tetricissime facturum puto.

2) P. 285.

3) Præf.

4) P. 68.

——— *Remember Milo's End,*  
*Wedg'd in that Timber, which he strove to rend.<sup>1)</sup>*

The Application of which must be this: That as *Milo* after his Victories at six several Olympiads was at last conquer'd and destroy'd in wrestling with a Tree; so I, after I had attain'd to some small Reputation in Letters, am to be quite baffled and run down by wooden Antagonists. But in the End of his Book, he has got me into *Phalaris's Bull*: and he has the pleasure of fancying that he hears me *begin to Bellow.<sup>2)</sup>* Well; since it's certain then that I am in the Bull, I have perform'd the part of a Sufferer. XLIII For as the Cries of the tormented in Old *Phalaris's Bull*, being conveyed through Pipes lodg'd in the Machine, were turn'd into Music for the Entertainment of the Tyrant: So the Complaints which My Torments express from me, being convey'd to Mr. *B.* by this Answer, are all dedicated to his Pleasure and Diversion. But yet methinks when he was setting up to be *Phalaris Junior*, the very Omen of it might have deterr'd him. For as the Old Tyrant himself at last *bellow'd* in his own Bull; so his Imitators ought to consider, that at long run<sup>3)</sup> their own Actions may chance to overtake them.

But 'tis not enough for him that I die a Bodily Death, unless my Reputation too die with me. He accuses me of one of the meanest and basest of Actions; *That when Sir Edward Sherburn put a MS into my Hands, to get it publish'd by Mr. Grævius; desiring me to let him know from whom he had it, that he might make an honourable mention of him; I conceal'd the kindness of Sir Edward, and took the Honour of it to my self, so that the Book was dedicated to Me, and not one word said of Him:* This is both a very black and a very false Accusation, and yet I own I am neither sorry nor surpriz'd to see it in Print. Not sorry, XLIV because I can so fully confute it, that with all ingenuous Readers it will turn to my Applause. Not surpriz'd, because I expected such usage from the Spirit of *PHALARISM*. I am morally sure, that the very Persons that printed

<sup>1)</sup> This motto is from *Roscommon's Essay of Translated verse*, 1681. For *Milo's* death see *Strabo* VI. 263. *Pausan.* VI. 4. 3. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 290.

<sup>3)</sup> We say now in the long run. — W.

this Story, knew I could give a good Answer to't: for I heard of it by some Common Friends some time before it was printed, who, I question not, gave them an account how I justified my self. But however, it seems, they would not lay aside this Calumny: for as in War sometimes 'tis an useful Stratagem to spread a false Report, though it certainly must be disprov'd in two or three days; so here it was thought a serviceable falshood, if it could be credited for a few Months. Besides, that it's the old Rule, to accuse strenuously, and something will stick: and 'tis almost the same thing with Men's Reputations, as with their Lives, He that is prodigal of his own, is Master of another Man's.

\* I had prepar'd a new Edition of *Manilius*; which design being known abroad occasion'd my Acquaintance with Sir *Edward Sherburn*, who had formerly translated the First Book of that Poet into English Verse, and explain'd it with a large Commentary. He had got together some old and scarce Editions which he courteously lent  
 XLV me; and besides those, he had purchas'd at *Antwerp* by the means of a Bookseller a whole Box full of Papers of the Famous *Gasper Gevartius's*, who undertook an Edition of the same Poet, but was prevented by Death. All this Mass of Papers he desir'd me to look over, if perhaps I might find any thing that was useful to the Public. Among the Remains of *Gevartius*, I found nothing of any moment. But there was one Treatise about *Theodorus Mallius* written in another hand, but without any name to't, which I thought to be considerable. And by good fortune among a Parcel of Letters, I met with One written in the same Hand with that Treatise, and subscrib'd *A. R.* and I easily guess'd by the Contents of the Letter, that they meant *ALBERTUS RUBENIUS*.<sup>1)</sup> This gave me a certain discovery of the true Author of that Treatise; and I immediately waited on Sir *Edward*, and gave him an Account of it; desiring him either to send it to *Oxford*, to be printed among some Miscellanies; or to *Utrecht* to the Learned Mr. *Grævius*;

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Albert Rubens*, son of the great painter, wrote on the dress of the Romans, particularly the *laticlave*. His treatise is found in *Graevius' Thesaurus*. See *Hallam*, Literary History IV p. 13. — W.

who having printed some Posthumous Works of the same *Albertus Rubenius*, was the properest Hand to convey This to the World. The latter proposal being embrac'd, I wrote to *Holland* to Mr. *Grævius*, giving a Narrative of the whole, and promising in the name of Sir *Edward*, that if Mr. *Grævius* would undertake the Edition, I would presently send him the Book. Within no long time, I receiv'd an Answer from Mr. *Grævius*; where among other things, says he, *Pray present my Humble Service to that Learned and Noble Gentleman Sir Edward Sherburn; and if he pleases to commit Rubenius to my Care, I will immediately put it to the Press, and let the Learned World know to whose Kindness they are oblig'd, I had never heard of his Commentary upon the first Book of Manilius: but since you give such a Character of it, I am sure it must needs be Good, and therefore I will purchase it.* I show'd this Letter to Sir *Edward*, and so the Book was sent to *Holland* by a safe hand. XLVI

The very next Letter that I receiv'd from Mr. *Grævius*, was accompanied with half a Dozen Printed Copies of *Rubenius*. I was much surprized to see the Book printed so soon; but more, when I saw a Dedication to my self; which was an Honour that I should not have expected, if I had been not only the Discoverer, but the Possessor too of the MS. But it troubled me exceedingly, when I found not the least mention of Sir *Edward Sherburn* there; and I express'd my concern about it to several Friends. Particularly the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Norwich*,<sup>1)</sup> whom I do my self the Honour to name here, will bear me witness, how extremely I was concern'd at it, when I presented him one of the Copies. And some time after, when his Lordship sent to Mr. *Grævius* by my means a Collation of the *Philosophical Works* of *Cicero* from a very Ancient and Excellent MS (for as his Lordship has one of the Best Libraries of *England*, so he is as free in communicating it) I appeal to Mr. *Grævius* himself, who has yet perhaps that Letter by him, If I did not wish him to take care, not to ascribe that Favour to Me; and not to forget to XLVII

---

1) Dr. John Moore, translated to Ely in 1707. His Mss. were much used by Davis and others, and are at present in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. — W.

name his Lordship, as he had formerly forgot Sir *Edward Sherburn*. Another of the Copies of *Rubenius* I presented to Sir *Edward* himself; and both lamented to him and excused Mr. *Grævius*'s over-sight, that he had dedicated that to Me, which was rather due to Sir *Edward*. As for myself, I had no manner of need to make Apology to Sir *Edward*, since he had read Mr. *Grævius*'s own Letter, where he voluntarily promis'd to make honourable mention of him; and would certainly have done it, if the multiplicity of his Studies and other Affairs had not quite struck it out of his mind. I might appeal to Sir *Edward*'s own Memory for the truth of all this: but that his exceeding old Age and the Infirmities that attend it make him an incompetent Witness:<sup>1)</sup> and upon that account I heartily excuse and forgive him All, that His Weakness has furnish'd to the Malice of some others.

The examiner has represented, as if the Good Word that Mr. *Grævius* has been pleas'd publicly to give me, was solely bottom'd<sup>1)</sup> upon that, which I falsely assum'd to myself, the Publication of *Rubenius*. 'Tis necessary therefore to give the Reader here as much of that Dedication as concerns Me and that Affair; that he may see whether such a Stress is laid upon that Favour, as if that belong to another man, my little Reputation must all drop with it.

Viro Cl. *Richardo Bentleio* S. P. D.

*Joannes Georgius Grævius.*

*Redit ad te, quam mihi dono miseras, Alberti Rubenii commentatio de Theodoro Mallio sane quam docta & polita. Pro qua cum illam tecum communicare voluisti, non possum non tibi & meo & rei literariæ nomine gratias agere publice. Plurimum igitur tibi debebunt manes Rubenii, si quis manium sensus est, qui tam egregiam ejus diatriben ex tenebris, in quibus, absque te fuisset, perpetuo quasi sepulta jacuisset, in dias luminis auras protraxisti. — Nec manes tantum Rubenii, sed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro hoc in se merito devinxisti. Hi nunc tuas curas in Manilium, Hesychium, aliosque Scriptores desiderant & expectant cupide. Nam eru-*

<sup>1)</sup> He was born Sept. 18, 1618, and died Nov. 4, 1702. — Ed. 1777.

<sup>2)</sup> Rather an antiquated expression for *founded* or *based*. — W.

*ditissima illa Epistola, quam subtexuisti*<sup>1)</sup> *Malalæ Chronicis, tam multa recondita nos docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii commoverit. Nihil nobis longius est, nihil desideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum spem fecisti cum publice omnibus, tum mihi de tuis in Callimacho animadversionibus, quarum pulcherrimum Specimen mihi misisti. Hanc ut propediem expleas, Vir Eximie, Deum precor, ut salvus, incolumis, felix ætatem agas, meque tui studiosissimum amore pergas.*

Now the whole, that Mr. Grævius says here or could say of me in relation to the publishing *Rubenius*, is this, *That himself in Particular, and all the Lovers of Polite Learning, and the very Author Rubenius (if the Dead have any knowledge of what's done here) give me thanks for retrieving the MS.* But for the rest of the Dedication, I humbly conceive, the Character he has there given of me has another foundation. I implore here the Reader's Candour, that he would not believe me so vain, as to assume the Commendations, that Mr. Grævius and some other eminent Persons have given me, (to encourage, as I suppose, my <sup>L</sup> Beginnings), as if they really were deserv'd by me. But I mention them here on this occasion, to shew that some of the Learnedst Men of the Age have either more Candour or another kind of Judgment, than Mr. B. and his Party. Mr. B. is pleas'd somewhere to send me to *Hermogenes's Chapter*,<sup>2)</sup> *Περὶ τοῦ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαυνεῖν, How a man may commend himself, without Envy or Fulsonness.* And I find there, that one may safely do it, *when Detraction and Calumny make it necessary.*

Nay I may freely say, that I deserve almost as well of the Memory of *Rubenius*; as if all the Honour, which they pretend I rob'd Sir Edward of, had been truly my own. Neither is there one single Word, that Mr. Grævius says of Me with respect to *Rubenius*, that is not literally true. For it was I that communicated the MS to him; It was I that brought it out of that Darkness, where without

1) Graevius wrote *subtexuisti*: see Ded. to Rub. Diss. &c. 1694. 12 mo. — D.

2) Hermog. p. 429. [περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος 25. vol. II. p. 446 Spengel.]

*Me it might have been buried for ever.* For Sir *Edward* had been Possessor of *Gervatius's* Papers for several Years; but he knew no more of that Treatise, and especially who was the Author of it, than if it never had been written. Nay, if I had been such a Plagiary, as Mr. *B.* would traduce me for, I had it wholly in my Power, not only to rob Sir *Edward*, but *Rubenius* Himself of the Honour of that Treatise. For Sir *Edward* entrusted me with the whole Box of Papers, whereof he knew little or nothing, without either Numbering or Weighing them. So that I could easily have kept back that little Treatise without giving him any notice of it, and have publish'd it afterwards as my own Work. And this alone is a sufficient Disproof of this malicious Calumny. For how is it credible, since I was so ingenuous, as to make Discovery of a Paper, which I could have conceal'd as my own; that at the same time I could be so senselessly dishonest, as to seek to rob him of that Little Honour of being Master of another Man's Work many Years without knowing what is was?

When I first met with this Accusation in Print, it seem'd the easiest way of confuting it, To produce Mr. *Grævius's* Letter; where in answer to mine he had thank'd Sir *Edward* for the hopes he had given him of the MS, and promis'd to do him right in the publication. So that presently I look'd among my Papers, but to my grief I could not find it by the most diligent search. The next thing was, to produce my own Letter to Mr. *Grævius*, where I my self had made *honourable mention* of Sir *Edward* and his intended kindness. But I had not that Letter in my Power; for I writ that, as I do others, but once over, without keeping any Copy of it. The only reserve then that I had left, was to write to Mr. *Grævius*; and to desire a Copy of his Former Letter, if perhaps he had a Transcript of it; or that he would send me either a Copy or the Original of My Letter, if such a Trifle, by good providence, should still be in Being; or at least that he would now do me right by a new Letter, since he could not but remember, when put in mind of it, that I had sent him *Rubenius*, as Sir *Edward Sherburn's* Book, and of as my own. And in answer I received a Letter, part no which I here publish without varying a word. And I



must own my self oblig'd to Mr. B. that he was pleas'd to start this Calumny so early, while all the Parties are still alive to disprove it.

Joannes Georgius Grævius, S. P. D.

Richardo Bentleio,——

*Literis tuis, quas Februario superiore dedisti ad me, quamvis nihil iis acceptius & optatius mihi potuit afferri, serius respondeo; non quod immemor fuerim officii, sed quod Epistolam illam, qua nonnulla fragmentis Callimachi adjici volebas, quæ ego Proœmio inserui, cum jam omnia cætera typis essent descripta, diu frustra quæsi. Nec enim exputare possum, unde illa, quæ tua negas esse, excerpserim. Itaque non putabam me ante tibi posse satisfacere, quam illam LIII inspexissem Epistolam, & num me mei oculi, aut memoria fefellerit, inde cognovissem. Quamvis vero mihi non perierit, qui omnia tua custodio diligentius nigris uvis,<sup>1)</sup> nescio tamen in quem se angulum Bibliothecæ abdiderit, ex quo nondum potuit erui. Nunc visa tua novissima Epistola, quam pridie, cum ex itinere menstruo fere domum revertissem, inveni domi meæ; diutius cessandum non duxi. Ad priores, pro quibus tibi δίδαστρον debeo, brevi respondebo. Jam ad has, quas XXIX Aprilis exarasti, hæc habe.*

*In literis, quas Londini in ædibus Episcopi Wigorniensis scripseras IV Julii 1692 hæc tu ad me. «Est<sup>2)</sup> apud nos «Edvardus Sherburnus, Eques Auratus, qui librum primum «Manilii Anglice vertit, & commentario doctissimo auxit. Is «abhinc annis aliquot apparatus Gasp. Gevartii ad Manilium «ab ejus hærede emit Antwerpæ, mihiq; non ita pridem, quem «novam ejus Scriptoris editionem parare inaudiverat, schedas «Gevartianas perlegendi copiam fecit. Comperi autem virum «Clarissimum omnem operam in eo posuisse, non qui Manilii «textum corrigeret, vel illustraret, sed qui infelicem suam (mea «quidem sententia) conjecturam de Theodoro Mallio Cos. quem «Astronomici auctorem esse voluit, adversus Barthos & Sal- LIV «masios & Tristanos & Possinos defenderet. Nihil tamen «in medium profert, quod momenti habeat quicquam ad opinionem suam stabiliendam, præterquam quæ dudum in lucem*

<sup>1)</sup> An allusion to Catull. 17, 16. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> I omit as unnecessary the various readings given by D. — W.

«ediderat in Papinianis & Variis Lectionibus<sup>1)</sup>. Itaque cum  
 «toties repetita crambe mihi fastidium moveret, mirifice tamen  
 «recreatus sum aureolis duabus Epistolis, quæ in isto char-  
 «tarum fasce latitabant, quæque celeberrimum Grævii nomen  
 «ferebant inscriptum. Illud vero me perculisse fateor, quod  
 ad Gevartii sententiam de ætate Manilii videris accedere. Et  
 quæ sequuntur de hac opinione Gevartii, quam damnas.  
 Post hæc addis: Erat autem præterea quod me Adversaria  
 «ista versantem non mediocri voluptate affectit, Dissertatio  
 «scilicet bene longa & perquam erudita de vita Fl. Mallii  
 «Theodori Cos. auctore, ut casu comperi, Alberto Rubenio,  
 «cujus Opuscula Posthuma te obstetricante in lucem prodie-  
 «runt. Hanc meo judicio minime dignam, quæ cum blattis  
 «& tineis diutius conflictetur, curabo tibi mittendam, si ejus  
 «Editionem te procuraturum fore polliceris; & quidem vel  
 «una cum aliis quibusdam, vel etiam sola non incommode  
 «edi poterit.

Hæc ἀπολογεῖ in Epistola tua, ex quibus luce meridiana  
 LV clarius patet, non tuam, sed meam culpam esse, quod, cum  
 Commentationem Rubenianam ederem, non meminerim hujus  
 Epistolæ, & propterea non debitas gratias persolverim Viro  
 Nobilissimo Edvardo Sherburno pro communicato cum utro-  
 que nostrum hoc Rubenii libello. Ipse aut negligentiam aut  
 oblivionem meam detestor, & culpam deprecor. Meæ respon-  
 sionis nullum servavi exemplum, æque ut nec aliarum. Illud  
 memini me Sherburni Manilium, quem ex tua Epistola cognovi  
 plane mihi ante ignotum, sæpe desiderasse.

Vale, ———<sup>2)</sup> & tibi persuade, te doctos omnes viros  
 maximi facere, rumpantur ut ilia Codris<sup>3)</sup>; sed neminem esse  
 qui te majoris faciat, & magis æstimet quam ego te facio.

After this Letter of Mr. Grævius's I suppose there  
 needs nothing more to silence this sorry Calumny. He  
 has exscrib'd the Words of my own Letter, which in the  
 plainest expressions declare, *That the MS was Sir Edward  
 Sherburn's; that he had lent me it to read over; and if Mr.  
 Grævius would promise to publish it, it should be put into his  
 Hands.* And though he has no Transcript of that Letter,

<sup>1)</sup> Ad Statii silvas 3, 8. p. 186. Voss. Aristarch. II. de  
 arte gramm. cap. XXVI. p. 272. — R.

<sup>2)</sup> The words omitted here are «Vir magne». — D.

<sup>3)</sup> [Verg. ecl. 7, 26.]

which he sent me in answer to Mine, where he return'd Sir *Edward* Thanks, and promis'd to do it publicly; yet he very well remembers it, and upon the whole avers, LVI  
*That it was His Fault and not Mine, that Sir Edward was not mention'd; and he asks pardon for the omission, whether it happen'd through Negligence or through Forgetfulness.*

The first part of Mr. *Grævius's* Letter relates to another Affair that Mr. *B.* is not concern'd in: and yet it is not so wide from the present Case, as not to deserve a place here. Mr. *Grævius* in his *Præface* to the late Edition of *Callimachus* has these words: *In epigrammate XLIX Bentleianæ συναγωγῆς,*<sup>1)</sup> *versum secundum sic legendum esse postea nobis scripsit celeberrimus Bentleius, Τῷ ῥα μένων αἰγᾶν οὐ χαδιμᾶσ' ὁ Κύκλωψ. & sic vertendum*

*Illic manens capras non dimisit Cyclops.*

*Hoc est, gregem non dimisit ex pascuis suo tempore. Τῷ ῥα, Hesych. Τῷ ῥα, διὸ δῆ. Idem Τό ῥα, ὅπερ δῆ.*

When I read this passage first, it was a very great surprize, to find a Correction ascribed to Me, as communicated by my own Letter; which I could not remember one Syllable of, and which in every part of it is quite against my own Judgment. As the first word *Τῷ ῥα* is falsly translated *Illic*; and the Translation is falsly justified out of *Hesychius*. For *Hesychius* interprets it *διὸ δῆ*, i. e. *Quamobrem*; and *ὅπερ δῆ* i. e. *Quod quidem*: and what do those two words relate to *Illic*? Then the third word *Αἰγᾶν* LVII seems to be set there as a *Doricism* for *Αἰγῶν*: But the *Dorians* never turn *ων* into *αν* in that Declension: for they say *τᾶν φρενῶν*, not *τᾶν φρενᾶν*.<sup>2)</sup> And the Fifth word *χαδιμᾶσ'* has no fewer than three faults in it; first it should be accented *καδῆμασε*, and not *χαδιμᾶσε*: then the Syllable *δι* here is made short in the Measure: but it's always long, as appears in *Aristophanes* and others: then it's translated here *dimisit*, *Dismiss'd*; but it truly signifies *demisit*; *he let down by a Rope*. Besides all these verbal faults, the whole sentence is flat, and unworthy of *Callimachus*. I declare there-

<sup>1)</sup> See the epigram and the various conjectures in O. Schneider's edition of *Callimachus* vol. I. p. 89. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> See Porson on Eurip. *Hecuba* 1053. Ahrens de dial. dor. §. 30. — W.

fore that I never wrote this, and I utterly disown the whole. And in the Copies that I presented soon after the publication to some Right Honourable Persons, whom I will not name upon so slight an occasion, they will find my Name in that place blotted out, and the Correction left to its unknown Author.

- This mistake of Mr. *Grævius*'s was one of the subjects of that Letter of mine, which he answers here in the first Paragraph of His. He says, *He sought a long time for that Letter, where (as he thought) I gave direction to insert this Emendation: but it could no where be found.*
- LVIII No wonder indeed, that it was sought in vain; for there was no such Letter written by Me. But Mr. *Grævius*, as it seems, by a very natural and very pardonable failing had forgot who it was, that had sent him that Correction. He might have a Schedule of it inclos'd in a Letter; and if the Letter and the Schedule were parted, 'twas a very easie mistake to ascribe it to a wrong Author. And I heartily excuse this little oversight in that excellent Person; as I doubt not but he will excuse this freedom that I publicly disclaim that Correction. For as his incomparable Learning will not allow the least suspicion, that the Correction could be his own; so his singular Ingenuity and Candor will allow me the liberty to renounce what is not Mine. But I would crave leave to make two Inferences from this, with relation to the Examiner. First, I humbly conceive, here's a case exactly parallel with that of *Sir Edward Sherburn's*. And if such a mistake happen'd without my knowledge in the Edition of *Callimachus*; the same thing might happen in the Edition of *Rubenius*. And Secondly, we have a singular instance here of Mr. *B's* great Capacity to be a Censurer of my Writings; who, though he read (as appears from his Book) my Notes on *Callimachus*, and my Dissertation on *Jo. Antiochensis*, on purpose to find faults in them, was not able to discover the Mistakes of this Passage, that lay so thick and so open.
- LIX I cannot omit this opportunity of correcting and explaining one of the Epigrams of that Poet;<sup>1)</sup>

1) Callim. Epig. li. [= XLVIII, vol. I p. 91 ed. O. Schneider; see also his excursus ib. p. 439. sq. — W.]

Τὴν ἀλήν Εὐδημος, ἐφ' ἧς ἅλα λιτὸν ἐπελθὼν

Χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγεν δανέων,  
Θῆκε θεοῖς Σαμόθραξι· λέγων ὅτι τήνδε κατ' εὐχὴν,  
Ὡ λαοί, σωθεῖς ἐξ ἁλὸς ὡδ' ἔθετο.

Where the MS Reading ἐπελθὼν betray'd not only my self, but the most Ingenious and Learned Madam *Daciere* into a mistake. We took ἅλα here to mean the *Sea*, and consequently ἀλήν a *Ship*: and the *Samothracian Gods* seem'd to require that Interpretation, for they were suppos'd to deliver from Storms at Sea. But I have since discover'd, that the Epigram has quite another meaning. Ἀλή signifies a *Salt-seller*,<sup>1)</sup> and ἅλα *Salt*. And the first Verse is to be corrected thus:

Τὴν ἀλήν Εὐδημος, ἐφ' ἧς ἅλα λιτὸν ἐπέσθων.

And the whole to be thus translated:

*Salinum Eudemus, in quo salem tenuem comedens*

*Procellas magnas effugit usurarum,*

*Donavit Diis Samothracibus; dicens, quod hoc ex voto,*

*O populi, servatus à sale hic posuit.*

*Eudemus* here in the Epigram, owing a great many Debts, paid them off by living sparingly upon Bread and Salt, the Diet of poor People: and in memory of it he dedicated his **LX** Salt-seller to the *Samothracian Gods*. The Epigram is very ingenious, and the Humour of it lies in the double meaning of ἀλήν and ἅλα and ἁλὸς, and the likeness of ἐπέσθων to ἐπελθὼν, and of δανέων to ἀνέμων. And the whole is a *Parodia*. *Suidas*<sup>2)</sup> quotes a part of it, and from him I had the hint of this true and certain Explication. Ἐπεσθων, says he, ἐπεσθίων, εὐωχούμενος. Τὴν ἀλήν Εὐδημος, ἐφ' ἧς ἅλα λιτὸν ἐπέσθων χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγε θῆκε θεοῖς Σαμόθραξιν. The word δανέων is omitted in *Suidas*; but there's no question now but it's the true Reading. If Mr. B. when he search'd my Writings to pick holes in them, had but corrected this one Epigram; which none of us, that were concern'd in *Callimachus*, then understood; he had done himself more true Honour by this single Improvement, as slight as it is, than he has done by his whole Book.

<sup>1)</sup> An amusing spelling instead of *salt-cellar*. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> I. 1333 ed. Gaisf. — D.

But to return to the affair of Sir *Edward Sherburn*; the Examiner now proceeds to fortifie his Accusation, and secure it against all Exceptions. *But Grævius*, says he<sup>1)</sup>, *it may be was in fault, and forgot to do Sir Edward justice.* Is it so then? *May it be that Mr. Grævius* was in fault? Had I not reason to say above, that I was well assur'd

LXI the Authors of this Calumny were conscious, that the Blame was Mr. *Grævius's*? And is not this Fencing and Supposing of theirs a plain indication of it? *But 'tis hardly to be imagin'd*, says he, *that Grævius could forget it, had the Dr. told him plainly, that the MS was put into his hands under that express condition.* True indeed! if Mr. *Grævius* had no more business on his Hands, than the Examiner and his Assistant have. But a Man that considers both the great Variety and great Importance of Mr. *Grævius's* Own Affairs, would not wonder, if he had forgot, not only to mention Sir *Edward Sherburn*, (whom he had never heard of but once in my Letter;) but to publish the very MS it self. But with the Examiner's good leave, there was no need at all either of *intimating it slightly* or *telling it plainly* to Mr. *Grævius*. He does not want any Spur to make him own his Obligations. I had no occasion to make either slight or broad *Intimations*, what Sir *Edward* expected: for Mr. *Grævius* had promis'd of his own accord, before the Book was sent him, that he would do Sir *Edward* justice. 'Tis true, I cannot produce Mr. *Grævius's* Letter, because I have unfortunately lost it, and He has no Transcript of it. But the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Norwich*, who gives me leave to say this in his Name, remembers very well, that I shew'd him the Letter, and that Mr. *Grævius* there return'd his Thanks to Sir *Edward*, and promis'd to inform the World who it was that oblig'd it.

LXII *But suppose*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *the omission lay wholly at Grævius's Door, why did not the Dr. send immediately to Sir Edward to excuse it?* See here the true Spirit of *PHALARISM*. 'Tis no matter, whether a thing be true or false, so it make for their purpose. I did more than *send*, for I *went* immediately to Sir *Edward* to excuse it; which by his carriage then and some time after I thought I had

1) P. 16.

2) P. 16.

done effectually; and I presented him then with one of the Copies Mr. *Grævius* had sent me. Nay I am morally sure, it was in that very Book, which I had given him, that he enter'd the *Memorandum*, which the Examiner produces.<sup>1)</sup>

And why, says he,<sup>2)</sup> did not the Dr. take care to have this Neglect repair'd in the next *Holland Journal*? A most wonderful expedient! 'Twas a thing indeed of great consequence to the World, to know whose Box it was that had preserv'd the MS. And yet as mean as the Thing was, and as little as the Honour of it was; I had resolv'd and engag'd to Sir *Edward* to do him that Right in a fitter place, than a *Holland Journal*. I had then prepar'd a *Manilius* for the Press, which had been publish'd already, LXIII had not the dearth of Paper, and the want of good Types, and some other occasions hinder'd. And I assur'd Sir *Edward*, that in that Book I would make him amends for Mr. *Grævius*'s omission. For I had occasion there to have thank'd him upon another account, which I will now mention, that I may by quite out of his Debt. Among those Papers I found a Discourse of the Learned *Godefridus Wendelinus*'s about the Age of the Poet *Manilius*. There were two Copies of it, one by *Wendelinus*'s own hand, and the other by *Gevartius*'s: and Sir *Edward* was pleas'd to give me one of them; because I purpos'd either to print the whole or give an Extract of it in my Edition of *Manilius*. I return him here my Acknowledgments for it; but let *Manilius* come out when it will, the World I believe will excuse me, if I think I have now paid as much as I owe him.

The Examiner goes on in the honourable work of false Accusation. A *Foreigner*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> of great Note complain'd how ill the Dr. had used him in a case near resembling *Mine*: which not yet having his leave for it, I do not think my self at liberty to publish. The short of which is, That some body complain'd of something which Mr. B. will not tell. I must own, when I read such stuff as this set out in the Name of Mr. B. I am forc'd to suspect, do LXIV what I can, that there are more Forgeries than *Phalaris*'s Letters. Mr. B. must forgive me, if I think this Paragraph more becomes the *Humty Dumty* Author, than a Gentleman

1) P. 15.

2) P. 16.

3) P. 14.

of Sense and Honour. If such loose and general Accusations must pass for Evidence, who can be Innocent? When the Examiner is *at liberty to publish* this Story, I make no question but I shall prove it as false, as his Calumny about Sir *Edward*. In the mean time he has shown his Proficiency in the noble Science of Detraction, when under pretense of saying Nothing he says more than All. For he insinuates a blind story about *something* and *some body*, which the Reader is to guess at, and make as black as he pleases. I remember, a certain Foreigner, whose Name I have now forgot, made the modest and reasonable Demand, that I would give him the *Alexandrian* MS to his Lodgings to be collated quite through, which would require half a Year's constant labour. It was pretty hard to keep one's Countenance at so senseless a Proposal: however I gave him a civil Answer, why I thought the Favour could not be allow'd him. If this be the *Man that complain'd to Mr. B. how ill I had used him*, as the Circumstances make it probable: I do not envy Mr. B. the honour of his Acquaintance of *Great Note*.

LXV *But another, it seems, applied to Dr. Bentley for a sight of the Alexandrian MS, and met with no other Answer, but that the Library was not fit to be seen.* Here's another general Accusation without naming the Person, and upon that account not easie to be disprov'd: but however it has the common Fate of all his Stories and Arguments, That they are false and so may be turn'd upon Himself. For ever since I came to St. James's, I have constantly kept that MS in my own Lodgings, for this very Reason, *That Persons might see it, without seeing the Library.* I believe there are a Hundred now in *England*, that have seen the MS since I had the Custody of it; and I appeal to all their Memories, if they did not see it in my Lodgings, and not in the Library.

But let us see the Examiner's Comment upon't;<sup>1)</sup> *A pretty excuse, says he, (that the Library was not fit to be seen) for a Library-keeper to make, who had been four Years in that service.* That I could not make this excuse for not shewing the *Alexandrian* MS, I suppose, it's already suf-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 15.



ficiently clear. But I will own, that I have often said and lamented, *That the Library was not fit to be seen*. If he thinks this such a reproch to the Library-keeper, he has free liberty to make the best on't.<sup>1)</sup> But upon whom LXVI would this Reflection fall, were it really a matter of Reproch? Our keen Examiner should look before him a little; and not blindly throw about his Abuses, without minding whom they will hit. If the Room be too mean, and too little for the Books; if it be much out of Repair; if the Situation be inconvenient; if the Access to it be dishonourable; is the Library-keeper to answer for't? Would he have *Me in the Four years of that service* to have erected a new Library at my own Charge? But there's nothing really to be blam'd here, but the Examiner's Pertness. For the Expences and Toils of a long War are but too just an Excuse, that the thoughts of a New Library were not part of the Public Cares: but there's no question, but a few years of Peace under His Majesty's most Happy Government will set us above this Reproch.

These, I think, are all the Personal Accusations in the Examiner's Preamble; let us now take a short view of his Complaints against my Book. The first is, That I insinuate there, That the Translation of *Phalaris* was not his Own; for I said, it was *ascrib'd* to him, and his *Name was set to the Edition*, and the *Faults in't were no Disparagement to Him, but to his Teachers*; and I call them in the Plural Number *Editors, Annotators, and Great Genius's*. These are all the Passages in my Book, that are or can LXVII be brought to make out this Inditement. Now the two first of these Expressions are very far from affirming, that he was not the true Author. For this present Book is *ascrib'd* to Me, and my Name is *set to the Edition*, and yet I assure him, 'tis my Own. It must be the Third then of those Phrases, *That the Faults were a disparagement to his Teachers*, which must imply they were not His. But with humble submission, whether this Inference be His or his Teachers, 'tis a weak one. For he Himself owns, That he was then very young, and not only had a *Tutor*, but a *Director of his Studies*; and in that case the *Faults* might

1) Bentley uses *on* for *of*. See Abbott, l. c. §. 180-183. — W.

be really his Own, but the *Disparagement* Theirs that suffer'd them to pass. In his Dedication there he tells the Tutor, that he was<sup>1)</sup> *assisted by him in the Work*: and in his Preface here he says, *The Director was consulted by him upon ANY Difficulty*. After such a public Declaration, the World will still be of my Opinion, That both the Tutor and the Director were accountable for the Faults in *Phalaris*, though they were really the Pupil's. Mr. B. indeed in his Preface here seems to excuse the Tutor; for he declares,<sup>2)</sup> *That excepting the Director, no one had a hand in't; nay*  
 LXVIII *scarce a line, says he, was ever seen by any body else as I know of, till it was finish'd*. But if this be so, how came he to thank the Tutor for *assisting the work*? Let the Reader please to try, if he can bring these two Passages to meet; for my own part, I have seen so many Contradictions between the Latin *Phalaris* and the English *Examination*, that I dare not attempt to reconcile them. But Mr. B. himself offers to do it, when he tells us,<sup>3)</sup> that the Tutor *might otherwise assist him in the Edition, than by collating MSS, translating the Text, and writing Comments*. True; he might so: he might be at some charge of the Printing, and make the Book his worthy New-years-gift to the Scholars of his House. But Mr. B. here answers to a Question, that never was ask'd him. For the Query is not, whether the Tutor was to *Translate* or *Comment*; but whether he was not to *Revise* and *Correct*.

Since it's hard therefore to believe both Passages together, I had rather believe the *English* one, That the Tutor *had no hand* in the Version of *Phalaris*. For the World will own, that he has more Wit, more Learning, and more Judgment, than to let such a Translation go through his Hands. Much less can I think him concern'd in the *English Examination*, which is the faultiest Book in its kind (which is *Critical*) that has appear'd upon the  
 LXIX Theatre of Learning this<sup>4)</sup> Two Hundred Years. If my Answer here do not shew it to be so, let not this Character be regarded: but I know already by Experiment, that the best Judges are satisfied I have prov'd it so; and the rest

1) Opus tua ope adjutum.

2) Præf. p. 5.

3) P. 199.

4) See Mätzner II 2. p. 233,  $\beta\beta$  note. — W.

of the World will by degrees follow their Sentiment. I must own therefore, that the deserv'd Reputation of the Tutor acquits him from all Suspicion, that he had a hand in the *Examination*. There is only one thing, that his Friends want and desire in him, That he would not suffer some under his Discipline, by entering into a kind of Faction in behalf of a very sorry Book, give<sup>1)</sup> occasion to a Rumor that nearly concerns His and the whole Societie's Honour.

As for the *Director of Studies*, I entirely agree with Mr. B. that he might consult Him upon ANY Difficulty; and yet all the Errors of the Version might pass him, or be made by him. He is of the same size for Learning with the late Editor<sup>2)</sup> of the *Æsopian Fables*. If they can but make a tolerable Copy of Verses with two or three small faults in it, they must presently set up to be Authors; to bring the Nation into contempt abroad, and Themselves into it at home. This *Director* is He, who has lately set out *Ovid's Metamorphoses*<sup>3)</sup> with a Paraphrase and Notes: which I did but once dip in, and presently found these two Instances of his great Sense and Learning. The passages are in the Speech of *Ulysses*,<sup>4)</sup>

*Cuius equos pretium pro nocte poposcerat hostis,  
Arma negate mihi, fueritque benignior Ajax.*

That is, Dolon was to have Achilles's Horses for being Scout one single Night: I that took and defeated Dolon, demand but Achilles's Armour, which is of far less value than his Horses. If you deny me That, fuerit benignior Ajax, even Ajax himself, as much as he is my Enemy, would reward my services more generously. But the Director thus paraphrases it; *FUERITQUE BENIGNIOR AJAX. Sitque melius de vobis meritis Ajax, quam ego.* But how comes *benignior*

<sup>1)</sup> Dyce wrongly adds *to* before the infinitive. Comp. Ben Jonson, *Sejanus* III 1: *suffer him speak no more*, quoted by Abbott § 349. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> Anthony Alsop, who published, at Oxford, in 1698, *fabularum Aesopicarum delectus*; he sneers at Bentley in the Preface and alludes to the Refusal of the MS. *Phalaris* in the concluding fable. — D.

<sup>3)</sup> Oxon. Theat. 1696. [The editor was John Freind. — D.]

<sup>4)</sup> Lib. XIII. v. 253.

to signifie *melius meritis*? He has put such stuff here upon the Poet, as makes him neither talk Latin nor Sense. But let us see another Instance:<sup>1)</sup>

*Reppulit Actorides sub imagine tutus Achillis  
Troas ab arsuris cum defensore carinis.*

Patroclus, says the Poet, being *disguis'd* in Achilles's Armour, LXXI *repuls'd* the Trojans from our Ships: which otherwise would have been burnt with those that defended them. *Defensore* here, by a change of Number familiar among Poets, means *Defensoribus*, the Græcians, who fought on Ship-board, and by consequence had the Ships been burnt, they also had been burnt with them.<sup>2)</sup> But our Paraphrast tacks the words thus together: *TROAS CUM DEFENSORE, Trojanos cum Hectore eorum propugnatore*; which is silly and absurd upon all accounts: for why should *Hector* be call'd the *Defender* here, when it was he that made the *Attack*? and why should the words, if the meaning of them was as the *Director* has given it, be so disjointed from one another? Besides that the whole Thought, as he has made it, is poor and flat; and more becoming his own Poems, than *Ovid's*. And is not this man now a fit *Director of Studies*? Is he not a rare Instructor to a young Gentleman of a Noble Family and excellent Parts; who, if he had never fallen into such Hands, would have been thought to have deserv'd to fall into Better?

But to return to Mr. B's Complaints; if neither *ascribing*, nor *setting the Name*, nor *disparagement to his Teachers* imply, that I thought his Book was not writ by Himself? the only words that can be accus'd of implying it, are LXXII *Editors, Annotators, and great Genius's* all in the plural Number. But I have given my Own Answer already to this point,<sup>3)</sup> and now I'll give Mr. B's. He is pleas'd to confess, That the *Director* was consulted upon ANY Difficulty: so that we have Two at least concern'd in the Edition of *Phalaris*: unless Mr. B. will wholly exclude Himself. Had I really therefore understood those words in the Plural Acceptation, I had implied nothing, but what Mr. B. ad-

<sup>1)</sup> Ibid. v. 273.

<sup>2)</sup> It is, perhaps, more probable that *cum defensore* means with Ajax. — W.

<sup>3)</sup> P. XL.

mits to be true. But why must my words be stretcht so far, when they may fairly by suppos'd to mean but One person? For even Mr. B. in his Preface to *Phalaris*<sup>1)</sup> says, *QUANTUM SCIMUS, As much as WE know*, and *NOSTRO LABORE, By OUR Labour*; and yet he avers he speaks of none but Himself. And why then might not I mean Him Only by *Editors and Annotators*? *As if it were unusual for the Plural Number to be put for the Singular?*<sup>2)</sup>

I am clear therefore of this Accusation of robbing Mr. B. of the Right he has to his *Phalaris*. And if the World has generally believ'd, that some body assisted him in't; my Book is not to answer for't. On the contrary, 'twas the Rumour, that had already obtain'd in the World, that made my Words be so interpreted. For I had left the Thing loose and indefinite, neither denying nor affirming, that Mr. B. was the Author. And his true Friends LXXIII took hold of that Handle, which was given out of kindness; and they believ'd it was more for his Honour to renounce the Edition, than to assume it with all its Faults. Mr. B. has been pleas'd to take the other way, and to vindicate it for his Own; and the success that he has had, may be now seen by the event. He has heard more than once from the Press, what the World believes in that matter. And I'm afraid, he has more contributed to that Belief by his Second Performance, than he did by his First. For a man that entitles himself to such a motley heterogeneous Piece, that's not only inconsistent with his First Work, but with it self; that has such variety of Stiles in't, as like one another, as Fustian is to Silk; that is sometimes above and sometimes below it self in the several degrees of Ignorance and Banter; a man, I say, that merrily represents himself to be such a Linsey Woolsey Writer, seems to be of *Planudes's* Humour: *For no body can ever be Silly enough to imagin it, nor can Planudes himself dream of being thus far credited.*<sup>3)</sup>

Mr. B. goes on to accuse me, that I have given him very ill Language; for I call the Story in his Preface, a *Calumny, Weak Detraction, Injustice, Forgery, Slander, and vile Aspersion*. These are the Flowers, he says, that I LXXIV

<sup>1)</sup> P. 198.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 199.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 273.

have strew'd throughout every Page almost in the Epistle. Now this every Page almost seems very nearly related to his Bookseller's *Nine Months*; for of *CLII* Pages, which that Epistle consists of, there are not above a Dozen, that in the least concern Mr. B. or his Edition. But to the rest of the Inditement I must plead Guilty; for I own I then gave those Titles of Honour to his Story, and have repeated some of them now: and whether I have miscall'd it, the World will be judge. But it is not, that I have any love or fondness to those Expressions: I am more sorry, that I had occasion to say them, than Mr. B. can be to hear them. But if Mr. B. will do an *Ill Thing*, he must excuse me if I give it it's<sup>1)</sup> *True* and consequently an *Ill Name*. If he give himself the Liberty to say what he pleases, he must expect a return of what will not please Himself. The Comic Poet's Rule is the Common Law in those cases,<sup>2)</sup>

*Si mihi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ non vult audiet.*

But he says,<sup>3)</sup> *I charge him with the Basest Tricks*; which if it were true, I confess I should be asham'd of: for were it never so much deserv'd, that Language is too coarse to be given by Me. But if the Reader pleases to consult LXXV the Place, he will presently see a *Trick* in this Accusation. For my words are nothing but a Translation of Mr. B's. Latin *Moribus Nequissimis*; and they are not applied to Mr. B. but to one *Alcibous* in the Epistles,<sup>4)</sup> who is represented there as a very great Knave.

And *By the help*, he says,<sup>5)</sup> of a Greek Proverb, *I call him downright Ass*. After I had censur'd a Passage of Mr. B's. Translation, that has no affinity with the Original, *This puts me in mind*, said I, of the Old Greek Proverb, *That Leucon carries one thing, and his Ass quite another*.<sup>6)</sup> Where the *Ass* is manifestly spoken of the *So-*

1) This is a characteristic way of spelling this pronoun which is indeed of very recent origin in the English language. See Abbott § 228. *Marsh's lectures*, ed. Smith, p. 278—280. — W.

2) Ter. Andr. V 4, 17. — W. 3) P. 11.

4) Ep. 1 (107.) See chapt XVI. — W. 5) P. 11.

6) ἄλλα μὲν Λεύκων λέγει, ἄλλα δὲ Λεύκωνος ὄνος φέρει Zenob. I 74. ἄλλα μὲν Λεύκωνος ὄνος φέρει, ἄλλα δὲ Λεύκων Diogen. II 21. See Böckh, on the political economy of Athens I 347 (=438 sec. ed.). Meineke, hist. cr. com. 217. — R.

phist, whom I had before represented as an Ass under a Lion's Skin. And if Mr. B. has such a Dearness for his Phalaris, that he'll change places with him there, how can I help it? I can only protest that I put him into *Loucon's* Place; and if he will needs complement himself out of it, I must leave the two Friends to the Pleasure of their mutual Civilities.<sup>1)</sup>

But is this Mr. B's. way of interpreting Similitudes? Are the Things from whence they are taken to be directly applied to the Persons they are spoken of? If I liken an ill Critic, to a *Bungling Tinker, that makes two Holes, while he mends one;*<sup>2)</sup> must I be charg'd with calling him Tinker? At this rate *Homer* will call his Heroes, Wolves, Bores, Dogs and Bulls. And when *Horace* has this Comparison LXXVI about Himself,<sup>3)</sup>

*Demitto auriculas, ut iniquæ mentis Asellus,*  
Mr. B. may tell him, *He calls himself downright Ass.* But he must be put in mind of the *English Proverb*, that *Similitudes*, even when they are taken from Asses, do not walk upon All Four.

I will here crave the Reader's leave, to make one general Apology for any thing, either in my *Dissertation* or my *Defense* of it, that may seem too severe. I desire but this Favour or Justice rather, that He would suppose my case to be his Own: and then if he will say sincerely, that he should have answer'd so many Calumnies, with fewer marks of Resentment, I am content to lie under his Censure. But it's a very difficult thing, for a person unconcern'd and out of the reach of Harm, to be a fair Arbitrator here. He will be apt to think the injur'd Party too angry; because he cannot have as great a Passion in seeing the ill usage, as the other has in feeling it. Even *Job* himself with all his Patience was accused of losing his Temper, by his Companions that had no share in his Sufferings. Besides there's a common fault in Human Nature, which I crave leave to express in *Greek*, *ἔμψαλμα*. There's a secret pleasure, they say, in seeing LXXVII another man under the risk of a Shipwrack, while one's

---

1) P. 25.

2) P. 11.

3) Hor. Sat. 1, 9 [20].

self is safe on the Shore;<sup>1)</sup> and so we find the World is delighted to see one worried and run down, while themselves are made the Spectators, and entertain'd with the Diversion. 'Twas an excellent saying of *Solon's*, and worthy of the wisest of the famous Seven; who when he was ask'd, *Πῶς ἥκιστα ἀδικοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι;* *What would rid the World of Injuries?* If the *By-standers*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *would have the same Resentment with those that suffer the Wrong; Ἐδυσίως ἄχθοιντο τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικοῦμενοι.* If the Reader will but follow that great Man's advice, and have an equal Sense of my ill usage, as if it had fallen upon himself; I dare then challenge him to think, if he can, that I have used too much Severity.

I do not love the unmanly work of making long complaints of Injuries: which I think is the next fault to deserving them. Much less will I imitate Mr. *B.* who has rak'd together those few Words of my *Dissertation*, that had the least air of Resentment, and repeated them six times over. For if I was to enter into the Particulars of His Abuses, I must transcribe his whole Book, which from beginning to end is nothing else but a Rhapsody of Errors and Calumnies.

LXXVIII But there's one Rudeness, that I ought not to omit; because it falls upon others, as much as my self. *I am satisfied*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *how unnatural a Step it is for an Amanuensis to start up Professor of Divinity.* I am persuaded, every ingenuous Reader must be offended at his insolence, who could suffer such stuff as this to come out of his Mouth; which is a double affront, both to the whole Order of Bishops, and to a whole University. As if a Person, who in his Youth had been an Amanuensis to a Bishop, was upon that account made unfit to be Doctor of Divinity; as if a whole University, which was pleas'd to confer that Degree upon him, were neither fit Judges of his Merit, nor knew their own Duty.

I should never account it any Disgrace to have serv'd the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Worcester* in any Capacity of a Scholar. But I was never Amanuensis to his

<sup>1)</sup> Comp. *Lucr.* II 1 sq. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> *Laert.* in *Solone* [10=14, 35 *Cob.* — R.]    <sup>3)</sup> P. 223.



Lordship nor to any body else: neither did his Lordship ever make use of any Amanuensis. So little regard has this Examiner either to Decency or Truth. I was first Tutor to his Lordship's Son, and afterwards Chaplain to Himself; and I shall always esteem it both my Honour and my Happiness to have spent *xlv* Years of my Life in His Family and Acquaintance, whom even Envy it self will allow to be the Glory of our Church and Nation; who by his vast and comprehensive Genius is as Great **LXXXIX** in All parts of Learning, as the Greatest next himself are in Any. And I have the satisfaction to believe, that this excellent Person has not the worse Opinion either of my Probity or my Learning, for all the Calumnies, that the Examiner has cast upon me.

As for the General Character, that Mr. B. endeavours to fix upon me, That I have no Learning, no Judgment, no Reasoning, no Knowledge in Books, except Index's and Vocabularies, with many other Expressions of the utmost Contempt, that make up the greatest part of his Book, I do not think my self concern'd to answer them. These things shall never make a Dispute between us; He shall be as Great as he thinks Himself; and I as Little as he thinks Himself; and I as Little as he thinks Me. But then it will ly upon him to dispute with some other Persons, who have been pleas'd to declare publicly such an esteem of Me and my Writings, as does not altogether agree with Mr. B's.

He must commence a Critical War against His Excellency Mr. *Ezekiel Spanhemius*, who has this Passage concerning me.<sup>1)</sup> *Sed de hoc Philostrati loco meliora forte nos docebit, qui nova versione & luculento commentario eundem auctorem explanandum & illustrandum suscepit, novum idemque jam lucidum litteratæ Britannicæ sidus, Richardus Bentleius.* **LXXX** And in another place.<sup>2)</sup> *Talia autem in Hesychium ὁσα xόνις irrepsisse, & quibus fæde inquinatæ sint etiamnum ejus glossæ, & pridem ad eum vidimus ac passim animadvertimus; & novissime etiam in eruditissima ad Jo. Millium Epistola post Jo. Malalam edita, luculenter adductis pluribus eam in rem exemplis adseruit oriens novum Litteratæ Britannicæ sidus,*

1) Spanhem. in Julian. P. 19. 2) Idem in Callimach. P. 455.

*Richardus Bentleius.* And again in another place,<sup>1)</sup> *An vero nihil uspiam de illa fabella, quamquam ab aliis passim memoretur, à Sophocle sit prolatum, quod statuit in Epistola Malaxe addita vir eruditissimus, & à quo magnum præclaris doctrinarum studiis incrementum licet augurari.* These perhaps are no vulgar commendations, which this Great Man has bestow'd on me; and I'll assure Mr. B. that I did not procure them by any private services; for I have not yet done my self the Honour once to write to Mr. *Spanhemius*. So that all that he has said of me, came voluntarily and freely from him; and we shall see by the Event, if the present Disputes about *Phalaris* will make him repent of it.

He must turn his formidable Pen against Mr. *Grævius*, who besides the *Dedication* already cited, has another  
 LXXXI passage,<sup>2)</sup> *Videbis hic, Lector studiose Musicarum cupediarum, & aliud quod tuo palato, simul ac gustaris, sat scio arridebit mirifice. Richardus Bentleius, Potentissimo Regi Gulielmo à bibliotheca, novum, sed splendidissimum Britannicæ Lumen, certior à me factus de hac Callimachi Editione, perferri ad nos jussit eruditissimas animadversiones in quædam Hymnorum loca & in Epigrammata, quibus adjecit nova non pauca quæ lucem antea nunquam adspexerant; alia, quæ quidem ante legebantur, sed à nemine fuerant intellecta, clara luce perfudit.* Mr. B. perhaps will object, That the Friendship, which I have with this most Learned Professor, makes him so kind in his Character of me: but the candid part of mankind will rather believe the reverse of it, That my Character was the reason, that he honour'd me with his Friendship.

Mr. B. I suppose has no great deference to the Judgments of Mr. *Spanheim* and Mr. *Grævius*; for a man that has such a false Opinion of himself, can hardly be suppos'd to have a true one of others. But I must take the freedom to tell him, that I had rather have these short expressions of the esteem of those Great men, than the most studied Panegyrics of Him and all his Party. Neither would I consent that these Passages should be blotted out, to have all his Abuses of me blotted out with them, both  
 LXXXII those he has made already, and those he shall make hereafter. For as a Commendation from the Greatest Men is

1) Ibid. P. 605.

2) Grævii Præf. ad Callim.

the greatest of Commendations; so a Disparagement from Men of no knowledge in the things they pretend to judge of is the least of Disparagements.

After the Testimonies of these Two Great Men, I will not produce any more; lest I should seem to trust to the Number rather than the Quality of those that speak well of me. I am intirely of his Opinion, who was *Contentus paucis, sed magnis Laudatoribus*.<sup>1)</sup> And I will once more borrow the Form of<sup>2)</sup> Argument, that *Æmilius Scaurus* us'd against *Varius Sucionensis*: *Mr. Spanheim and Mr. Grævius give a high Character of Dr. B's Learning; Mr. Boyle gives the meanest, that malice can furnish him with: Utri creditis, Quirites? Whether of the Characters will the Present Age or Posterity believe?*

The Examiner has given two Descriptions, one of a *Pedant*, and another of a *Good Critic*; designing to draw the First as My Picture, and the Latter as his Own. But perhaps if we compare the Pictures with the Originals, he may be forc'd by his Readers to change one of the Places here with Me, as he voluntarily did with the Sophist in the case of *Leucon* and his Ass.<sup>3)</sup>

1) His first and surest mark of a Pedant is to write without LXXXIII observing the Rules of Civility or common Decency, and without distinguishing the Characters of those he writes against.<sup>4)</sup> Upon this Article, he accuses two Expressions of mine,<sup>5)</sup> and yet both of them are both civilly worded, and truly said. Then he mentions some *Course Complements* upon Himself, which I have already accounted for: only here he says, I compare him with *Lucian's Ass*; which, were it true, would be no *Course Complement*, but a very obliging one. For *Lucian's Ass* was a very intelligent and ingenious Ass, and had more Sense than any of his Riders: he was no other than *Lucian* himself in the shape of an Ass, and had a better Talent at Kicking and Bantering, than ever the Examiner will have, though it seems to be his chief one. Let the Reader too observe by the way, that Mr. B. in this place has it, *Lucian's Ass*; but in another he cites it truly, *Leucon's*

1) R. compares the instance of Antimachus and Plato, for which see Cic. Brut. 51, 191. — W.      2) See here P. XXXI.

3) See here p. LXXV.

4) P. 93.

5) P. 94.

*Ass*: and yet we are told the very same Hand writ both the Passages.

But to bring the Examiner near to the Picture, if perhaps it may have some little resemblance to Himself. Has He observ'd the rules of *Civility*, in writing the most scurrilous and virulent Book, that the Age has yet seen?

LXXXIV Has He kept to the measures of *Decency*, in raking up so many Tales and Hearsays, that a man of Honour would scorn to repeat? Has He distinguish'd the *Charakter* of Him he wrote against, in abusing and vilifying upon the falsest surmises a Man in Holy Orders, a Doctor in Divinity, a Domestic Servant to one of the Greatest of Kings, and the First that was employ'd to preach the Lecture establish'd by the Great Mr. Boyle, a Relation of the Examiner's? If these be against all Rules of *Civility* and *Distinction* of *Characters*; then I suppose, his first and surest mark of a Pedant will be thought to hit Himself.

2) *A second mark is to use a Greek or Latin word, when there's an English one, that signifies the very same thing.*<sup>1)</sup> Now if this be one of his marks, Himself is a Pedant by his own confession: for in this very sentence of his, *Signifie* is a Latin word, and there's an English one, that *Means* the very same thing. We shall do the Examiner therefore no injury in calling Him *Pedant*, upon this Article. But if such a general Censure, as this forward Author here passes, had been always fasten'd upon those, that enrich our Language from the *Latin* and *Greek* Stores; what a fine condition had our Language been in? 'Tis well known, LXXXV it has scarce any Words, besides Monosyllables, of its native growth; and were all the rest imported and introduc'd by *Pedants*? At this rate the ignominy of *Pedantry* will fall upon all the best Writers of our Nation; and upon none more heavily, than the Examiner's great Relation the incomparable *Robert Boyle*, whose whole Style is full of such *Latin* words. But when the Examiner is possess'd with a fit of rage against Me, he lays about him without consideration or distinction, never minding whom he hits, whether his own Relation or even Himself. The words in my Book, which he excepts against, are *Commentitious*,

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 93.

*Repudiate, Concede, Aliene, Vernacular, Timid, Negoce, Putid, and Idiom*: every one of which were in Print, before I us'd them; and most of them, before I was born. And are they not all regularly form'd, and kept to the true and genuine Sense, that they have in the Original? Why may we not say *Negoce* from *Negotium*,<sup>1)</sup> as well as *Commerce* from *Commercium* and *Palace* from *Palatium*? Has not the *French* Nation been before hand with us in espousing it? And have not We *Negotiate* and *Negotiation*, words that grow upon the same Root, in the commonest use? And why may not I say *Aliene*, as well as the Learned Sir *Henry Spelman*;<sup>2)</sup> who used it *LXXX* Year since, and yet was never thought a Pedant? But he says,<sup>3)</sup> *My words* LXXXVI *will be hiss'd off the Stage as soon as they come on*. If so, they would have been hiss'd off long before I had come on. But the Examiner might have remember'd before he had talk'd thus at large, who it was that distinguish'd his Style with *Ignore* and *Recognosce*, and other words of that sort, which no body has yet thought fit to follow him in.<sup>4)</sup> For his Argument, if it prov'd any thing, would prove perhaps too much; and bring the Glory of his own Family into the tribe of Pedants. Though I must freely declare, I would rather use, not my Own words only, but even These too (if I did it sparingly, and but once or twice at most in *CLII* Pages) than that single word of the Examiner's *Cotemporary*, which is a downright Barbarism.<sup>5)</sup> For the Latins never use *Co* for *Con*, except before a Vowel, as *Coequal*, *Coeternal*; but before a Consonant they either retain the N, as *Contemporary*, *Constitution*; or melt it into another Letter as *Collection*, *Comprehension*. So that the Examiner's *Cotemporary* is a word of his own Coposition, for which the Learned World will cogratulate him.<sup>6)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> This word has never really been admitted into the language, though there are numerous derivations from it used in English. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> Born 1562, † 1641. See *Chambers*, *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, I p. 263 first ed. — W. <sup>3)</sup> P. 287.

<sup>4)</sup> To *ignore* is quite a common word now. 'The Great Mr. Boyle' had used it before his nephew. — W.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 166, 167. <sup>6)</sup> In spite of Bentley's cutting criticism, some people cling to *cotemporary* even in our time. — W.

3) *Another token of a Pedant is the use of Greek and Latin Proverbs.*<sup>1)</sup> But however I'll run the risk of it once more, and make bold to use one Proverbial Saying,<sup>2)</sup>

*Homine imperito nunquam quicquam injustius,  
Qui nisi quod ipse fecit, nihil rectum putat.*

Why forsooth is it more pedantry in Me, to use Latin Proverbs in English Discourse, than in *Cicero* to use Greek ones in Latin? Nay, do not even Greek Proverbs make as good a figure now in English, as then they did in Latin? If Mr. *B.* can spare any time from his *Phalaris's* Epistles to look into *Cicero's*, he'll find him in every Page among the herd of Pedants. If I had us'd Proverbs in my *Sermons against Atheism*, or upon any solemn Argument, or Occasion; the Examiner's Censure had been more just: But to blame the use of them in an Epistle or a Dissertation, which have been always allow'd to be their proper places, is it self a very ill mixture of Ignorance and Pedantry. For if they cannot be us'd there without Pedantry, they must be banish'd out of all sorts of Writings. So that *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Chrysippus*, *Aristarchus*, and some others of the best Wits of old, and among the Moderns the great *Erasmus*, and the great *Scaliger* made Collections of Proverbs, merely to serve Pedants. *Erasmus's* own Writings are full of them; and he will be thought to have had as much Wit and as little of Pedantry, as Mr. *B.* and his Directors. And the great Treasuries, from whence be collected them, are the Writings of *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian*; who among some little men may go for Pedants, but among the wise and sensible part of mankind will pass for men of Wit.<sup>3)</sup>

4) *To over-rate the Price of Knowledge is another sign of Pedantry.*<sup>4)</sup> And let the World judge between the Examiner and Me, whether of us is most concern'd in this Character of a Pedant. I have never publish'd any thing yet, but at the desire of others. My *Sermons* in Mr. *Boyle's* Lecture were requir'd for the Press by the Honourable the Trustees; my Epistle about *Jo. Antiochensis* was desir'd by the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Lich-*

1) P. 94.    2) [Ter. Ad. I 2, 18.]    3) P. 99.    4) P. 94.

*field*;<sup>1)</sup> my Notes on *Callimachus* by Mr. *Gravius*, and my Dissertation upon *Phalaris* by Mr. *Wotton*. The only Book that I have writ upon my own account is this present Answer to Mr. *B's* Objections: and I assure him, I set no great *Price* upon't; the Errors that it refutes, are so many, so gross and palpable, that I shall never be very proud of the Victory.

But then a man that *over-rates the Price* of his Performances, acts the very reverse of this. He engages in matters, where he has no concern; he obtrudes his Notions LXXXIX upon the World, though neither his Friends desire him, nor the Business oblige him to meddle. And is not this the picture of the Examiner? He has writ a large Book in behalf of *Phalaris's Epistles*, which has hitherto been the public Diversion, and will be so too hereafter, but in a different way; and yet he professes, that *he was not IN THE LEAST concern'd to vindicate them.*<sup>2)</sup>

5) But an assuming and positive way of delivering one's self, upon Points especially, that are not capable of being perfectly clear'd, is *Pedantry.*<sup>3)</sup> Now to take no notice of the rest of his Book, which is nothing but heaps of Errors deliver'd in the most arrogant and insulting Language, I'm content to be try'd by this very Paragraph of his, which of us two seem to have sat for this picture. He has cited here xv Passages out of my whole Dissertation, which he pretends are deliver'd in an *assuming and positive* way, and yet, he says, are *certainly false*. Where as every one of them are true, and may be *perfectly clear'd*, except one small mistake about *πρὸς δὲ ἀρχαῖα*,<sup>4)</sup> and that too is deliver'd without any *assuming* expression. But let us see Mr. *B's* behaviour; *Where the contrary*, says he,<sup>5)</sup> is *MOST CERTAINLY true*; as it is, and shall be x prov'd to be, in *ALL* those Instances here referr'd to. Now if this be not an *Assuming and Positive* way, what is? And yet in *xiv* of his *xv* Instances, he is miserably mistaken.

6) To depart from the common ways of writing, on purpose to shew exactness, is a piece of Affectation, that sa-

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. William Lloyd, translated to Worcester in 1699. —  
Ed. 1777.      <sup>2)</sup> P. 202.      <sup>3)</sup> P. 94.      <sup>4)</sup> [Chapt. XII.]  
<sup>5)</sup> P. 95.

*vours of Pedantry.*<sup>1)</sup> Upon which article he accuses my spelling *Taurominium*; for he says, *it's GENERALLY writ Tauromenium, both by Ancients and Moderns.* Now if the contrary of this be *certainly true*, who will then be the Pedant? The Learned *Cluverius*, who made it his business to search all the Books and MSS, that relate to *Sicily*; says,<sup>2)</sup> *It's sometimes spelt Tauromenium, and sometimes Tauromenia, but GENERALLY Taurominium.* And Mr. B. must write at another rate, than yet he has done; before the World will prefer his Testimony before that of *Cluverius*.

Mr. B. here<sup>3)</sup> goes a little out of his way to do right to<sup>4)</sup> . . . against Mr. Wotton, who had taken notice of an absurd usage of *Delphos* for *Delphi*. And because it lies a little in my way, I will do right to Mr. Wotton: for indeed the case is my own; because I too have call'd it *Delphi*, and rejected the common Error. Mr. B. defends his *Delphos* xci upon this only pretense, That it has been the common custom of our *English* Writers, five of whom he names there, to call it so. An admirable reason, and worthy to be his own! As if the most palpable Error, that shall happen to obtain and meet with reception, must therefore never be mended? One would think he had borrow'd it from the Popish Priest, who for xxx years together had read *Mumpsimus* in his Breviary instead of *Sumpsimus*; and when a Learned Man told him of his blunder, *I'll not change*, says he, *my old Mumpsimus for your new Sumpsimus.* 'Tis a known Story, but I'll give it him in the words<sup>5)</sup> of Sir *Richard Pace*, who was a man of *Business* and an

1) P. 95. 2) *Cluver.* Sicil. p. 90. *Plerumque Taurominium.* 3) P. 96. 4) Sir William Temple: «And he, of all men, ought not to have arraigned the Modern Ignorance in Grammar, who puts *Delphos* for *Delphi* every where in his *Essays*, though he knows that proper names borrowed from Latin and Greek are always put in the nominative case in our language.» *Wotton's Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 59, sec. ed. — D.

5) *Paceus: De fructu, qui ex doctrina percipitur.* Basil. 1517. p. 80. *Quidam indoctus Sacrificus Anglus per annos triginta Mumpsimus legere solitus est loco Sumpsimus; & quum moneretur à docto, ut errorem emendaret, respondit, Se nolle mutare suum antiquum Mumpsimus ipsius novo Sumpsimus.*



*Ambassadour too*,<sup>1)</sup> and upon those accounts will have more Authority with the Examiner. If Mr. B. then will not change his old *Delphos* for our new *Delphi*; he shall have leave to keep his *Mumpsimus*, as long as he pleases. But when he would put it upon us for *good English*, for that we must beg his pardon. The word is not yet so naturaliz'd in *England*, but it may and certainly will be sent back again to *Barbary* its native Countrey. We have instances of other words, that had both longer continuance and more general reception, than he can plead for his *Delphos*, and yet they were *hiss'd off the Stage* at last. In the old Editions of the *English Bibles* in *Henry the VIII's* time, it was printed<sup>2)</sup> *Asson* and *Mileton*; afterwards under Queen *Elizabeth* it was chang'd into *Asson* and *Miletum*; but in the last review under *King James the First* it was rectify'd *Assos* and *Miletus*. Here's a case that's exactly parallel with this of our Examiner; *Miletum* and *Asson* were at first suppos'd to be Nominative Cases; just as *Delphos* was mistaken to be like *Argos*, *Samos*, and *Delos*. But, we see, upon better information, the words were discarded. Neither the stamp of Royal Authority, nor the universal use in every Parish, nay almost every Family of *England*, for two or three Generations, could protect them from being exploded. A most certain Argument that the whole Kingdom then believ'd, That Analogy and Reason ought to have a greater force, than Vulgar Error, though establish'd by the longest and commonest custom. In the old Translation of *Virgil* set out by *Phaer* and *Dr. Twyne*,<sup>3)</sup> they are call'd the *XII* Books of *Virgil's Æneidos*; and the Running Title of every Page is the *I*, or *II*, or *III* Book of *Virgil's Æneidos*. Without question, that was the Language in those days all over the Nation. So that if the Examiner's *Mumpsimus* should pass for an Argument, the *Æneidos* should be the current Language at this day; and those that call it *Æneis* must be run down for Pedants. I dare venture to foretell the Examiner, hat his *Delphos*

XCI

XCII

<sup>1)</sup> Dean of St. Paul's, London, under Henry VIII., died about 1532. — W.      <sup>2)</sup> Act. Apost. XX. 14, 15.

<sup>3)</sup> See *Hallam's Literary History* II. p. 229. 310. — The original edition has *Thyna*. — W.

in a few years will be thought as barbarous as *Æneidos*: and if his Book shall happen to be preserv'd any where, as an useful Common Place-Book for Ridicule, Banter, and all the Topics of Calumny; this very Page about *Delphos* may perhaps, before he grows an old man, be made an unwelcome Evidence against Himself. I see here, that the Excellent Bishop of *Lichfield* (who, as appears by his most admirable Dictionary to the great Bishop *Wilkins's Real Character*,<sup>1)</sup> has the largest and nicest knowledge of the English Language, of any man living) calls it *Delphi* in his Printed, tho' Unpublish'd, *Chronology*, which I had the honour to see; and so did the Learned Gentleman Mr. *Stanley* long ago in his *Lives of the Philosophers*.<sup>2)</sup> I do not here disparage those excellent Pens, that have unawares fallen into the common Error; but to defend it against manifest Reason, and to vilify those that would reform it, is a plain instance of a Positive and Pedantic Genius.

XCIV I must take hold of this occasion to do another *piece of Right* to Mr. *Wotton*. For the Examiner says, It's hop'd Mr. *W.* will publicly declare, that he neither assisted nor approv'd my Dissertation. But I my self can save him half that labour; and therefore here I do aver, that neither Mr. *Wotton* nor any one else assisted me, either in That work, or in This: so that I alone am accountable for the Errors in them both.

Though after such an Instance of Mr. *B's* Judgment in Language and Style, I might safely despise his pert Censures upon Mine; yet I will crave the Reader's patience, while I answer those Exceptions of his, that at present I can remember. In two or three places of his Book he would ridicule my Expression, *FIRST INVENTOR*, as if it were mere Nonsense. If it be so, it's a very new sort of it, and perhaps may come off better than some bodies Sense; for it has both good Reason and great Authorities in its behalf. The word *FIRST* there is no idle and superfluous Epithet, nor borders upon Tautology; for there may

1) Dr. John Wilkins, bishop of Chester, 1614 — 1672. See *Chambers*, l. c., I p. 446 sq. — W.

2) *Thomas Stanley*, best known by his edition of *Aeschylus*, published 1663. *Hallam*, Lit. Hist. IV p. 8 sq. — W.

truly be a First and a Second and more Inventors of the very same thing. The *Chinese* invented the use of Guns and Printing; and so did the *Europeans*, without knowing at that time, that they were us'd in the *East*: and may we not ask the Question, *Whether INVENTED them FIRST*, cxv without danger of nonsense? *Terence* therefore is not only in danger, but manifestly caught in't, when he says,<sup>1)</sup>

*Hoc novum est aucupium: ego adeo hanc PRIMUS INVENI Viam.* and so is *Lucretius*, when he speaks of his master,<sup>2)</sup>

*Qui PRINCEPS vitæ rationem INVENIT eam, quæ  
Nunc appellatur Sapientia* —

After these two we have no need to name more of the *Latins*: let us see, if some of the best Wits of *Greece* are not guilty of the same Nonsense. And among these I find *Pindar*, as deep in't as any body;<sup>3)</sup> Τὸν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος ΕΥΡΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λύδιον φαλμόν; and *Herodotus* and *Plato* in the very same condition; where the former says<sup>4)</sup> ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ Αἰγυπτίους ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ΕΞΕΥΡΕΕΙΝ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν; and the latter,<sup>5)</sup> Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεῷ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἀρθμόν τε καὶ λογισμόν ΕΥΡΕΙΝ. Or if Printed Books will not satisfy the Examiner, I will give him it in an Inscription,<sup>6)</sup> Υαγνις ὁ Φρὺξ αὐλοὺς ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΗΥΡΕΝ. And is not Mr. B. now a judicious Censurer, to come with his little Cavils against an Expression, which the best writers in the world have so frequently us'd? For besides the passages here produc'd, I dare undertake to bring Fifty more: and among the Best of our own Nation, xovi it's one of the commonest Phrases; particularly it's adopted by our English *Cicero*, the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Rochester*,<sup>7)</sup> in his History of the *Royal Society*; where Philosophy and Eloquence have renew'd as strict an Acquaintance, as they had in *Cicero's Philosophica* Seventeen Hundred Years ago.

Another happy phrase, which, he says, *I have newly*

<sup>1)</sup> Ter. Eun. ii. 2 [16].

<sup>2)</sup> Lucret. V, 9.

<sup>3)</sup> Athen. 635 [D. fr. 102 Bergk.]

<sup>4)</sup> Herod. II. p. 91.

[c. 4.]

<sup>5)</sup> Plato in Phædro [274 c.]

<sup>6)</sup> Marm. Arund. l. 19.

<sup>7)</sup> Dr. Thomas Sprat, 1636—1713. See Johnson's favourable opinion of his style, given by *Chambers* I p. 448. — W.

<sup>8)</sup> P. 73.

minted, is *The MEEN of a FACE*; which as he takes it, is much the same thing with *the Behaviour of a Look*, or *the Carriage of a Smile*. His expression indeed is a little obscure, and his Readers, I find, are not agreed about his Meaning. But the thing he aims at seems to be this, That *Meen* signifies the Behaviour and the Carriage of the whole Person, and cannot be applied to a single part, the Face. An observation that shews him to be as great a Critic in the Modern Languages, as he is in the Ancient. For *Meen* does not signifie *Behaviour*, even when it's spoken of the whole Person, but the Air and Look that results from it. The word *Meen* is of *French* Original, and both the *English* and the *Italians* borrow'd it of that Nation: So that the Sense of it must be determin'd from the usage of the *French*. And if those be consulted, they will tell us, that though *Mine* be often extended to denote the Air of the whole Man, yet it chiefly and originally means the Air of the Face. So Monsieur *Pomey* in his Dictionary; *MINE DU VISAGE*, (which is exactly, *Meen of the Face*) *oris species, oris habitus, nativa vultus compositio*. And so the late Dictionary by the Academy; *MINE, l'air, qui resulte de la conformation exterieure de la personne, & principalement du visage*. One would have guess'd by the Examiner's talking out of *Balzac* and *Bruyere*,<sup>1)</sup> that he had been too well acquainted with the writings of the *French*; and yet we see by this instance, he was as raw in that Language as he is in the *Greek*. But perhaps since his late Journey to *Paris* he may have brought back with him *une mine du Visage*, though he did not carry over with him *a meen of a Face*.

7) Another mark, he says, of a *Pedant*, is an *Itch of contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds*.<sup>2)</sup> I must own, that I am sometimes forc'd in my writings to *contradict Great Men*, by correcting such oversights, as they made through inadvertency or want of information. But then I do it without any diminution to their Character; and if that modesty be observ'd, the contradicting them in this way deserves the highest commendation, and is such a sort of *Pedantry*, as the Examiner and his Director

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 98, 99.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 97.

will never be accus'd of. But the Instance he charges me xoviii with,<sup>1)</sup> is *my brisk Censure of Grotius and Scaliger, for not knowing the measure of an Anapaestic Verse*: and whether I did that upon *very slight grounds*, this very<sup>2)</sup> Answer will shew. But let us see the Examiner's words here, if perhaps this last character of a Pedant may not prove to be his own Picture. When 'tis *PLAIN*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *as I shall shew BEFORE I LAY DOWN MY PEN, that the Dr. would never have consur'd 'em, if he had known it himself.* What a formidable threat, and what a miserable Performance! The stuff that he has brought there, is so shamefull and scandalous, so inexcusable in a very School-boy, betrays such ignorance of the commonest rules of *Prosodia* and *Syntax*; that if he has but Learning enough to know when he's confuted (which is not every body's case) he may have the wisdom to take his leave of the Press, as long as he lives for that part of Learning.

But iftan Itch of *contradicting* Great men upon *very slight grounds* has a relish of Pedantry; to abuse and revile Great men, and that without any ground at all, must be the very Spirit and Quintessence of it. And we know a late Writer, that in the very entrance of his Work calls *Dion Chrysostom, as errant a Sophist and Declaimer as ever* xcix *was*, and his Discourse *tedious and insipid*<sup>4)</sup>; that says, *Manilius has no wit in him*, and is as unlike to *Ovid*, as *Thersites* was to *Nireus*; <sup>5)</sup> that says, *Laertius is a writer of Dr. B's. own Form*,<sup>6)</sup> which, as He has been pleas'd to use me, is the vilest of Characters; that calls *Athenæus rude and insolent*, and a *confident Clown*,<sup>7)</sup> when the sole occasion of it is his own Ignorance. I shall give here a short account of his affront upon *Athenæus*, to shew what a strange compound must go to the making up a Defender of *Phalaris*.

The Examiner accuses *Athenæus*<sup>8)</sup> for calling *Plato, Dog and Liar*. Now the words of *Athenæus* are, *that Antisthenes says the same thing of Socrates, That Plato says: but yet the matter is not true.* χαρῖςται γὰρ . καὶ ὁ χυω

1) P. 98.

2) See here p. 132. &amp;c.

3) P. 98.

4) P. 26.

5) P. 28.

6) P. 238.

7) P. 238, 9.

8) Athen. p. 216 [B].

οὗτος πολλὰ τῷ Σωκράτει, for this Cynic too complements Socrates in many particulars. Antisthenes was Diogenes's Master, and the founder of the Sect of the *Cynics*: so that *κύνων* here means a *Cynic* and not a *Dog*; and is so far from being a reproachful Word, that it was adopted by the whole Sect as a name of Honour. But the learned and sagacious Mr. B. takes *κύνων* for a very *Dog*, and draws in *Plato* to have a share in the name, as well as <sup>c</sup> *Antisthenes*; which *Athenæus* never dreamt of. And is not this now a just occasion of calling so excellent a writer an *insolent* and *confident Clown*? But we have instances of late, that such Qualifications as those are not the properties of *Clowns* alone.

But Mr. B. is not contented with abusing the Ancients; unless he bestow his Civilities upon some of the greatest of the Moderns. *Salmasius*, he says, and *Scaliger* were all *GALL* and *PRIDE* and *PEDANTRY*; which made the *vast Learning* they were masters of sit so ill upon them, that the *World* hated and despised them, at the same time that it was profiting by them.<sup>1)</sup> If he pleases, he may add, That they are *hated* and *despised* by some who will never be able to profit by them. But are these the *Expressions* that become a *Young writer*?<sup>2)</sup> though in truth they could come from no body but a *Young* and unfledg'd *Writer*; that neither knows the Works of those Great Men, nor the History of that Age. Did the *World* hate and despise *Them*, who were admir'd and courted by the greatest Princes? who were invited out of their own Country with the solemnity almost of an Embassy, that they would honour a Potent Republic with their Presence, and accept of a noble Pension without any incumbrance of an Office? who, as appears by <sup>c</sup> the Letters written to them from the best Wits of all the Nations of *Europe*, were universally esteem'd as the Glory of their Age? 'Tis true, they met with some very unworthy usage, which proceeded not from *contempt*, but a quite contrary Passion. He must be a *young Writer*, and a young Reader too; that believes *Milton* and *Petavius* had themselves as mean thoughts of *Salmasius*, as they endeavour to make others have. He that studies to represent one

---

1) P. 225.

2) Pref. p. 23.

of known and eminent Merit to be a meer Fool and an Idiot, he gives himself the Lye; and betrays, he's either acted with Envy or corrupted by a Faction. But the greatest Persecution these Great Men lay under was upon the account of Religion. They were the ornament of the Reformation, and by their Influence and Example gave such a Spirit of Learning to it, as made it triumph over its Enemies, who would then have ingross'd the reputation of Letters, and confin'd it to their own Party. They were vilify'd therefore and traduc'd by those, who, if they had been of their own Communion, would have almost ador'd them. So that Protestants should be tender and cautious from what hands they receive the Characters of those Great Men. And if a Magisterial Air and too much Heat and Passion appear in their Writings; a candid Reader will forgive it, and say, *Sume superbiam Quæsitam meritis*; <sup>1)</sup> he'll CII impute Some of it to their Temper, but the Most to the ill usage they met with from Envy and Detraction. To hate and despise a man, at the same time they are profiting by him, is an ill mixture of the worst of Human Passions. A little Haughtiness and Warmth, when accompany'd with Merit, will be forgiven by Some, but such black Ingratitude will be hated and despised by All.

Mr. B. is pleas'd to bestow his next favour upon *Lodovico Castelvetro*; whom he calls an Italian *PEDANT*, famous for his snarling faculty, and contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds; and he thinks *Balzac* says very well of him, *That he was a public Enemy*. <sup>2)</sup> But whether some body else will not be infamous for His snarling faculty, we may predict from this very instance. This *PEDANT*, as our modest Author calls him, was one of the most ingenious and judicious and learned Writers of his Age; <sup>3)</sup> and his Books have at this present such a mighty Reputation, that they are sold for their weight in Silver in most Countries of *Europe*. I will mention but Three Testimonies of him; the famous *Lilius Giraldus* <sup>4)</sup> says, He had seen some of his pieces, which fully satisfied him, that he was *Ju-*

<sup>1)</sup> Horat. Od., iii 30, 14.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 98.

<sup>3)</sup> For *Ludovico Castelvetro*

and his controversy with *Annibal Caro* see *Hallam*, Lit. Hist. II p. 303 sqq. — W.

<sup>4)</sup> *Gyrald*. ii. Dia-

log. p. 421.

*dicio sane quam acerrimo, & eruditione non vulgari.* *Henricus* **CIV** *Stephanus* dedicated<sup>1)</sup> a Book to him, and, says he, I refer the Censure of a piece of Poetry, *Sagacia & emuncta tuæ nari, Ludovice xptixwrate & nohtixwrate.* And he has this character given him by *Menagius*;<sup>2)</sup> *Ludovicus Castelvetrius in Commentariis illis suis eruditissimis & acutissimis*; and again, *Omnium optime acutissimus Castelvetrius.* I am persuaded our Examiner has never read one line of this Author, whom he abuses thus out of *Balzac*, a Writer, without undervaluing him, many degrees inferiour to *Castelvetro*. I had the fortune some years ago to meet with most of the Pieces of *Castelvetro* and his Antagonists; and I find that the sole occasion of all his Troubles in *Italy* was a Copy of Verses made by *Annibal Caro* in praise of the *House of France*: so that the very subject of it was enough to byass the Judgments of *Balzac* and some others of that Nation. These Verses were dispers'd over *Italy* and *France*, and receiv'd with mighty applause; and being sent to *Castelvetro* by a private Friend at *Rome*, who desir'd his Judgment of them, he return'd him some short Censures, desiring they should neither be publish'd, nor shown to any one as His. But by chance they got abroad and were printed, and brought such a violent Faction against him, as made the poor man weary of *Italy*. The very first Lines of *Caro's* Verses are

**CIV** *Venite à l'ombra de' gran Gigli d'oro,  
Care Muse, devote a' miei Giacinti:*

Where the Muses are invited to come under the shadow of Flower-de-luces. Upon which *Castelvetro* remark'd; That the Muses must be less than Pygmies, if they could be shadow'd by Flower-de-luces which were scarce shelter enough for little Insects. Who can have the folly to deny, that this Censure was just? *Quis tam Lucili fautor ineptus Ut neget hoc?*<sup>3)</sup> And yet this fault, and others as plain as this, were stoutly maintain'd by *Caro* and his Party. For the advantage of *Caro* was, That he was Member of an *Academy*, and a whole College was engag'd for him;

<sup>1)</sup> *Parrhasii Epist.*      <sup>2)</sup> *Menag. ad Laert.*      <sup>3)</sup> [Hor. Serm. I. 10, 2: quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est, Vt non hoc fateatur?]



and when neither Reason nor Truth was of their side, they confided in their Numbers,

*Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone phalanges.*<sup>1)</sup>

Their way of refuting *Castelvetro*, was by<sup>2)</sup> Pasquils, Lam-poons, Burlesque Dialogues, Public Speeches in the Academy, Declamations of School-boys, and in the close of all,<sup>3)</sup> *A short Account of Messer Lodovico Castelvetro by way of Index*, full of the most virulent Abuses. These were the fair and honourable methods of managing their Controversie: and though their Adversary, while he liv'd, suffer'd much from their malice; yet Posterity has been just to him, and has ov set an extraordinary value upon all his Performances; while Theirs upon this Argument (for in other things they were men of some worth) have nothing that now makes them enquir'd after, but the great Reputation of the man they abuse. And such a man will never be call'd *an Italian PEDANT*, but by those that copy after his Adversaries in their infamous way of writing.

It's now time to draw towards a Conclusion of this Preface, which I shall do by informing the Reader, That when these Papers were put to the Press, I design'd to have brought into this Volume, *The Dissertations about Æsop and the rest*; but this of *Phalaris* alone taking up more Paper than I expected, I am oblig'd to put off the Others to another opportunity. There are a few things therefore refer'd to in This part, which do not appear here; but they shall be all made out in the Next. I have it already by me, and when I can have leisure to transcribe it for the Press, the Examiner shall have it.

He has been pleas'd to say more than once,<sup>4)</sup> That I spent two or three years of my Life in writing my First Dissertation; and yet he owns he never once saw my Face<sup>5)</sup>: much less can he have any knowledge of the Course of my Studies. But he has a singular way of talking, as he says, *at a venture*. I drew up that Dissertation in the spare hours of a Few weeks, and while the Printer ov was employ'd about one Leaf, the other was a-making.

<sup>1)</sup> [Juven. II 46.]  
*Banchi di Roma.*

<sup>4)</sup> Pref. p. I.

<sup>2)</sup> *Apologia degli Academici di*  
<sup>3)</sup> *Tavola de la contenenza. Ibid.*

<sup>5)</sup> P. 24.

'Tis now I think about *xl* weeks, since his Examination came abroad; *viii* of which I spent in the Country, where I had no thoughts of Him and his Controversie. And if in the rest of that time I have publish'd This Book, and have the Second ready for publication; I conceive the World will be satisfy'd, that I could not spend three years in the other Book of Nine sheets only. And yet I'll assure him, but for the delays of the Press which I could not remedy, he had had this Answer some months ago. In a small part of the last of those Three years, which he says were all laid out upon *Phalaris*, I wrote my Notes on *Callimachus*; and Mr. *Grævius* perhaps will thank Mr. *B.* if in Six years time he will send him the like upon any other Author. But suppose his Accusation true; I had rather have spent all that time in discovering Truth, than have spent three days in maintaining an Error.

But he says,<sup>1)</sup> The whole thing is a *very inconsiderable point*, which a wise man would grudge the throwing away a week's thought upon. And I doubt not, but many others, whose Designs and Studies are remote from this kind of Learning, will follow this Censure. To such men as these I must answer, That if the Dispute be quite out of their  
 OVII way, they have liberty to let it alone; it was not design'd for Them, but for others, that know how to value it; who if the Principal Point about *Phalaris* were quite dropt, will think the other Heads, that are here occasionally handled, not unworthy of a Scholar. But that the single Point, whether *Phalaris* be genuine or no, is of no small importance to Learning, the very Learned Mr. *Dodwell* is a sufficient Evidence; who espousing *Phalaris* for a true Author, has endeavour'd by that means to make a great Innovation in the ancient Chronology. To undervalue this Dispute about *Phalaris*, because it does not suit to one's own Studies, is to quarrel with a Circle, because it is not a Square. If the Question be not of Vulgar use, it was writ therefore for a Few: for even the greatest Performances upon the most important Subjects are no entertainment at all to the Many of the world.

I will venture here beforehand, and to give this cha-

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 24.

racter of Mr. B's performance upon *Æsop*, that though it is not wholly unworthy of its Author, yet it seems a little below him.<sup>1)</sup> The Style of it is something worse, than that of the Defense of *Phalaris*; and the Learning of it, which he ought to take for a Complement, a great deal worse. If there be One thing which he's said right in his *Phalaris*, about *προδίδωμι* and *διώχω*;<sup>2)</sup> I'll pass CVIII my word, there will not be One good thing in his *Æsop*, when I call it to account. His observations there about *Babrius's* Verses will be found worse than those here about the *Anapests* of *Æschylus* and *Seneca*; his accusing me there as a Plagiary from *Nevelettus* and *Camerarius* will appear much more unjust, than what he says here about my pillaging *Vizzanius* and his own *poor Notes*; his Grimace there about *Socrates* will be shewn more impertinent, if possible, than his long Banter here, *That Dr. B. cannot be the Author of the Dissertation.*<sup>3)</sup> Which insipid Banter seems rather to have been writ in a Tavern than in a Study; and is not fit to be answer'd by Me. But if another should answer him in his own way, and pretend to prove, *that Mr. B. is not the Author of the Examination*, from the variety of Styles in't, from it's contradictions to his Edition of *Phalaris*, from it's contradictions to it self, from it's contradictions to Mr. B's character and to his Title of Honourable, and from several other Topics; it would be taken perhaps for no Railery, but too serious a Repartee; or at least might pass for a True Jest, though intended only for a Merry one.

Mr. B. has been pleas'd to threaten me with the resentments of a whole Society,<sup>4)</sup> and a great Body of Learned Men.<sup>5)</sup> I must own, I do not well know what apprehensions to have of this Threat. For as I have done no Injury to any Society; so I think I have no reason to be afraid of their Resentments. It does not appear to me, that Mr. B. has any Commission to threaten thus in their Name: and if he has not, his making use of their Authority is a sort of Libel upon them, which would represent a Great CIX

---

<sup>1)</sup> John Freind wrote the part on *Aesop*; Smallridge the banter here spoken of. — Ed. 1777.    <sup>2)</sup> Comp. chapt. XIII. — W.    <sup>3)</sup> P. 184, &c.    <sup>4)</sup> Pref. p. 6.    <sup>5)</sup> P. 289.

*Body of Learned Men* as the Partakers and Patrons of the Faults of his Book. I have a true Honour and great Esteem for that noble and flourishing Society, which is supposed to be meant here; and I should think I did them a great Injury, to suspect they will interpose in *Phalaris's* behalf. For when a Cause cannot be defended, the Numbers of those that ingage in't make it only the more scandalous.

But since Mr. *B.* has been so free as to threaten a Reply, even before he sees what I say in my Defence; though I will not prescribe to so great a Genius any method of his Answer, yet I think I may make bold to tell him, what I shall look upon to be No Answer.

1) If he pretends, that he did not maintain, that his *Phalaris* is genuine; but only that my Arguments do not prove him to be otherwise, I shall look upon this as a Shuffle, and no Answer at all. For if he suspects whether he's genuine, and yet allows none of my Arguments; the World desires to have his Reasons, why he has that suspicion of him. I observe indeed, that there's one Argument against him, propos'd by Mr. *B.* which I had not taken notice of; *That the Names of those, whom the Epistles are directed to, seem sometimes to be feign'd on purpose according to the subject of those Epistles.*<sup>1)</sup> Till Mr. *B.* shall think fit to give us other grounds of his Suspicion, the World ox will take the liberty to think, that this is all he has. So that we are to take the measure of his great Judgment by this Scale, That all my Reasons go for Nothing with him, and his own single and substantial one goes for All.

But perhaps he will now be more loyal than ever to his *Sicilian Prince*, and have no scruples at all about his True Title to the Letters. For he assures the Reader, that his doubts about the Authority of the Epistles, since he read my Dissertation, are much lessen'd, and if I write once more upon that subject, perhaps the point will be clear to him.<sup>2)</sup> Agreed and contented on both sides! I have writ once more against them, and Mr. *B.* for that reason will more firmly believe them. I desire no greater punishment to him for all his ill usage of me, than that he would maintain them to be genuine as long as he lives.

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Præf. ad Phal.*

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 33.*

2) Or if he comes with more Testimonies of his Book-seller or his *Humty Dumty* Acquaintance; I shall take those for no Answer. For a man that is once convicted of an intended Perjury is no longer a lawfull Witness: and a man that has declar'd publicly, that *his Memory could but serve him for One Particular*, can have no benefit in Law allow'd him of strengthening it afterwards either with *Three-threads* or *Four-threads*.<sup>1)</sup>

3) Or if he brings any new Stories and Hearsays about Me, that are foreign to the Business, I shall look upon those as no part of an Answer. For after I have so fully disprov'd his capital Accusations about the King's MS and that of Sir *Edward Sherburn*, I shall not think my self concern'd at any Calumnies, that he shall start here after.

4) Or if he thinks fit, or any Friend for him, to reply to me in *Latin* (for he threatens me with a Latin Book, in the imperious Style of *Festus*; *Hast thou appeal'd* OXI *to Foreign Universities? to Foreign Universities thou shalt go*.<sup>2)</sup> I may look perhaps upon that as an Answer, but such a one as will need no Answer from Me. For if I may guess at what's to come, by the present Performance; a Latin Book from any Hand, that has been yet concern'd in the Defense of *Phalaris*, will carry it's own Answer in it self.

5) But if he chuses to reply in *English*, and meddle once more with the matter of Learning; if he do not mend his hand a little, and bring a Piece with fewer Faults in't than the Last, I shall not take that for an Answer. For my whole Life might be spent at that rate in refuting the merest Trash. And he has clearly the advantage of me in this point; for he may commit more mistakes in Five Weeks time, and in Five Sheets of Paper; than can be thoroughly<sup>3)</sup> confuted in Fifty Sheets, and in a whole Year.

Besides this, I may justly expect, that if he proceeds further upon the Subject of *Phalaris*, he should freely

---

<sup>1)</sup> See above p. XXXIV. — W.    <sup>2)</sup> P. 230.    <sup>3)</sup> Bentley writes *thoroughly*, which is also Elizabethan English; but Dyce rashly substitutes *thoroughly*, the modern form of the adverb. See below p. 412. — W.

acknowledge those Faults, that I have refuted in his last Work. I have done the like my self; and I here sincerely declare, that I am not conscious of one Error, that he observ'd in my *Dissertation*, which I do not own in my Answer. I design nothing but a search after Truth, and will never be guilty of that mean disingenuity, to maintain a Fault that I am convinc'd of. I require therefore the same Candour from him; and if he does not perform it, I shall not reckon it as an Answer. For if he has not either Judgment enough to know when he's confuted, or Sincerity enough to confess it, 'tis to no purpose at all to continue the Controversie.

CXII 6) But if he thinks to drop the main Subject or but slightly to touch upon't; and to give as he says,<sup>1)</sup> *a view of the Drs. Picture in Miniature*, by way of Burlesque and Ridicule and Banter, which his Genius is so strongly bent too; I shall look upon that to be least of all an Answer; because it's no part of the Dispute. For I'll never contest that point with him, but allow that he has no ill Talent at Farce and Grimace. And if there be neither Truth nor Learning nor Judgment in his Book, it shall be cried up for those other Accomplishments, as much as he pleases.

Mr. B. thought fit in his Second Edition to rake up all his Affronts upon me together, under the Title of *A short account of Dr. B. by way of Index*. And in an imperfect imitation of so great an Example I had drawn up an Account, not of Mr. B, but of *his Performance*, by way of Synopsis. But when I saw such a multitude of Errors concenter'd together, the sight was so deform'd and disagreeable, *Miseranda vel hosti*, that no Resentment could prevail with me to return him his own Complement.

---

<sup>1)</sup> *P. ult. 3d. Edition.*

A  
DISSERTATION

UPON

THE EPISTLES OF PHALARIS.

**A**FTER the Honourable Mr. B. has dispatch'd his account of the Matters of Fact relating to Himself and his Bookseller, where, I am sorry to hear him say, *His Honesty was concern'd;*<sup>1)</sup> he proceeds to the main part of the Dispute, *which only touches his Learning.* This, he says, will give him no Concern, though it may put him to some Trouble. *For he shall enter upon't with the Indifference of a Gamester, who plays but for a Trifle, which 'tis much the same to him, whether he wins or loses.*<sup>2)</sup>

Mr. B. here seems to *enter upon* his work a little untowardly and ominously: for a *Gamester*, they say, who plays with *Indifference* and without any *Concern*, never plays his Game well. Besides, that by this odd comparison of himself to a *Gamester* he seems to give warning, and he's as good as his word, that he will put the Dice upon his Readers, as often as he can. But what is worst of all, this comparison puts one in mind of a general Rumour, which I make not my own, That there's another Set of *Gamesters*, who *play Him* in his Dispute, while themselves are out of sight, and safe behind the Curtain.

His very first Sentence acquaints his Reader, *That Dr. B. has taken the liberty of writing without any Method.*<sup>3)</sup>

---

1) P. 22.

2) P. 22, 3.

3) P. 1.

Which is a bold stroke to begin with, and shews we must expect nothing from Him, but what is masterly and great. I have first produc'd the *Chronological* proofs, that *Phalaris* is spurious; then I consider the *Language*, then the *Matter* of the *Epistles*; and I conclude all with the *Argument* taken from their *Late Appearance* in the *World*: and all these are rank'd in their natural order, and distinguish'd from each other, without any *Mixture* or *Confusion*. And if this be writing without *Method*; my *Ignorance* perhaps was occasion'd, because I have not read the new *System of Logic* set out for the use of Mr. *Charles Boyle*, after the mode of *In usum Delphini*. When I have the happiness to read that great *Advancement of Logic*, and to receive from it new *Light* about *Method*; I may then perhaps be induc'd to change the order of my *Dissertation*. But in the mean time, I have let every thing stand as it did before; and I have distinguish'd the *Former Dissertation* by printing it in a *Greater Letter*, and in a *Smaller I* have answer'd Mr. *B's* *Objections* at the end of every *Article*.

But I have good reason to suspect, that his *Cry* here against my want of *Method* is but a *Cast* of his *Gamester's* *Art*, that he might have the shuffling of his own *Cards*; and so begin his *Examination* upon such *Articles*, as he could raise the greatest *bustle* in. For he pleasantly distinguishes my *Arguments* into two sorts, *Those that affect the whole Set of the Epistles*, and *those that touch only those Particular Epistles from whence they are drawn*.<sup>1)</sup> He begins therefore with the *General Proofs*, which are only *Three*, he says, from the *Language*, and the *Matter*, and the *Late Appearance* of the *Epistles*; and the others from *Chronology*, (which were then about a *Dozen*, and now shall be near a *Score*) supposing them true, he says, do but concern those single *Epistles*, from whence they are taken, so that *the rest, TO HIS COMFORT may be Genuine still*.<sup>2)</sup>

I cannot dismiss this facetious distinction without making a brief remark upon't, though I shall consider it more largely in another place. First, the *Examiner* bears very

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 33.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 155.



hard here upon *the most accomplish'd Writer of the Age*;<sup>1)</sup> for the great *Memmius* had pronounc'd of the whole Set, *That the Epistles of Phalaris have more Race, more Spirit, more force of Wit and Genius, than any others he had ever seen either Ancient or Modern.* Now if He with that *Nicety of Tast*, believ'd all the Epistles to be writ by the same Hand (as indeed every body else does, the Style and Turn of them all being so exactly alike) Mr. B. puts an affront upon that great Man's *Tast*, when he pretends a score of the Epistles, which Chronology refutes, might be foisted in *by the Wantonness or Vanity of Imitators in after-times*,<sup>2)</sup> and yet the rest be Authentic. For if those *vain Imitators* could copy so well in *after-times*, as to impose upon Sir . . . who had written to *Kings*, and was qualify'd to judge how *Kings should write*;<sup>3)</sup> what becomes of his fine Argument, from the *Race* and the *Spirit*, such freedom of Thought, such boldness of Expression, to prove that none but a *Phalaris* could write them? If Mr. B's distinction be admitted, Sir . . . must have very little skill in *Painting*, that could not find out a whole score of them to be Copies by vain and wanton Imitators; but took the whole Set for *Originals*. Mr. B. himself puts the same complement upon him, that he makes such a hideous out-cry at in another, *That Sir . . . neither knew the true Time nor the true Value of his Authors.*

But the Examiner bears still harder upon another worthy Author, the Honourable Mr. Boyle in his *Preface to Phalaris*. That ingenious and learned Gentleman is expressly against this new Distinction, of *Proofs that affect the whole, and Proofs that touch only Particular Epistles*. For he owns,<sup>4)</sup> *that if Diodorus Siculus say true, that Tau-*

1) Pref. p. 3. [The regard I had for the most accomplished writer of the age, whom I never think of, without calling to mind those happy lines of Lucretius —

*Quem tu, dea, tempore in omni*

*Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus,*

a character which, I dare say, *Memmius* did not better deserve than *Sir William Temple*.<sup>a</sup> Boyle's Preface to *Bentley's Dissertations examined*. — D.]

2) P. 155.

3) P. 92.

4) Præf. Phal. p. 3.

romenium was not built and call'd so, till after the razing  
 5 of Naxus by Dionysius the Tyrant, actum est de Phalaridis  
 Titulo, & ruit omnis male sustentata conjecturis autoritas;  
 Phalaris's Title to the Letters is quite cashier'd; and all the  
 Authority of them, supported by weak surmises, must drop to  
 the ground, But this *Tauromenium* is mention'd thrice only  
 in the whole Set of Epistles.<sup>1)</sup> So that if *Phalaris's* Title  
 to All the Epistles be render'd quite desperate by the dis-  
 proof of Three single ones, I have that Noble Author on  
 my side against the whimsical Distinction of the Examiner;  
 who, though not Three only but Thirty of the Letters, and  
 those not coming all together, but scatter'd through the  
 whole Set, be refuted from Chronology, would still comfort  
 himself with the cold hopes, that the rest may be Genuine.  
 My former Dissertation began with a short Address<sup>2)</sup>

---

1) Ep. 15, 31, 33.

2) This Address (preceded by the passage from Sir W.  
 Temple's Essay quoted in the Introduction, is as follows:

»SIR, I remember that discoursing with you upon this  
 »Passage of Sir W. T. (which I have here set down) I happen'd  
 »to say, That with all Deference to so great an Authority, and  
 »under a just Awe of so sharp a Censure, I believe it might  
 »be even demonstrated, that the *Epistles of Phalaris* are Spu-  
 »rious, and that we have nothing now extant of *Æsop's* own  
 »Composing. This casual Declaration of my Opinion, by the  
 »power of that long Friendship that has been between us,  
 »you improved into a Promise, That I would send you my  
 »Reasons in Writing, to be added to the New Edition of your  
 »Book: believing it, as I suppose, a considerable Point in the  
 »Controversie you are engaged in. For if it once be made out,  
 »that those Writings your Adversary so extolls, are Supposi-  
 »tious, and of no very long Standing; you have then His and  
 »his Parties own Confession, That some of the Later Pens have  
 »outdone the Old ones in their kinds: And to others, that have  
 »but a mean Esteem of the Wit and Stile of those Books, it  
 »will be a double Prejudice against him, in your favour, That  
 »he could neither discover the true Time nor the true Value of  
 »his Authors. These, I imagine, were your Thoughts; when you  
 »engaged me to this that I am now doing. But I must take  
 »the freedom to profess, that I write without any view or regard  
 »to your Controversie; which I do not make my own, nor pre-  
 »sume to interpose in it. 'Tis a Subject so nice and delicate,  
 »and of such a mixed and diffused nature, that I am content

to my Learned Friend Mr. Wotton, with whose Book it was then publish'd: but because in this Second Edition it comes out alone; it was thought proper to leave out that little Procemium. However I will not omit to give an Answer to those Reflections, that the Examiner has made upon't.

First he tells me that *Dion's Authority*, whom I had cited there, in this or any other Case is not very considerable; he's tedious and insipid; he's as errant a Sophist and Declamer, as ever was. We may learn the Truth of this Gentleman's Characters, from this one that he begins his Book with. Let's hear what Others have said of *Dion*. His own Age surnam'd him *Chrysostom*,<sup>1)</sup> (the same title that was afterwards given to that great Father of the Church) upon account of his Eloquence. Nor had Posterity a worse opinion of him; if *Philostratus*, *Themistius*, *Synesius*, all Men of admirable Eloquence, are competent Witnesses of it. So far was he from being counted as errant a Sophist as ever was, that both Christian Fathers and Philosophers, nay the very Sophists themselves, that would have been proud of his Company, have declar'd him no *Sophist*, but a *Philosopher*<sup>2)</sup>. *Themistius* says, he was in the same Qua-

»to make the best Use I can of both Ancients and Moderns,  
 »without venturing with you, upon the hazard of a wrong Com-  
 »parison, or the envy of a true one. That some of the Oldest  
 »Books are the best in their kinds, the same Person having the  
 »double Glory of Invention and Perfection, is a thing observed  
 »even by some of the Ancients (*Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 33 p. 397*).  
 »But then the Authors they gave this Honour to, are *Homer*  
 »and *Archilochus*, one the Father of Heroic Poem, and the  
 »other of Epode and Trochaic. But the choice of *Phalaris* and  
 »*Æsop*, as they are now extant, for the two great inimitable  
 »Originals, is a piece of Criticism of a peculiar Complexion, and  
 »must proceed from a Singularity of Palate and Judgment.  
 Ed. 1777.

<sup>1)</sup> *Photius Biblioth. [Cod. CCIX.] Eunapius, p. 5. Themist. Orat. 12. [p. 76, 1 ed. Dind.] Synesius in Calvisii Encomio [p. 63A Petav.] & in Dione [35 C]. Δίῳνι τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν γλῶτταν. Τὴν γλῶτταν, ἣν χρυσὴν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Themist. Orat. 12. Τὸν Ἀρείον ἐκείνον ὁ Σεβαστὸς, ὁ Τιβερίος τὸν Θρασύλῳν, Τραϊανὸς ὁ μέγας τὸν Δίῳνα τὸν χρυσοῦν τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸν Ἐπίκτητον τὸ δύο Ἀντωνίνῳ.*

lity with the Emperor *Trajan*, as *Arius* was with *Augustus*, and *Thrasyllus* with *Tiberius*, and *Epictetus* with the two *Antonines*. He is rank'd with<sup>1)</sup> *Ammonius* and *Plutarch*, and *Carneades* and *Favorinus*, and such othar great Men, that were really Philosophers, but because of their polite Learning were called Sophists by the Vulgar. But what need I say more, when his very Works, that are yet extant, are for the most part upon Political and Philosophical Subjects? The Moderns too agree with the Ancients in their Character of *Dion*. It were easie to mention many; but since our Examiner professes a peculiar Deference to *Casaubon's* Opinion, 'tis enough to say, that He calls him<sup>2)</sup> *the most excellent Philosopher*. A Man that traduces *Dion* for a flat and insipid Sophist, seems to own, that he neither read *Dion*, nor these others that have so commended him.

Then he taxes me for *Singularity of Judgement*. For never any Man, till I arose, pretended to despise Phalaris. My opinion is contrary to the sense of all Mankind, that have ever written before me<sup>3)</sup>. This is very peremptorily said. But Mr. B. by his own advice<sup>4)</sup>, should have had a care of Negatives, a very dangerous way of Speech; especially when the contrary Affirmative is most certainly true. For Chronologers are all agreed that the great *Erasmus* lived before our days; and these are his words<sup>5)</sup>: *Those Epistles that some body has left us, in the Names of Brutus, and of Phalaris, and of Seneca, and St. Paul, what else can they be reckon'd than little poor Declamations?* This is as great a Contempt of them as ever I express'd; 'tis the very word, I my self used, *Was ever any Declamator's Case so extravagantly put?*

But to give his Reader another Tast of some Bodies

<sup>1)</sup> *Philostat. de Soph.* p. 485, 489, 496 [p. 6 sqq. ed. Teubner]. *Synesius in Dione. Eunap. in Præfat.* Τοὺς φιλοσοφῆσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι.

<sup>2)</sup> *Gravitate captus orationum excellentissimi Philosophi. Casaub. Ep. ad H. Stephanum.* <sup>3)</sup> P. 27. <sup>4)</sup> P. 95.

<sup>5)</sup> *Porro Epistolæ, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecæ & Pauli, quid aliud censerî possunt quam DECLAMATIUNCULÆ?* *Erasm. Ep. lib. I. epist. I.* See also his Epistle before the IVth Tome of *St. Hierom.*

*Singularity*, Mr. B. tells a Story of a certain Critic of our Times, who maintain'd (when and where 'tis no matter) that Ovid and Manilius were the only two Poets, that had Wit among the Ancients. To speak freely, I am asham'd to see a Person that writes himself *Honourable*, tell such little Stories and Hear says, so below his Name and Character. I am not at all concern'd to justify this Criticism, for I know not that ever I said so. But however not to desert *Manilius*, for whom I have an esteem; I see no reason at all, why he that said this should be asham'd of it. For, with Submission, why must *Ovid* and *Manilius* be set as wide asunder, as *Nireus* and *Thersites*?<sup>1)</sup> Better Judges than Mr. B. have thought there was a likeness in the Genius's of those two Poets. When our Examiner reads *Manilius* (for by his Censure one would guess he yet had not) he will find in the best Editions what *Scaliger* says of him<sup>2)</sup> *A most ingenious Poet, a most elegant Writer, that could manage an obscure and knotty Subject with that clearness and smoothness of Style; equal to Ovid in Sweetness, and superiour in Majesty. Especially his Introductions and Digressions are secure above all Detraction. Nothing can be more divine, more copious, more grave, more pleasant.* Thus we see, one of the greatest Scholars of all the Moderns, and a very great Poet himself, has thought *Manilius* a very witty one; and just as that certain Critic did, has joyn'd him with *Ovid*. 'Tis an honour therefore to Dr. Bentley, that in a comparison of Writers, he is rank'd here with *Manilius*. But what satisfaction will Mr. B. make to his admired Sir<sup>3)</sup> . . . . . for listing him with *Ovid*? that *Ovid*,<sup>4)</sup> whom he modestly calls in another place *the trifling Author of the Verses upon Ibis*.<sup>5)</sup> I cannot pretend to tell, who is most obliged to him, the Roman *Ovid*, or the English *Memmius*.

1) P. 28. 2) *Poeta ingeniosissimus, nitidissimus scriptor, qui obscuras res tam luculento sermone, materiam morosissimam tam jucundo charactere exornare potuerit, Ovidio suavitate par, Majestate, superior. Imprimis omnia ejus Proemia & rapex-βάσεις, extra omnem aleam posita sunt. Nihil illis divinius, copiosius, gravius, & jucundius dici potest. Audiamus itaque doctorem canentem. Scalig. in Præf.*

3) Sir William Temple. — W.

4) P. 28.

4) P. 133.

- 9 To pass a Censure upon all kinds of Writings, to shew their several Excellencies and Defects, and especially to assign each of them to their proper Authors, was the chief Province and the greatest Commendation of the Ancient Critics<sup>1</sup>). And it appears from those Remains of Antiquity that are left us, that they never wanted Employment. For to forge and counterfeit Books, and father<sup>2</sup>) them upon Great Names, has been a Practice almost as old as Letters. But it was then most of all in fashion<sup>3</sup>), when the Kings of *Pergamus* and *Alexandria*, rivalling one another in the Magnificence and Copiousness of their Libraries, gave great rates for any Treatises that carried the Names of celebrated Authors. Which was an Invitation to the Scribes and Copyers of those Times, to enhance the Price of their Wares by ascribing them to Men of Fame and Reputation; and to suppress the true Names, that would have yielded less Money. And now and then even an Author, that wrote for Bread, and made a Traffick of his Labours, would purposely conceal himself, and personate some old Writer of eminent
- 10 Note; giving the Title and Credit of his Works to the Dead, that himself might the better live by them. But what was then done chiefly for Lucre, was afterwards done out of Glory and Affectation, as an Exercise of Stile, and an Ostentation of Wit. In this the Tribe of the Sophists are principally concerned; in whose Schools it was the ordinary task to compose *ῥητορικάς*, to make Speeches and write Letters in the Name and Character of some Heroe, or great

---

<sup>1</sup>) [See Dawes' allusion to this passage in the Preface to his *Miscell. Crit.* p. XIV. *ed. Kidd.* 1827. — D.]

<sup>2</sup>) The original edition has the misprint *farther*. — W.

<sup>3</sup>) *Galen in Hippoc. de Natura hominis*, com. 2. p. 17. *Ed. Basil.* [Tom. V p. 16. Wegener de aula Attalica p. 60. — R.]

Commander or Philosopher; *Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους*, *What would Achilles, Medea, or Alexander say in such or such Circumstances?* Thus *Ovid*, we see, who was bred up in that way, writ Love Letters in the Names of *Penelope* and the rest. 'Tis true, they came abroad under his own Name; because they were written in *Latin* and in Verse, and so had no colour or pretense to be the Originals of the *Græcian* Ladies. But some of the *Greek* Sophists had the Success and Satisfaction to see their Essays in that kind pass with some Readers for the genuine Works of those they endeavour'd to express. This, no doubt, was great Content and Joy to them; being as full a Testimony of their Skill in Imitation, as the Birds gave to the Painter, when they peck'd at his Grapes.<sup>11</sup> One of them<sup>1)</sup> indeed, has dealt ingenuously, and confess'd that he feign'd the Answers to *Brutus*, only as a Trial of Skill: but most of them took the other way, and concealing their own Names, put off their Copies for Originals; preferring that silent Pride and fraudulent Pleasure, though it was to die with them, before an honest Commendation from Posterity for being good Imitators. And to speak freely, the greatest part of Mankind are so easily imposed on in this way, that there is too great an Invitation to put the trick upon them. What clumsie Cheats, those *Sibylline* Oracles now extant, and *Aristeas's* Story of the *Septuagint*, passed without controul even among very learned Men. And even some Modern Attempts of this kind have met with Success not altogether discouraging. For though *Annius* of *Viterbo*<sup>2)</sup>, after a Reputation of some Years, and *Inghiramius* imme-

<sup>1)</sup> *Μεθυσάτης* *Præf. Ep. Bruti.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII cum commentariis Fratris Ioannis Annii Viterbiensis, fol.* first published at Rome in 1498. — D. See *Hallam, Lit. Hist.* I 244 sq. — W.

diately,<sup>1)</sup> were shamed out of all Credit: yet *Sigoni*'s Essay *de Consolatione*, as coming from a skillfull Hand, may perhaps pass for *Cicero*'s with some, as long as *Cicero* himself shall last. Which I cannot presage of that bungling Supplement to *Petronius* (I mean not that from *Traw*,<sup>2)</sup> but the pretended  
 12 one from *Belgrade*) that Scandal to all Forgeries: though, I hear, 'tis at present admir'd as a genuine Piece by some that think themselves no ordinary Judges.

I Had said out of *Galen*, That in the Age of the *Ptolemees* the Trade of coining false Authors was in greatest Practice and Perfection. Wherein I am charg'd with several faults; as first, for citing Passages out of the way. An Accusation I should wish to be True, rather than False. For I take it to be a Commendation, to entertain the Reader with something, that's out of the common way;<sup>3)</sup> and I'll never desire to trouble the World with common Authorities, as this Gentleman would have me do.

But there are other old Writers that tell this Story.<sup>4)</sup> I wish he had pleased to name them: I must freely own, I remember but one; and he tells the Story but by Halves, and is more out of the way than *Galen* himself. 'Tis *Ammonius* in his Comment upon *Aristotle's Categories*.<sup>5)</sup> 'Tis reported, says he, that *Philadelphus* being desirous to make a Collection of all *Aristotle's Works* (as indeed of all sorts of Books whatsoever) gave good Encouragement to those that

1) *Ethruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta, quibus urbis Romae aliarumque gentium primordia, mores, et res gestae indicantur, a Curtio Inghirami* reperta *Scornelli prope Vulturnam, fol. Francofurti, 1637.* — D. See *Hallam*, l. c. II. p. 390. — W.

2) *The Cena Trimalchionis*, now at Paris. — W. 3) P. 29.

4) P. 29. 5) *Ammon.* p. 10. edit. Venet. 1546. Πτολεμαίων τὸν Φιλάδελφον πάνυ ἐσπουδαξέναι φασὶ περὶ τὰ Ἀριστοτελικά συγγράμματα, ὥς καὶ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ χρήματα διδόναι τοῖς προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ βίβλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου· ὅθεν τινὲς χρηματίζασθαι βουλόμενοι, ἐπεγράφοντες συγγράμματα τῷ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ὀνόματι, προσῆγον.



could bring him any Treatise of that Philosopher's. Some therefore, with a design to get Money of him, put Aristotle's Name to other mens Writings. Ammonius, we see, only speaks of Books father'd upon Aristotle: which did not<sup>13</sup> reach to my purpose. But Galen says it more fully, and yet as truly, of all Writers of Reputation.

But who would expect to see a point of History settled out of a Physician?<sup>1)</sup> Any one that has read the Works of that Physician; or even that single Tract of his,<sup>2)</sup> *About his own Books*; such a one would know, that excellent Author was not only a Great Man in his own Faculty, but in all parts of Learning. But what if he had been a meer Physician, like Aëtius or Aretæus? Is that a just Exception, or the least Diminution to his Testimony? The Examiner has taken care very often in his Book to tell us of his *good Breeding*; though it be one part of *good Breeding*, not to value one's self upon it. Without doubt then he has added much to that Character of himself, by this cast of his Civility upon a whole Profession at once.

But, it seems, I quote very awkwardly; for I have fetched in a Witness, that, after all, speaks against me.<sup>3)</sup> The Passage in Galen that I refer to is this;<sup>4)</sup> *When the Attali and the Ptolemees were in Emulation about their Libraries, the Knavery of forging Books and Titles began. For there were those, that to enhance the price of their Books, put the Names of great Authors before them, and so sold them to those Princes.* This, I conceive, is an ample Testimony, that the practice of counterfeiting was then most in fashion, which is the thing I produce him for. 'Tis true, as Mr.<sup>14</sup> B. observes, Galen hints a little more, than I had occasion to cite from him; for he says, this practice began at that

1) P. 29.

XIX 8—48].

2) Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων Βιβλίων [Kühn Med. Gr.

3) P. 29.

4) Ἐν τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαίους βασιλέας χρόνῳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ πηΐσεως βιβλίων, ἡ περὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς τε καὶ διασκευὰς αὐτῶν ἤρξατο γίνεσθαι ραδιουργία τοῖς ἐνεκα τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀργύριον ἀναφέρουσιν ὡς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων συγγράμματα. Galen. com. 2. in Hip. de Nat. Hom. [Kühn XV 109].

time; which in another place he asserts more expressly;<sup>1)</sup> *That before the Reigns of those Princes there was no such thing as a counterfeit Book.* Which Assertion taken strictly and without a candid allowance, is notoriously false. For we have several Instances of such Forgeries, not only practis'd by persons that lived before those Times, but told us also by Writers that lived before them. *Ion Chius*, the Tragic Poet, says, That *Pythagoras* made some Poems, and put *Orpheus's* Name to them.<sup>2)</sup> *Herodotus* denies, that the Poem called *CYPRIA* is *Homer's*,<sup>3)</sup> and others say, it's *Stasinus's*;<sup>4)</sup> though *Pindar*<sup>5)</sup> ascribes it to *Homer*, *Aristoxenus*<sup>6)</sup> mentions several spurious Pieces, that were father'd upon *Epicharmus*. *Callimachus* says,<sup>7)</sup> that *OECHALIA CAPTA*, a supposed Poem of *Homer's*, was really *Creophylos* the *Samian's*. *Heracledes* of *Pontus*<sup>8)</sup> put forth his own Tragedies under *Thespis's* Name. And *Heracledes* himself was deservedly punish'd by *Dionysius Metathemenos*. For *Dionysius* made a Tragedy called *Parthenopæus*,<sup>9)</sup> and intitled it to *Sophocles*: which *Heracledes* was cheated with; and quoted it for genuine. To these I will add that odd  
 15 Forgery of *Anaximenes* the Historian; though *Pausanias* be the oldest Author now extant, that relates it.<sup>10)</sup> This *Anaximenes* having a spite to his Rival Historian *Theopompus*, wrote a bitter Invective against the three most powerfull Governments of *Greece*, the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Thebans*; where he exactly imitated *Theopompus's* Style. This Book he sends abroad in *Theopompus's* Name, and so makes him odious all over *Greece*.

There are many more instances of such counterfeit Writers: in one short Passage of *Suidas*,<sup>11)</sup> there's an

1) οὐδέπω ψευδῶς ἐπεγέγραπτο σύγγραμμα. Comm. I. in *Hip. de Nat. Hist.* [Kühn XV 105].

2) Vide *Laert. in Pythag.* [5] & *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* [I 397 P. Cf. Ep. ad Mill. 509 sq. Lobeck, Aglaoph. 388 sq. — R].

3) *Herod. lib. 2. c. 117.*

4) *Athen. p. 334 B, 682 E.*

5) *Ælian. Var. hist. 9. 15.* [Pind. fr. 189 p. 654 Böckh.]

6) *Athenæ uslib. 14. p. 648 D.* [Meineke exerc. in Ath. I 49. — R.]

7) *Callimachus in Epigram.* [VII ed. O. Schneider I p. 71].

8) *Aristoxenus apud Laert. in Heraclide* [7].

9) *Laert. in Heraclide* [7].

10) *Pausanias Eliac. 11. p. 195.*

[VI 18, 3].

11) *Suid. in Ὀρφέος.*

account of half a Score. But because the Authors now extant that mention them, were since the time of the *Ptolemees*, we have no certain Demonstration, but that the Forgeries also were since. But *Galen* liv'd at a time, when those other Books were in being, from which our Authors now extant had the Stories at second hand. I can hardly therefore persuade my self, that the great *Galen*, with all his vast and diffused Learning, could be ignorant of such obvious things. I had rather suppose, that when he says Forgeries *began* in the times of the *Ptolemees*; he means it only of those, that were practised to get Money by. For both he and *Ammonius*<sup>1)</sup> particularly speak of those. If this will not excuse *Galen*; I have nothing more to justify him: nor am I concerned in his mistake. For let us consider the charge, that the Examiner draws up against me. *What I cite out of Galen, he acknowledges is there, and is true; but there is something else*<sup>16</sup> in *Galen*, *which I do not cite, that is false*. Is not this a subtle Accusation, and worthy of the ingenious Mr. B? If I quote that Author for one thing, must I therefore be concern'd in all his other Opinions? At this rate Mr. B. may charge me with maintaining the Doctrine of the four Humours of the Body, or with denying the Circulation of the Blood.

Some Critics in St. *Hierom's*<sup>2)</sup> time, of the same stamp with our Examiner, would needs censure St. *Paul* in the very same manner. The Apostle had cited a Verse out of *Epimenides*; <sup>3)</sup>

*Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.*

*The Cretans are always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies.*

This, said those censorious Critics, is to patronize Idolatry; because the Poet in that passage calls them *Liars* and *Beasts* for refusing some Idol-Worship. As if the Apostle, because he approves one single Verse, must for that reason

<sup>1)</sup> Λαμβάνειν δ' ἀρξαμένων μισθῶν (leg. μισθόν) τῶν κομιζόντων αὐτοῖς συγγράμματα παλαιοῦ τινοῦ ἀνδρός, *Galen*. Ὅθεν τινὲς χρηματίζασθαι βουλόμενοι. *Ammon.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Hieron. Comm. ad Titum.* [opp. tom. V ed. Martinat. Paris 1706 p. 421. — R.] <sup>3)</sup> *Titus*, 1, 12.

be supposed to espouse the whole Context. If the Examiner consult *Hierom*, he will find there a very good answer both to those Critics, and himself.

In the former Edition, I had said, that the Supplement of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Buda*. I had never seen that sorry Imposture but once in a Shop;<sup>1)</sup> and I was not much concern'd to remember the Title of it.  
 17 I will take therefore our Examiner's Word, for I have not seen the Book since, that it pretends to come from *Belgrade*. Nor do I envy him the Honour of being better acquainted with that worthy Author, than I am. But I wonder, he would stop there; and not vindicate that *Belgrade* Fragment for a genuine Piece. For upon the same foot that he has defended *his Phalaris*, he may maintain all the Cheats that ever were made, as I will shew at large in its proper place. If the Examiner therefore have longer Life, with leisure and a good Assistant, we may hope for new Editions of *Berosus* and *Metasthenes*,<sup>2)</sup> and the rest of that Stamp: They will make a most noble Set, and will deserve to stand together with *Phalaris* and *Aristeas*.

That Sophist, whoever he was, that wrote a small Book of Letters in the Name and Character of *Phalaris*, (give me leave to say this now, which I shall prove by and by) had not so bad a hand at Humouring and Personating, but that several believed, it was the Tyrant himself that talked so big, and could not discover the Ass under the Skin of that Lion. For we find *Stobæus*<sup>3)</sup> quoting the 38, and 67, and 72, of those *Epistles*, under the Title of *Phalaris*.  
 A And *Suidas*, in the Account he gives of him, says,

<sup>1)</sup> *Pet. Arb. Satyricon cum fragmentis Albæ Græcæ recuperatis anno 1688. 12. Col. Arg. 1691. (1697: Budaë). — W.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Metasthenes Persa de iudicio temporum et annalium Persarum* and *Defloratio Berosi libris V* belong to the forgeries of *Annius of Viterbo*. — R.

<sup>3)</sup> *Stob. Tit. VII & XLVII.*

he has wrote *very admirable Letters*, ἐπιστολὰς θαυμασίας πάνυ, meaning those that we are speaking of. And *Johannes Tzetzes*, a Man of much rambling Learning, has many and large Extracts out of them,<sup>18</sup> in his *Chiliads*; ascribing them all to the Tyrant whose Livery they wear. These three, I think, are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them: but since they give not the least hint of any Doubts concerning their Author; we may conclude, that most of the Scholars of those Ages received them as true Originals; so that they have the general Warrant and Certificate for this last Thousand Years before the Restoration of Learning. As for the Moderns; besides the Approbation of those smaller Criticks, that have been concerned in the Editions of them, and cry them up of course; some very Learned Men have espoused and maintained them, such as *Thomas Fazellus*<sup>1)</sup> and *Jacobus Cappellus*<sup>2)</sup>. Even Mr. *Selden* himself<sup>3)</sup> draws an Argument in Chronology from them, without discovering any Suspicion or Jealousie of a Cheat. To whom I may add their latest and greatest Advocate; who has honoured them with that most high Character, prefixt to this Treatise.

Others, indeed, have shewn their Distrust of *Phalaris's* Title to them; but are content to declare their Sentiment without assigning their Reasons. *Phalaris*, or some body else, says *Cælius Rhod.*<sup>4)</sup> *The Epistles that go under the Name of Phalaris*, says *Menagius*<sup>5)</sup>. Some name the very Person, at whose<sup>19</sup> door they lay the Forgery. *Lucian*, whom they commonly mistake for *Phalaris*, says *Ang. Politia-*

<sup>1)</sup> *Historia Sicula*, p. 118.

<sup>2)</sup> *Historia Sacra & Exotica*.

p. 249.

<sup>3)</sup> *Marm. Arundel*. p. 106.

<sup>4)</sup> *Lib. III. c. 7.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Ad Laert.* p. 35.

*nus*<sup>1)</sup>. The *Epistles of Phalaris*, if they are truly his, and not rather *Lucian's*, says *Lilius Greg. Gyraldus*<sup>2)</sup>; who, in another place informs us, that *Politian's* Opinion had generally obtained among the Learned of that Age: *The Epistles*, says he, of *Phalaris*, which most People attribute to *Lucian*<sup>3)</sup>. How judiciously they ascribe them to *Lucian*, we shall see better anon; after I have examin'd the Case of *Phalaris*, who has the Plea and Right of Possession. And I shall not go to dispossess him, as those have done before me, by an Arbitrary Sentence in his own Tyrannical Way; but proceed with him upon lawfull Evidence, and a fair, impartial Tryal. And  
 D I am very much mistaken in the Nature and Force of my Proofs, if ever any Man hereafter, that reads them, persist in his old Opinion of making *Phalaris* an Author.

The Censures that are made from Stile and Language alone, are commonly nice and uncertain, and depend upon slender Notices. Some very sagacious and learned Men have been deceived in those  
 20 Conjectures, even to ridicule. The great *Scaliger* published a few Iambicks, as a choice Fragment of an old Tragedian, given him by *Muretus*; who soon after confess'd the Jest, that they were made by himself<sup>4)</sup>. *Boxhornius* writ a Commentary upon a small Poem *De Lite*, supposed by him to be some ancient Author's; but it was soon discover'd to be *Michael Hospitalius's*, a late Chancellor of *France*. So that if I had no other Argument, but the Stile, to detect the Spuriousness of *Phalaris's Epistles*; I my self, indeed, should be satisfied with that alone, but I durst not hope to convince every body else. I shall begin therefore with another sort of Proofs,

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Epist. I.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Poet. Hist.* p. 88.

<sup>3)</sup> *P.* 332.

<sup>4)</sup> *Bernays, Life of Scaliger* p. 270 sq. — R.

that will affect the most slow Judgments, and assure the most timid or incredulous.

A To shew *Stobæus's* Approbation of *Phalaris's* Epistles, I had observed, *that he quoted three of them under the Title Phalaris.* The Gentleman adds one more; and I should thank him for his Liberality, had not any One of those three I mention'd been sufficient for my purpose. But when he says,<sup>1)</sup> *'Tis Tit. CCXVIII. and again in the Collection of Antonius and Maximus, and that I overlook'd it;* for that I must beg his Pardon. For I could hardly overlook the 218th Title of *Stobæus*, where there are but 121 in all. 'Tis not Title 218, but Page 218,<sup>2)</sup> and not of *Stobæus*, but of *Antonius* that is printed at the end of him. But the Title of *Stobæus*, that the Examiner would cite, is<sup>21</sup> *LXXXIV. How far the Assistant, that consulted Books<sup>3)</sup>* for the Examiner, may be chargeable with this mistake; or how far it goes towards a Discovery, that Mr. B. himself never looked into *Stobæus*, I will leave it for others to determine.

B *These three*, said I, (*Stobæus, Suidas, and Tzetzes*) *I think, are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them.* I am sensible, how hazardous it is to publish Books in great hast; where 'tis impossible not to commit some oversight or mistake. I could then call to mind Three only; but the Examiner and his Assistant have found as many more,<sup>4)</sup> *Photius* in his Epistles, the *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes*, and *Nonnus* upon *Greg. Nazianzen.* For his first Author, *Photius*, I must own my self obliged to him; because that Learned Patriarch plainly intimates his Suspensions (as Mr. B. well observes<sup>5)</sup> *that the Epistles are not genuine;* when he says, *they are attributed to Phalaris.*<sup>6)</sup> This is honest and just in the Gentleman, (though he ridicules it in others) *to fetch in a Witness, that after all speaks against him.* Out of Gratitude therefore for this

1) P. 31.

2) Edit. Genev. 1609.

3) Pref.

4) P. 30.

5) P. 32.

6) *Τὰς εἰς Φάλαριν ἐκείνον, οἶμαι τὸν Ἀρχαγαντῖνον τύραννον ἀναφερομένης ἐπιστολᾶς. Phot. Ep. 207 [ed. Montacutius, Lond. 1651].*

fair Dealing, I'll tell him something about his other two Authors, that perhaps he is not yet aware of.

First, The Passage that is quoted out of the *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes*<sup>1)</sup> (with the Examiner's leave) is spurious: for there are other things not genuine, besides *Phalaris's* <sup>22</sup> Epistles. 'Tis not extant in *Aldus's* original Edition set out by *Musurus*,<sup>2)</sup> but was foisted in by the Overseer of the Press at *Florence*, and copied out afterwards at *Basil* and *Geneva*. And to shew that it was not taken out of some ancient MS (as perhaps the Examiner will be ready to say) the same Person has interpolated four Passages more, but all out of printed Books, *Galen*,<sup>3)</sup> *Athenæus*,<sup>4)</sup> and *Eustathius*.<sup>5)</sup> From the last of which Authors there hangs an Observation. The Examiner, after he has cited this *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes*, thus flourishes and insults: *That very Scholiast, whom one would think, the Doctor by his citing him so often, had thoroughly read.* Now some perhaps may think still, and the rather upon this very account, that the Doctor had thoroughly read him; but that our Examiner had not, I have a small proof from his own Words. *This Scholiast*, says he,<sup>6)</sup> *is some Centuries older than Suidas.* Now how could he say this, had he known that this *Scholiast* had cited *Eustathius*, who is some Centuries younger than *Suidas*? For I suppose it appears manifestly, that the Gentleman had no Apprehension, that the Passage was foisted in.

But some have thought *Suidas* younger than *Eustathius* himself. That Point therefore must be settled; for we have to deal with a shifting Adversary, that to avoid a thing which presses him, will strike in with any opinion. *Eustathius* is known to have lived A. D. 1180. As for *Suidas*,<sup>7)</sup> he has brought down a point of Chronology to

1) *Aristoph. Phut. v. 142. Καταλύω, τὸ ἀφανίζω καὶ διαλύω, ὡς κἀνταῦθα καὶ ὁ Φάλαρις· εἰ βούλεσθε ἐμὲ τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καταλύσαι πόλεμον.* See *Phal. Epist. 5.* 2) *Ven. 1498.*

3) *Edit. Basil. p. 43.* 4) *P. 52, 65.* 5) *P. 52. P. 31.*

6) *P. 31.* 7) *Suid. v. Ἀδάμ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἕως τῆς τελευταίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζιμισχῆ, ἔτη καὶ. λογε ἔτη ιε. [See Bernhardt, comment. de Suidae lexico cap. 2 p. XXVIII. — R.]*



the Death of the Emperor *Zimisces*, that is, to the Year of Christ, 975. So that he seems to have writ his *Lexicon* <sup>23</sup> between that time and the Death of the succeeding Emperor, which was 1025. *Wolfius* indeed brings him much lower; for he says,<sup>1)</sup> he cites *Metochita Logotheta*, that lived in the beginning of the 14th Century in the times of the *Palæologi*. To whom learned Men have answer'd, that that Passage, or any other of that sort, may be supposed to have been foisted in since *Suidas's* Death. But the whole thing is a mistake of *Wolfius's*. For the places he hinted at are in the words *Ἀβαξί* and *Νοθεύει*, where *Logotheta* indeed is quoted; but not the *Logotheta*, that *Wolfius* understood, *Theodorus Metochita Logotheta*, that died 1322; but *Symeon Metaphrastes Logotheta*, that flourished in the beginning of the 10th Century. The words are,<sup>2)</sup> *Logotheta in the Martyrdom of St. Thecla*: and<sup>3)</sup> *The Exposition of Logotheta upon the Martyrdom of St. Lucian*. Where the very word *Exposition*, *Μετὰφρασις*, is a plain Indication, that he means *Symeon* called *Μεταφραστής*; but, which is certain Demonstration, those two Discourses of *Symeon's* are extant at this day. The Reader too may be pleased to observe, that our Author calls *Symeon*, *μαχαρίτης*, of blessed Memory, which I believe is never used in Greek, but of Persons not long dead, and within the Memory of him that says it. But *Symeon* was in Office under *Leo*, who died 58 Years, before *Suidas's* Chronology ends. If *Suidas* then was *Symeon's* Contemporary, he must have <sup>24</sup> made his Book soon after the Death of *Zimisces*; 200 years before *Eustathius*.

And then for the Examiner's other Author, which he would give me the credit of, *Nonnus in his Commentary on Gregory's Invecive*; I thank him for his kind offer, but I cannot accept of it. That poor Writer is not *Nonnus* the Poet, the Author of the *Dionysiacks* and the *Paraphrase*

---

1) *Atque adeo, cum Metochitam Logothetam cilet, qui sub Palæologis vixit, apparet eum vix annis abhinc 300 Lexicon hoc composuisse.* Hieron. Wolf. in Præfat. ad Suid. A. D. 1544.

2) Ὁ Λογοθέτης ἐν τῷ τῆς ἁγίας Θέκλῃς μαρτυρίῳ. *Suid.* v. Ἀβαξί.

3) Ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαχαρίτου Λογοθέτου μεταφράσει, τῇ εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ. *Suid.* v. Νοθεύει.

of St. John's Gospel; as Learned Men,<sup>1)</sup> and if I may presume to guess, Mr. B. himself have believed. 'Tis true, I am no Admirer of that Poet; I have the same opinion of his Judgment and Style, that *Sculiger*, and *Cunæus*, and *Heinsius* had. But he had great variety of Learning, and may pass for an able Grammarian, though a very ordinary Poet. And I can never think so very mean of him, as to make him Writer of that Commentary, so full of shamefull mistakes. That Commentator interprets,<sup>2)</sup> τὰς Φρυγῶν ἐκτομὰς, *The Castration of the Phrygians*, to be the slashing and cutting their Limbs. He says,<sup>3)</sup> *Anaxarchus* was pounded in a Mortar by *Archelaus* the Tyrant. Here's *Archelaus* of *Macedonia*, instead of *Nicocreon* of *Cyprus*.<sup>4)</sup> Besides that *Archelaus* was dead above 60 Years before *Anaxarchus*'s time. When he explains *Ἐπικτήτου σκέλος* in *Gregory*,<sup>5)</sup> he says,<sup>6)</sup> *Epictetus's Leg was put in Chains by a certain Tyrant*. He knew not, it seems, that common story, that *Epictetus* was lame of one Leg; and not by Chains and Imprisonment, but merely by a Rheumatism. He says,<sup>7)</sup> *Plato* in *Theætetus* and everywhere brings in *Socrates* saying, ὅτι καλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus is handsome*, Whereas *Plato*<sup>8)</sup> says directly the contrary, Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι καλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus is not*  
 25 *handsom*; as having a flat Nose and goggle Eyes. But the merriest fancy of this Writer, is this very story of *Phalaris*, with which Mr. B. would enrich my Dissertation. *Phalaris*, says he,<sup>9)</sup> to ingratiate himself with *Dionysius* the Tyrant, invented the *Brazen Bull*, and presented it to him. But *Dionysius*, detesting the Cruelty of the Invention, made the first Experiment upon *Phalaris* himself. Mr. B. who is for drawing down *Phalaris* as low as he can, should have struck in methinks with this Writer, who has drawn him down with a vengeance, even to *Dionysius*'s time, the xciv Olymp. the space of above sixscore Years. Now, I conceive,

1) *Simlerus* in *Biblioth.* [Gesneri, Turic. 1574.] Dr. Cave. See *Catal. Biblioth. Oxon.* &c.

2) *Num. 5. edit. Eton.* [a. 1610 by Montacutius.]

3) *N. 15*

4) [Cf. *Diog. Laert.* IX 10.]

5) *P. 37.*

6) *Num. 14.*

7) *N. 22.*

8) *Plato* in *Theæt.* [p. 209 B.]

9) *Num. 48.*

it will be easily allow'd, that *Nonnus* the Poet could not be guilty of these mistakes. But there are two Errors of this Commentator, that we have the Poet's own assurance, he could not have committed. *Gregory* says,<sup>1)</sup> ἡ Κασταλία σεσέγγεται, the *Castalian Fountain* is put to silence. This the Commentator says,<sup>2)</sup> is *Castalia* at *Antioch*. But the Poet would have known it to be *Castalia* of *Parnassus*; as these Verses of his will witness.<sup>3)</sup>

Καὶ ῥία Παρνήσσιο τινάσσετο φοιβάδος ἡχοῦς  
Γείτονος εἰσαίοντα, καὶ ὁμψήεντι ρεέθρῳ  
Κασταλῆς πάφλαξε νοήμονος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ.

The Commentator calls *Bacchus*<sup>4)</sup> Ζαγραίος, which is barbarous, instead of Ζαγρεύς. But the Poet writes it true, in a hundred places of his Book;

Ἀρχεγόνῳ Ζαγρῆϊ καὶ ὀφηγόνῳ Διόνυσῳ<sup>5)</sup>

If the Commentary then carry the name of *Nonnus*; it must needs be some other *Nonnus*, and not the Author of the *Dionysiacs*. *Billius*,<sup>6)</sup> who first publish'd it, out of a Library at *Rhemes*, calls it *Patris Nonni collectio*, &c. In *Possevin's*<sup>7)</sup> Catalogue of the MSS. of the *Escorial*, it is *Nonnus Abbas de Narrationibus*, &c. Bishop *Mountague* that first printed it in Greek, had it out of the Library at *Vienna*; and he ascribes it to *Nonnus*, upon the Credit, I suppose, of *Billius*. For the Original that he follow'd, had no name at all; as it appears from his own Edition,<sup>8)</sup> and from *Lambecius's* Catalogue.<sup>9)</sup> *Tzetzes* in his *Chiliads*<sup>10)</sup> cites this very Book; but he attributes it to one *Maximus*.

Περὶ τοῦ λέγοντος χρησμοῦ τὰς θετταλὰς τὰς ἵππους,  
Μέμνηται μὲν καὶ Μάξιμος ἱστοριῶν τοῖς λόγοις,  
Ἄς ἱστορίας ἔγραφε Γρηγόριος ὁ μέγας.  
Ἔπος δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ βραχὺ τῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ εἰρήκει.

1) *P.* 104. 2) *Num.* 14. Part. 2. 3) *Nonni Dionys.* IV. p. 130. [v. 315]. 4) *N.* 29. 5) Bentley quotes from memory, there being in *Nonnus* no line exactly like the above. R. compares 48, 963. 44, 213. 27, 341. 10, 294, observing at the same time that 'in a hundred places' is rather a strong exaggeration. — W. 6) *In oper. Nazian.* 7) *Possevin. Appar.* vol. 2. 8) *P.* 127. 9) *Lib.* iii p. 207. 10) *Chiliad.* IX 864 p. 357 ed. Kiessling. — D.

*Maximus*, says he, in his *Commentary upon the Histories* in *Gregory*, mentions the Oracle about the Thessalian Mares; but produces not one single Verse of it. If the Examiner look in *Gregory*, p. 69. and in the Comment: *Numb.* 74. he will learn what perhaps he knew not before, that *John Tzetzes* means no other Commentary, than this very *Nonnus*, the Examiner's noble Present to me.

C 'Tis a keen Reflection of Mr. B.<sup>1)</sup> *That I name Fazellus, Cappellus, and Selden, not as a modest man would expect; but only to shew how impossible it was for them to judge right, who had the misfortune to live before me.* I wish  
 27 the Gentleman had shew'd his own *Modesty* a little more in this particular. For what can any man expect from him, that will talk thus against his own Knowledge? In the very same Page I have cited *Rhodiginus, Politian, Gyraldus*, and the most of that Age, as falling in with my own opinion, that *Phalaris* is spurious. And yet I am said to suggest, that *Fazellus* and the rest could not possibly judge right, as having no body to inform them, till I wrote upon the Subject: though the youngest of those, that judged right, whom I have cited in the same place, is older than the eldest of these that judged wrong.

D The Examiner shall see, that I will not persist in an Error, when I am plainly confuted. I was persuaded, when I wrote my Dissertation, *That no body that read it, would believe Phalaris an Author.* Here I must confess, I was in a mistake. For the Examiner, who assures us, *he has read it and weigh'd it,*<sup>2)</sup> has writ a Book of 200 Pages to vindicate his *Sicilian Prince.*<sup>3)</sup> But then, whether, as I said, *I was mistaken in the Nature and Force of my Proofs*, or rather in the Nature and Force of my Adversary; I leave that to the judgment of others.

The Time of *Phalaris's* Tyranny cannot be precisely determined: so various and defective are the Accounts of those that write of him. *Eusebius* sets the beginning of it Olymp. xxxi, 2. *Phalaris apud Agri-*

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 32.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 33.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 43.

*gentinos tyrannidem exercet*; and the end of it Olymp. <sup>A</sup> xxxviii, 2. *Phalaridis tyrannis destructa*. By which <sup>28</sup> Reckoning he governed xxviii<sup>1)</sup> Years. But St. *Hierom*, out of some unknown Chronologer (for that Note is not extant in the *Greek* of *Eusebius*) gives a different Time of his Reign, above lxxx Years later than the other; Olymp. liii, 4. or as other Copies read it, lii, 2. *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit annos xvi*. Which is agreeable to *Suidas*, who places him, κατὰ τὴν νβ. ὀλυμπιάδα, about the lii Olympiad. If the former Account be admitted, the Cheat is manifest at first sight: for those Letters of *Phalaris* to *Stesichorus* and *Pythagoras* must of necessity be false. Because *Stesichorus*, by the earliest Account, was but vi Years old at that supposed time of *Phalaris*'s Death; and *Pythagoras* was not taken notice of in *Greece* till lxxx Years after it. But for the sake of *Aristotle*<sup>2)</sup> and *Jamblichus*,<sup>3)</sup> the first of whom makes *Phalaris* Contemporary with *Stesichorus*; and the other, with *Pythagoras*; and that I may prevent all possible Cavils and Exceptions; I am willing to allow the latter Account, the more favourable to the pretended Letters: his Government commencing Olymp. liii, 4. and expiring after xvi Years, Olymp. lvii, 3.

<sup>A</sup> Mr. B. will not enter the Controversie about *Phalaris*'s Age; but refers himself to another person to settle that point for him. But however he will nibble at some Passages of this Section, to shew his own great Wit; though he borrows another Man's great reading.

In the former Edition, for xxxviii, 2. it was printed xxxvii, 2. Now a Man of Sense and Honour would have pass'd this over, as a plain fault of the Press; as it appear'd from *Eusebius*, who is quoted for it, and from my

<sup>1)</sup> [The original ed. has XXXVIII, an error corrected by D.]

<sup>2)</sup> Rhet. II 20. — R. <sup>3)</sup> De Pythag. vit. 215 sqq. — R.

allowing the Summ of xxviii Years for *Phalaris's* Reign, which in the other way is but xxiv. And yet the Examiner animadverts on it for ten Lines together. But at last, he is willing to suppose xxxvii a false print; which he does not out of Justice and Sincerity, (let not the Reader mistake him) but to draw on another Cavil against the following Passage, a Cavil that would not succede, if xxxvii were truly printed.

The case is thus: I had said, if Olymp. xxxviii, 2, was the time of *Phalaris's* Death, that Letter to *Pythagoras* must be spurious, for He was not taken notice of in Greece, till 80 Years after. But for *Jamblichus's* sake, who made those two to be *Contemporaries*, I would allow the later Account, Olymp. lvii, 3. for *Phalaris's* Death. Here the Gentleman has proved by the dint of Arithmetick, that I contradict my self. For by adding those 80 Years to Ol. xxxviii, 2. the Product is Ol. lviii, 2. *Phalaris* then was three Years dead, before *Pythagoras* was taken notice of. They could not therefore be acquainted, as I said I would  
 30 allow for *Jamblichus's* sake. But here the Gentleman makes use of a certain slight<sup>1)</sup> of hand, that is not fashionable among Men of Honour. He takes away the word *Contemporary*, and in its room puts in *Acquaintance*. Now that's a point I need not allow, neither for *Jamblichus's* sake, nor Mr. B's, that *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras* had any *Acquaintance* together. I granted, they were *Contemporaries*; and 'tis not improbable, that the Tradition about their *Acquaintance* was grounded upon that truth, that they lived at the same time. And I imagin they might, nay they must, have been *Contemporaries*, if the one died but three Years, before the other was famous.

The Examiner, not content with this, makes a step out of his way, to shew another instance of my Inconsistency about *Xerxes's Expedition*.<sup>2)</sup> He says, I put it<sup>3)</sup> in one place at Olymp. lxxiii. Here again the Controversie lies between him and my Printer, who for lxxv, 1. (by mistaking the two strokes of v) made it lxxiii. But his next Attack is made upon my self; Pag 85 th. I say, the very

1) *Slight*, 'contrivance, artifice', is somewhat obsolete now. — W. 2) P. 119. 3) P. 24. first Edit.

next Olymp. after Xerxes's Expedition, Hiero was in the Throne, and I quote Diodorus for it. But Diodorus<sup>1)</sup> says in that very place, that Hiero came to the Throne, Olymp. LXXV, 3. Therefore here I am of opinion, that Xerxes's Expedition was Olymp. LXXIV. And yet Diodorus and I my self elsewhere place it Olymp. LXXV. See the Penetration of our Examiner, if he once set about it. He makes coming to the Throne, and being in the Throne to have the same Signification. For the summ of his Argument lies thus; Hiero came to the Throne, Olymp. LXXV; therefore it cannot be said, he was in the Throne, Olymp. LXXVI. Was there ever such a dangerous Disputant? Upon the same foot he may argue all the Princes in Christendom out of their Thrones, if they are past the first Year of their Reigns. But it is well for them, that in his second Edition this terrible Paragraph is left out. Neither should I have raised it up again out of its Dust; but for the sake of those that may never see his second Edition; and to shew it possible, even by Mr. B's own Confession, that his Animadversions may have other faults, besides Satyr and Abuse.

To take a short leave then of the Examiner; the very Learned Mr. Dodwell, to whose Book now in the Press Mr. B. has made his Appeal for settling the time of *Phalaris*, was pleased at my request, to oblige me with a sight of those Sheets of his Book, where this Question is handled. And there I find, that Learned Man has not only brought *Phalaris* down to Olymp. LXXII, 3. which is LX Years lower than Chronologers had placed him before; but he has asserted the *Epistles* too to be *Phalaris's* own. I have leave to say, this part of his Book was printed before my Dissertation was made; so that only Two of my Arguments, and not those neither in the manner that I urge them, are here consider'd by Mr. Dodwell. But we may expect, that in an Appendix to that noble Work, he will pass a Judgment upon the whole Controversie.<sup>2)</sup>

To inquire then as accurately as we can, into the Age of *Phalaris*; first, we have the Authority of *Eusebius*

<sup>1)</sup> Lib. XI. p. 39. <sup>2)</sup> See *Dodwell's Exercitationes duae: prima de Aetate Phalaridis; secunda, de Aetate Pythagorae.* Londini, 1704. — W.

and *Hierom*, who have furnished us with two Accounts from different Authors.

- 32 Ol. xxxi. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny began.*<sup>1)</sup>  
 Ol. xxxviii. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny ended.*<sup>2)</sup>  
 Ol. liii. 4. *Phalaris held his Tyranny xvi Years.*<sup>3)</sup>  
 Which xvi Years expire at Olymp. lvii, 3.

In all my Dissertation I have reckon'd by this later Account; though some of the MSS<sup>4)</sup> Copies of *Eusebius* date it vi Years before. But I was resolved to avoid Cavils, as much as lay in my power, and to shew all reasonable favour to the pretended Epistles.

If we trace the Footsteps of *Phalaris's* Age in the Remains of other Authors, I believe we shall find, that there is no good Warrant or Authority to bring it down nearer to us, than this last Period of *Eusebius*.

*Syncellus* puts the whole time of *Phalaris* within the Bounds of *Phraortes* and *Cyaxares's* Reigns, thas is, between Olymp. xxxi and xlvii.

*Phalaris was Tyrant of Agrigentum.*<sup>5)</sup>

*Phalaris was deposed from his Tyranny.*<sup>6)</sup>

Now though we should extend *Phalaris's* Life to the very last day of *Cyaxares*; yet it will end xli Years earlier, than by *Eusebius's* reckoning.

- Suidas* says,<sup>7)</sup> *He was Tyrant over all Sicily, about the lii Olymp.* Now allow, that he *began* his Tyranny at that time; though the words do not import so much: the Interval  
 33 between this and *Eusebius's* Period is xxiii Years, a very competent length for the Duration of his Reign.

1) *Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercuit.* 2) *Phalaridis tyrannis destructa.* 3) *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit, ann. xvi.* 4) See *Pontacus's* Edition of *Euseb.* 5) *Syncellus in Chron.* [p. 402 sq. Dind.] *Φάλαρις Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐτυράννησε.* 6) *Φάλαρις τυραννῶν κατελύθη.* [The year of the world, in which *Phraortes* commenced his reign, is Ol. 29, 1 (see *Dindorf* II p. 220), and 4889, the first year of *Cyaxares*, is Ol. 41, 4 (ib. 229). Hence it appears that *Syncellus* places only fifty-one years between the two kings, not as *Bentley* says, sixty-four. — R.] 7) *Suid. v. Φάλ. τυραννήσας Σικελίας δὲ κατὰ τὴν νβ. ὀλυμπιάδα.*



*Orosius*<sup>1)</sup> fixes his Age, to the beginning of *Cyrus's* Reign, after *Astyages* was deposed. But *Cyrus's* Reign commences, Olymp. LV, 1. which falls XI Years within *Eusebius's* Period.

*Pliny*<sup>2)</sup> says, *The first Tyrant in the world was Phalaris at Agrigentum.* This Account will carry his Age as high or higher than the earlier Period in *Eusebius* Ol. xxxi, 2. For *Cypselus* made himself Tyrant of *Corinth* Olymp. xxxi, 3.<sup>3)</sup> or as other say,<sup>4)</sup> xxx, 3. But at least it will secure it from sinking below the later Period, LIII, 4. For there was good store of Tyrants in the World before and about that time: To mention a few of them; *Periander* succeeded his Father *Cypselus* at *Corinth*<sup>5)</sup> Olymp. xxxviii. And he married the Daughter of *Procles*, Tyrant of *Epidaurus*.<sup>6)</sup> He had a Name-sake, a Cousin German,<sup>7)</sup> that was Tyrant of *Ambracia*; and an acquaintance with *Thrasybulus*,<sup>8)</sup> who was Tyrant of *Miletus*. *Pittacus* was Tyrant of *Lesbos*,<sup>9)</sup> Olymp. XLVII, 3. And he slew<sup>10)</sup> *Melanchrus*, Olymp. XLII, who was Tyrant there before him. This *Melanchrus* I believe, is meant in that Verse in *Hephæstion*,<sup>11)</sup>

*Μέλαγχρος αἰδῶς ἄξιος ἐς πόλιν.*

For it appears plainly to be a Verse of *Alcæus's*,<sup>12)</sup> who with his Brothers assisted *Pittacus* in killing *Melanchrus*.<sup>34</sup> *Tynnondas*<sup>13)</sup> was Tyrant of *Eubœa*, before the Year that *Solon* was Archon, which was Olymp. XLVI, 3. But there is one that 'tis almost impossible *Pliny* should forget, I mean *Pisistratus* Tyrant of *Athens*, who began his Government, Olymp. LIV, 4.<sup>14)</sup> They will put an affront then upon

1) Oros. I, 20. *Ea tempestate, Phalaris Siculus Agrigentinos arrepta Tyrannide depopulabatur.* 2) Plin. Hist. Nat. VII, 56 [200]. *Tyrannus primus fuit Phalaris Agrigeniti.* 3) Herodot.

[I 20. V. 92] *Diog. Laert.* [I 7.] 4) Arist. Polit. [p. 1310B.]

5) Aristot. [p. 1315B.] *Laert.* [98.] 6) *Laert. in Periand.* Herodot. [III 50.] 7) *Laert.* [I 7, 6.] Arist. Polit. [p. 1311A.]

8) Herod. [I 20. V 92, 6] *Plut. Conviv. 7. Sap. Laert.* [I 1, 6. 7. I 7, 9.] 9) *Laert. in Pittaco.* 10) *Laert. ibid.*

*Suid. v. Πίττακος.* 11) *Hephæst. Enchir.* p. 46. [= 80 ed. Gaisf.] 12) *Laert.* 13) *Plutarch. in Solone.* [14].

14) *Marm. Arundel.*

that great Historian and Naturalist, who shall attempt to bring *Phalaris* lower than the later Period in *Eusebius*.<sup>1)</sup>

But I believe the Age of *Phalaris* may be best of all determined out of *Pindar*, and his Scholiast. *Pindar* in an Ode to *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, calls him and his Family<sup>2)</sup> *Ἐμμενίδαι Emmenidæ*. Which the Scholiast thus explains; »*Emmenidæ, the Family of Theron*.<sup>3)</sup> *Telemachus*, »that DEPOSED PHALARIS Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, was »the Father of *Emmenides*, he of *Ænesidamus*, he of *Theron* »and *Xenocrates*. *Theron's Son* was *Thrasydæus*, and *Xenocrates's* *Thrasybulus*.

The Genealogy lies thus:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Telemachus</i> , who deposed <i>Phalaris</i> . |                            |
| 2. <i>Emmenides</i> .                                |                            |
| 3. <i>Ænesidamus</i> .                               |                            |
| 4. <i>Theron</i> .                                   | } { 4. <i>Xenocrates</i> . |
| 5. <i>Thrasydæus</i> .                               |                            |
|  | 5. <i>Thrasybulus</i> .    |

These being descended in a direct Line, the Son from the Father: if we can but certainly fix the Age of any one of them: we may gather from thence the time of the first, and consequently of *Phalaris* that was deposed by<sup>35</sup> him. For allowing<sup>4)</sup> Thirty Years for every Generation, or rather an Hundred<sup>5)</sup> Years to three Generations, which was the common Rule and Measure set by the ancient Historians, we shall come at last to the Period we seek for.

The same Genealogy is repeated again in the *Scholia*

1) Does not *Pliny* mean to state that *Phalaris* was the first tyrant of *Agrigentum*? He does not say, the first in the world. — W. 2) ——— *Ἐμὲ δ' ὦν πα θυμὸς δτρύνει φάμεν Ἐμμενίδαῖς, Θήρωνι τ' ἐλθεῖν κῦδος*. *Pind.* III. *Olymp.* extr.

3) *Τηλεμάχου καταλύσαντος τὸν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννον Φάλαριν παῖς γίνεται Ἐμμενίδης, οὗ Αἰνησιδάμος, οὗ Θήρων καὶ Ξενοκράτης. Θήρωνος δὲ Θρασυδαῖος, Ξενοκράτους δὲ Θρασύβουλος*. *Schol. ad locum*.

4) *Eustath. & Schol. vetus ad d*

*Iliad*. *Οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐψήφιζον ἕως ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*.  
5) *Herod. II. c. 142. Γενεαὶ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔταδ ἔστι. Clemens Alex. Strom. I [p. 401 Potter] Εἰς μέντοι τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς καταλέγονται. So Dionys. Halicarnas l. I. p. 120. [II p. 120 Sylb.] from *Numa* *Olymp.* XVI, 3. to *Pythagoras* *Olymp.* L, 1. which makes 134 Years, are τέσσαρες ὅλαι γενεαί, four Generations.*

upon the Fifth Ode of *Pyth.* out of an ancient Historian, Hippostratus,<sup>1)</sup> who wrote a *Treatise of the Sicilian Families*: only here by an Error of the Copier, *Ænesidamus* is left out of the List. But that it is no more than a bare Omission of the Scribe, is apparent from that other Passage above, and from *Pindar* himself,<sup>2)</sup> and *Herodotus*; both of whom being Contemporaries with *Theron*, call him the Son of *Ænesidamus*.

There's a third Table of *Theron's* Pedegree, in the Second Ode of *Olymp.* where *Pindar* saying, *That Theron's Family was derived from Thersander*; the Scholiast reckons the whole Stem of them thus; »*Oedipus, Polynices, Thersander, Tisamenus, Antesion*,<sup>3)</sup> *Theras, Samus*, who had two Sons *Clytius*, who dwelt in the Island *Thera*, and *Telemachus*, who went with some forces to Sicily, and settled himself there.<sup>4)</sup> « The Descendants of

1. *Telemachus*, are,
2. *Chalciopeus*.
3. *Ænesidamus*.
4. *Theron*.

'Tis observable, that he that was named *Emmenides* <sup>36</sup> above, is here called *Chalciopeus*. But this difference is of no consequence in our present Enquiry, since in both Accounts there is the same number of Persons. Nay we have the firmer ground to go upon for this little Variation. For because these differing Genealogies must have been taken from different Authors; we have now a double Authority for the number of the Generations.

To proceed then in our Search after some Characters of Time. *Xenocrates* of the 14th Generation,<sup>5)</sup> got the Prize

1) Ἰππόστρατος δὲ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας γενεαλογῶν. *Pind.* 2. *Olymp.* [46] πρέπει τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου, speaking of *Theron*. *Herod.* VII, 165. Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου.

3) In the Scholiast here it's Ἀντεσίων, but the true reading is Ἀντεσίων. See *Herodotus*, p. 350. [IV 147. VI 52.] *Apolodorus*, p. 142. [236 Heyne]. *Pausanias* in several places; and the Scholiast himself on *Pyth.* IV. [Add. p. 541.]

4) Συλλέξας δύναμιν, ἔρχεται εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν τόπων.

5) *Pindar Schol.* ad II. 1sth. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ξενοκράτης οὐ μόνον Ἰσθμια νενίκηκεν ἵπποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια τὴν εἰκο-

at the *Pythian Games*, in *Pythiad* the xxiv, which falls in with Olymp. LXXII, 3. Supposing then that *Xenocrates* was but xxx Years old at the time of that Victory, and *Telemachus* xl when he deposed *Phalaris*; which is an allowance very favourable in behalf of the Epistles; there's yet an Interval of fourscore and ten Years, and *Phalaris's* Death must be placed at Olymp. i, 1. which is above the Period of *Eusebius*.

But we have more Notes of Time, relating to his Brother *Theron*. He was<sup>1)</sup> Victor at the Olympian Games, Olymp. LXXVII, and died the same Year, in the xvth<sup>2)</sup> of his Reign. So that he came to the Crown Olymp. LXXIII, 1. He had a Daughter *Demarete* that was married<sup>3)</sup> to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse* before LXXV, 1. Let *Theron* then be xlii Years old, when he entred upon his Government, which is an allowance scanty enough, since he had not the Crown by Succession, but obtain'd it by Policy and Interest,<sup>4)</sup> and let his Daughter *Demarete* be xx Years of Age at Olymp. LXXV, and *Telemachus* xl, as before, when *Phalaris* was deposed. The collected number of Years is cx; which will carry *Phalaris's* Death as high as Olymp. XLVII, 2.

Thus, we see, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Suidas*, *Pliny*, *Hippostratus*, and the *Scholias*t on *Pindar*, are all pretty well agreed in placing the time of *Phalaris's* Death above the LVIII Olympiad. And there will be occasion of adding several Remarks in Confirmation of their Testimony; as we examin the opinion of the learned Mr. *Dodwell*.

The Summ of his First<sup>5)</sup> Argument for bringing *Phalaris* down so much lower, turns upon these Authorities.

»*Phalaris* was Contemporary<sup>6)</sup> with *Stesichorus*, and<sup>7)</sup> »survived him. But *Stesichorus* was alive<sup>8)</sup> Olymp. LXXIII, 3.

Where, without doubt, the Reader has already observed, that the principal part of the Argument, *Stesichorus's*

στην τετάρτην πυθιάδα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει. See too, ad VI. *Pyth.* [4]. <sup>1)</sup> *Schol. Pindari ad II. Olymp.* [82].

<sup>2)</sup> *Diodor. Sic.* p. 39. [XI 53]. <sup>3)</sup> *Diodor.* p. 21. [XI 31].

*Timæus apud Schol. Pindar.* II. *Olymp.* <sup>4)</sup> *Polyænus lib.*

VI. [51.] <sup>5)</sup> *De Cyclis v. Diss.* 5. sect. 10. <sup>6)</sup> *Aristot.*

*Jo. Tzetzes.* [Chil. I 640 sqq.] <sup>7)</sup> *Phal. Ep.* [103.]

<sup>8)</sup> *Marm. Arund.* [l. 65].

surviving of *Phalaris*, is plainly begging the Question. For it has no Voucher but the Epistles of *Phalaris*, the very Book that's under debate. This particular then must be laid aside; and without it the whole Argument has no force at all. For *Stesichorus* might be alive Olymp. LXXIII, 3. and yet be Contemporary with *Phalaris*, even by *Eusebius's* account. *Stesichorus* lived to be<sup>1)</sup> LXXXV Years old. He might be XXI then at Olymp. LVII, 3. the time of *Phalaris's* death according to *Eusebius*.

Nay the other Branches of this Argument are either for us, or at least not against us. *Tzetzes*,<sup>2)</sup> who says *Phalaris* lived in *Stesichorus* and *Pythagoras's* time, is a Witness of no credit in this particular; for as Mr. *D. him*<sup>38</sup> self acknowledges, he had it from the *Epistles*, which he often cites in his *Chiliads*. And *Aristotle's*<sup>3)</sup> Story of *Stesichorus's* Fable about the Horse and the Stag, when the *Himeræans* had made *Phalaris* their General, and were going to allow him a Guard, is a little to be suspected; because *Conon*,<sup>4)</sup> a Writer in *Julius Cæsar's* time, gives us the very same Narrative, but instead of *Phalaris*, he says it was *Gelon*, that *Stesichorus* spoke of. And the circumstances of *Gelon's* History seem to countenance *Conon*. For *Gelon* was in great favour and esteem with the *Himeræans*. When their City was besieged by *Himilco*, Olymp. LXXV, 1,<sup>5)</sup> he came and raised the Siege with a total Defeat of all the *Carthaginian* Forces. Upon which almost all the Cities of *Sicily*, even those that had opposed him before, came and made their Submission to him. *Stesichorus* then might say his Fable upon that occasion; or perhaps long before upon some other account, that we now know not of, before *Gelon* obtain'd the Government of *Syracuse*. If we suppose then, with the *Arundel* Marble, that *Stesichorus* lived Olymp. LXXIII, 3. it exactly agrees with the Age of *Gelon*, and *Conon's* account of the Story may seem more credible than *Aristotle's*. And then all the Argument, that

1) *Lucian in Macrob.* [26].

2) *Ad Hesiod. p. 3.*

3) *Arist. in Rhetor.* [II 20.]

4) *Conon Narrat.* 42.

5) *Diod. XI. p. 18. & 21.* [c. 20 sqq. R. refers to Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History I 423. II 123. III 197.]

would settle *Phalaris's* Age from the time of *Stesichorus*, will vanish into nothing.

But if any one will pay so much deference to the deserved Authority of *Aristotle*, as to believe the Story upon his word, I will not contest it with him. Let it be true then, that *Stesichorus* made this Speech upon *Phalaris*. So far is this from being a reason to bring *Phalaris* lower; so that it rather ties and fastens him up to the Period of *Eusebius*. For *Suidas* says, *Stesichorus* was born Olymp. xxxvii, and died lvi, which makes him fourscore years of Age; and wants but five Years, of *Lucian's* reckoning. *Eusebius* places him higher still, for he says, he flourished Olymp. xlii, 1. and died Olymp. lv, 1. All this is confirmed by another Passage of *Suidas*, where he says,<sup>1)</sup> *Simonides* was μετὰ Στησίχορον τοῖς χρόνοις, after *Stesichorus's* time; as in another place, he says,<sup>2)</sup> *Stesichorus* was after *Alcman's* time. Now as *Alcman*, who flourished Olymp. xxvii, was dead when *Stesichorus* was born, Olymp. xxxvii, so *Stesichorus* died Olymp. lvi, the very time that *Simonides* was born according to *Suidas*. If we admit therefore of these Testimonies about *Stesichorus's* Age; and of *Aristotle's* Testimony about his Transaction with *Phalaris*, both together make a new Argument for the Period of *Eusebius*.

But then the *Arundel* Marble lies cross in our way, that makes *Stesichorus*<sup>3)</sup> come into Greece no sooner than Olymp. lxxiii, 3. I have a great Veneration for that incomparable Monument; but I cannot but dissent from it in this particular, both upon the Authorities already produced, and for a reason that I will now propose, and submit to the Reader's Judgment. *Simonides*, as I will shew immediately, was no less than lxxii Years old, Olymp. lxxiii, 3. the Year that *Stesichorus* came into Greece according to the Marble. And I think, that even *Stesichorus* himself can scarce be supposed older: for lxxii is a competent Age to undertake such a long Voyage. *Simonides*

<sup>1)</sup> V. Σιμωνίδης.

<sup>2)</sup> Τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἦν νεώτερος Ἀλκμᾶνος τοῦ λυρικοῦ. *Suid.* v. Στησίχ. *Cyril. contra Jul.* [p. 12 D. Spanh.] *Ol.* μὲ Στησίχορος ἐγνωρίζετο.

<sup>3)</sup> Ἀφ' οὗ Στησίχορος ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο. *Marm. Arund.* [R. refers to Böckh C. I. II 319.]

then, if the Marble say true, was as old as *Stesichorus*: but we have *Simonides*'s own word to the contrary, where <sup>40</sup> he cites *Stesichorus* in company with *Homer*, as an ancient Author;<sup>1)</sup> he is speaking of *Meleager*,

Ὅς δουρὶ πάντας νίκασε νέους  
Δανάεττα βαλὼν Ἄναυρον ὑπὲρ  
Πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ,  
οὕτω γὰρ Ὀμηρος ἦδὲ Στησίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς.

That excell'd all the young Men in casting the Javelin, throwing it from Iolcus over the River Anaurus; as *Homer* and *Stesichorus* sung to the People. Now I appeal to any Man of Judgment and Acquaintance with the Writings of the Ancients; if he can think *Simonides* would speak thus of one of his Contemporary Lyrics. They were all Rivals and Enemies one to another. *Pindar* sometimes makes Reflections<sup>2)</sup> upon *Bacchylides*, and this *Simonides* that we are speaking of; and 'tis always to their Disparagement. Much less then would *Simonides*'s covetous Humour,<sup>3)</sup> that the Ancients tax him of, wick made him envy all that intercepted any gain from him, have suffer'd him to do honour to *Stesichorus*, in joyning him with *Homer*; had that *Himeræan* been then alive to have rivall'd him in his Trade. Perhaps it may be objected, that *Simonides*, though he was of a good Age at Olymp. LXXIII, 3. might not be an Author till afterwards; and so *Stesichorus* might be dead, before *Simonides* set up for a Poet. But *Herodotus*<sup>4)</sup> gives an Answer to this, when he says, that *Simonides* made Odes upon *Eualcidas* of *Eretria* for his Victories at the Olympian or some of the other Games. For *Eualcidas* <sup>41</sup> was<sup>5)</sup> kill'd just after the burning of *Sardes*, which was Olymp. LXIX. So that *Simonides* was famed for his Poetry, for at least twenty Years, before *Stesichorus* came into Greece, according to the Marble.

It remains now, that I give an account of *Simonides*'s

<sup>1)</sup> *Apud Athenæum*, lib. iv. p. 172 [fr. 53 Bergk.] <sup>2)</sup> *Vid.* Od. II. *Olymp.* [83 sqq.] & III. *Nem.* [82]. & II. *Isth.* [6 sqq.].

<sup>3)</sup> *Pind.* 2. *Isth.* *Callimachus* apud *Scholias.* *Athenæus*, p. 656 D. *Synes.* Ep. 49. *Suid* v. Σίμων. <sup>4)</sup> *Herod.* V. 102.

<sup>5)</sup> *Herod.* *ibid.*

Age. There are three Periods in the *Arundel* Marble, where *Simonides* is mention'd.

Olymp. LXXII, 4. *Simonides, the Grandfather of Simonides the Poet, a Poet too himself, . . . . . at Athens.*<sup>1)</sup>

Olymp. LXXXV, 3. *Simonides, the Son of Leoprepes, the Cean, that found the Art of Memory, got the Prize at Athens, as Teacher of a Chorus: when Adimantus was Archon.*<sup>2)</sup>

Olymp. LXVII, 4. *Simonides the Poet died, being 90 years old, when Theagenides was Archon.*<sup>3)</sup>

The learned<sup>4)</sup> Editors of the *Marmora* have committed some mistakes in the Explication of these three Periods; but I think I have met with something, that will set the whole matter right.

The Person in the second Period was our *Simonides* the Lyric: who made an Epigram upon his own Victory, this very Victory here mention'd, when *Adimantus* was Archon: 'Tis extant in the<sup>5)</sup> Scholiast on *Hermogenes*.

Ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος Ἀθηναίους, ὅτ' ἐνίκα  
Ἄντιοχίς φυλὴ δαιδαλέον τρίποδα.  
Ξεινοφίλου δὲ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει  
Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶ.  
Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῦδος  
Ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρεπέος.<sup>6)</sup>

42

The Substance of it is this; *That in the year when Adimantus was Archon at Athens, the Chorus of the Tribe Antiochis got the Prize, Aristides being the Furnisher of it, and Simonides the Son of Leoprepes, the Teacher, who was then*

<sup>1)</sup> Σιμωνίδης ὁ Σιμωνίδου πάππος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ποιητὴς ὢν καὶ . . . . . νῆσι καὶ Δαρεῖος τελευτᾷ. <sup>2)</sup> Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρεποῦς, ὁ Κεῖος, ὁ τὸ μνημονικὸν εὐρῶν, ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν διδάσκων, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν . . . . . μάντου. <sup>3)</sup> Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐτελεύτησεν βιώσας ἑτὴ ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν θεα . . . . . νίδου. <sup>4)</sup> Vid. notas Seldeni & Lydiati.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 410. [Max. Planudes, Walz V 543.] <sup>6)</sup> A part of it is produced by Plutarch, *An Seni &c.* [Mor. II 785 A]; εἶγε Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γῆρᾳ χοροῖς ἐνίκα, καὶ τοῦπῆγμα δηλοῖ τοῖς τελευταίοις ἔπεσιν,

Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῦδος  
Ὀγδωκονταέτη παιδὶ Λεωπρεπέος.

[Add. — See also Böckh, Political Economy I 485. sqq.]



80 years old. 'Tis as plain, I think, as the Sun at Noon-day, that the Marble and the Epigram speak of the same Victory. And we have it here from *Simonides's* own mouth, that the 80th Year of his Age falls in with Olymp. LXXV, 3. in *Adimantus's* Government. And of this same Victory and Epigram, the words of<sup>1)</sup> *Valerius Maximus* are to be understood; *Simonides*, says he, *HIMSELF* glories, that he was Teacher of a Chorus in the LXXXth year of his Age. And for those other words of the Marble, ὁ τὸ Μνημονικὸν εὐρών, who invented the Art of Memory, *Simonides* himself is the best Commentator. For in this very year he made an Epigram in Commendation of his Memory;

Μνήμη δ' οὐ τίνα φησὶ Σιμωνίδῃ ἰσοφαρίζειν<sup>2)</sup>  
Ὀρώχονταέττει παῖδι Λεωπρεπέος.

No body, says he, has a Memory like to *Simonides*, who am 80 years of Age, the Son of *Leoprepes*.

And now that we have establish'd this point, 'tis an easie matter to explain the third Period in the Marble; which belongs to the same *Simonides*. For he was 80 years old Olymp. LXXV, 3. and, says the Marble, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Simonides* died at 90. Now the Interval between those two Olympiads is ix compleat Years, and inclusively x. And with this the Testimonies of *Suidas*<sup>3)</sup> and *Aristophanes's* Scholiast exactly agree. *Simonides*, say they, lived 89 years, and died Olymp. LXXVIII. They were 89 compleat years, and he had just enter'd upon the<sup>4)</sup> 90th. And what the Marble puts at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Suidas* with *Diodorus* [xi 65] and others, puts at LXXVIII, 1. For the *Archontes* in the Marble are all along one year before the Accounts of other Chronologers.

And then the first Period in the Marble will have little of difficulty; since both the others are settled. The *Simonides* there mention'd, was Grandfather to him that we have been speaking of. The Pedegree lies thus.

<sup>1)</sup> Val. Max. VIII, 7. *Simonides poeta octogesimo anno & docuisse se carmina, & in eorum certamen descendisse ipse gloriatur.*

<sup>2)</sup> Arist. Orat. Tom. 3. p. 645. [II 510 Dindorf.]

<sup>3)</sup> Suid. v. Σιμων. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. p. 362. [ad 1411 Dind.]

<sup>4)</sup> Lucian says, above 90. ὅπερ τὰ Ἑνερχόντα. in *Macrob.* [228].

*Simonides.*

*Leoprepes.*

*Simonides.*

'Tis a known thing, that among the ancient *Greeks* the name of the Grandfather was commonly given to the Nephew, according to that of the Poet<sup>1)</sup>

*Ἰππόνεικος Καλλίου, καὶ ἐξ Ἰππονίκου Καλλίας.*

Now suppose this *Simonides* was no more than *xl* years old, when his Nephew was born; at this Olympiad in the Marble, *LXXII*, 4, he must be *cix*. So that I would fill up the gap in the Inscription thus; *ποιητὴς ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς τελευτᾷ Ἀθῆναισιν.* *Simonides the Poet DIED at Athens.*<sup>2)</sup> For what else can he be mention'd here for, at that exceeding old age?

<sup>44</sup> Now to summ up our Argument about *Stesichorus*; If *Simonides* was *LXXX* years old at Olymp. *LXXV*, 3. as we have proved beyond all Contradiction; he must then have been *LXXII* years of age at Olymp. *LXXIII*, 3. the year that *Stesichorus* took his Voyage into *Greece*, according to the Marble. And this was the thing that I undertook to prove; and I conceive, that the whole is a clear and convincing evidence, that *Stesichorus's* Age was much earlier than the Marble has placed it.

But however, if any one will still be so obstinate, as to prefer the sole Authority of the Marble before all the other proofs that we have produced against it; he will take a most effectual and compendious way to ruin the credit of *Phalaris's* Epistles. For, in short, if the date of *Stesichorus's* Age be true in the Marble, the Epistles are certainly false. For if *Stesichorus* was alive Olymp. *LXXIII*, 3. the pretended *Phalaris* was then in the Throne; because he speaks of *Stesichorus's* death in several places.<sup>3)</sup> But two whole years before that time, Olymp. *LXXMI*, 1. as *Diodorus*<sup>4)</sup> assures us, there was another Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, *Theron* the Son of *Ænesidamus*: And two years more be-

<sup>1)</sup> *Aristop. Aves.* p. 379. [v. 283].  
 conjecture has not been accepted by Böckh, C. I. Gr. II 31 q, whose observations should be compared. — W.  
<sup>2)</sup> *Ep. 15, 31, 33, 54, 103.*  
<sup>3)</sup> *Diod.* p. 39. [XI 53.]

fore that, his Brother *Xenocrates*, living in the same City, won the Victory at the xxiv Pythiad,<sup>1)</sup> which is coincident with Olymp. lxxii, 3. And if any body can think he put in at that Prize with his Chariot, while *Phalaris* was Tyrant; I wish him joy of his opinion.

The very learned Mr. *Dodwell*,<sup>2)</sup> being sensible that *Phalaris* could not be alive lxxiii, 3. because *Theron* was then in the Throne; sets both his and *Stesichorus*'s Death iv years before that time, Olymp. lxxii, 3. and so leaves *Theron* the space of two years to make his way to the Crown, Olymp. lxxiii, 1. But it seems he was not aware<sup>3)</sup> of the Scholiast on *Pindar*, who from a good Author *Hippostratus*, himself too a good Author, makes not *Theron*, but his Great Grand-father *Telemachus* to be one of *Phalaris*'s Deposers. Neither was *Theron* the next Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, immediately after *Phalaris*, as Mr. *D.* here supposes: but first there was one<sup>4)</sup> *Alcamenes*, and after him one *Alcander*, who had a very prosperous Reign. But besides this, why must *Stesichorus* die at Olymp. lxxii, 3? Either let us follow the Marble, or let it alone. If we reject the Authority of the Marble, *Stesichorus* must be supposed to die about Olymp. lvi, as the other Authors affirm: if we adhere to it, then he lived till Olymp. lxxiii, 3. after *Phalaris*'s death. And 'tis observable, that the Marble does not say, he died Olymp. lxxiii, 3. but ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, he then went into Greece; as *Gorgias* and other *Sicilians* did, to get Money and Fame. So that he might survive that Period many years according to the Marble; which is still a further Confutation of *Phalaris*'s Epistles. Yet Mr. *D.* first interprets the Marble, as if that was said to be the last year of *Stesichorus*'s Life; and then for the sake of the Epistles, without any other Author to warrant him, he cuts that Life iv years shorter.

1) *Pindar. Schol. ad 6 Pyth. & 2. Isth.* 2) *De Cyclis vet.* p. 261. 3) See above, p. 34. 4) *Heracledes Ponticus de Politis.* [See C. Müller's fragm. hist. gr. II p. 223] *Μετὰ τὸν Φάλαριν Ἀλκαμένης* [so Bentley for Ἀλκμάνης] *παρέλαβε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀλξανδρος προέστη ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής· καὶ εὐθένησαν* [εὐσθένησαν the edd. before Bentley] *οὕτως, ὥς περιόρφυρα ἔχειν ἱμάτια.*

The *Second* Argument, that Mr. *Dodwell* brings to  
 46 establish his new opinion about *Phalaris's* Age, may be  
 summ'd up in this form.

»*Pythagoras* was at *Agrigentum* at the time of *Phalaris's*  
 »Death, and was the principal occasion of it. But *Pytha-*  
 »*goras* was never in *Sicily*, till after the *Pythagorean* Col-  
 »lege at *Crotona* was burnt by *Cylon*, which was Olymp.  
 »LXXII, 2. *Phalaris* therefore was not dead before that Olym-  
 »piad.«

I am very sorry to differ from this learned Man's Judg-  
 ment in a point of Chronology, where he is so great a  
 Master. But having examin'd the whole Story of *Pythagoras*  
 as carefully as I can, I am quite of another opinion in  
 every part of this Argument. For I think it more probable,  
 that *Pythagoras* had no concern in the deposing of *Phalaris*;  
 and that he was in *Sicily*, before *Cylon's* Conspiracy; and  
 that the time of that Conspiracy was before Olymp. LXXII.

The chief Actor in deposing *Phalaris* was *Telemachus*  
 an Ancestor of *Theron's*; as we have seen already in the  
 Scholiast of *Pindar*. And the thing was done four Gene-  
 rations, before ever *Pythagoras* set foot in *Sicily*, in Mr.  
*D's* way of reckoning. *Jamblichus* is the first and only  
 Man, that gives *Pythagoras* any share in that Action. *Laer-*  
*tius* and *Porphyry*, who have written the Life of our Phi-  
 losopher, have not one word of it. And how could they  
 omit such a singular thing, had they known it? or where  
 could *Jamblichus*, that came after them, and did little else  
 but pillage their Writings, discover this new piece of His-  
 tory? 'Tis observable, that he cites no Author for it; which  
 he ought to have done, if he could; because this was one  
 of the greatest strokes in his whole Narrative, and was a  
 47 thing unsaid before. *Porphyry* indeed says,<sup>1)</sup> When *Pytha-*  
*goras* came to Italy and *Sicily*, he restor'd several Cities  
 there to their Liberty; *Crotona*, *Sybaris*, *Catana*, *Rhegium*,  
*Himera*, *AGRIGENTUM*, *Tauromenium* and others. And  
*Lucian*,<sup>2)</sup> whether in jest or earnest, makes *Phalaris* brag  
 of *Pythagoras's* Company. These two Passages, perhaps,  
 were the sole Foundation of *Jamblichus's* story. For if

<sup>1)</sup> *Porph. vit. Pyth.* p. 189. [§ 21.]  
*Phal. I* [10].

<sup>2)</sup> *Luc. in*

*Pythagoras* conversed with *Phalaris*, and delivered *Agrigentum* out of Slavery; here was a fair occasion offer'd to *Jamblichus*, to put both ends together, and dress up his Legend.

But if we should allow *Jamblichus's* story for a Truth; we need no other Argument against Mr. *D.* but the very story it self, to prove the Epistles a Cheat. For the Epistles make the Tyrant and the Philosopher to be very good Friends, and have five Months pleasant Conversation together;<sup>1)</sup> and the Tyrant talks of Providence, like any *Pythagorean*; While the governing Providence, says he, preserves the same System of the World.<sup>2)</sup> But *Jamblichus's Phalaris* is the very reverse of this. He is all Fury and Blasphemy,<sup>3)</sup> a rank Atheist, he reviles and contemns the Gods, he denies Prophecy, and Providence; he contrives *Pythagoras's* Death, and *Pythagoras* effects his. How can these two stories hang together? If *Jamblichus's* Account be true, the Epistles must be false. I must own, it's beyond my little Understanding, to reconcile them; let others attempt it.

And again, this same story of *Jamblichus* plainly proves against Mr. *D.* that *Pythagoras* was in Sicily before 48 Olymp. LXXII, 2. *Jamblichus* indeed says nothing about the time, when *Pythagoras* deposed *Phalaris*: But since he brings in<sup>4)</sup> *Abaris* the *Hyperborean* in company with *Pythagoras* at the time of the Action; we are assured by that Circumstance, that the Date must be much earlier, than Mr. *D.* has placed it. The time when *Abaris* came into Greece, is very variously told;<sup>5)</sup> some put it at Olymp. III, others at XXI, others much lower: which very Diversity is a good Argument, that he came not so late, as Mr. *D.* sets him, when Chronology was pretty certain. But there is one<sup>6)</sup> Authority beyond Exception. *Pindar* says, He came in *Croesus's* time; who was conquer'd by *Cyrus* Olymp.

1) *Ep.* 74. Πέμπτον ἤδη μῆνα συνεῖναι μεθ' ἡδονῆς.

2) *Ep.* 104. Ἔως ἂν ἡ διοικοῦσα πρόνοια τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρμονίαν τοῦ κόσμου φυλάττη. 3) *Jambl.* p. 184, 5, 6. [§ 215—221.]

4) *Jambl.* *ibidem.*

5) *Harpocrat. & Suidas*, v. Ἀβάρης.

6) *Harpos.* Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος κατὰ Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα φησὶν Ἀβάρην παραγενέσθαι.

LIX. And with him *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* agree; both of them placing him about the Reign of *Cræsus*. Now *Pindar* himself was<sup>1)</sup> xxx years old at that very year, Olymp. LXXII, 2. when Mr. *D.* makes *Abaris* to have been in *Greece*. But if *Abaris* had been truly there at that time, surely *Pindar* at 30 years of Age would have had better Information; and not have cast him back to the Reign of *Cræsus* above 50 years before.

If we admit then of *Jamblichus*'s Narrative, we must place the time much higher, than Mr. *Dodwell* has done. The only reason that Mr. *D.* has for it is this,<sup>2)</sup> That *Pythagoras* did not go into *Sicily*, till after *Cylon*'s Conspiracy. Which, with submission, I think is a very precarious Assertion. 'Tis true he did not leave *Italy* for good and all till that time; but what forbids us to suppose, he might make now and then a short Voyage into *Sicily*? Why Justin<sup>3)</sup> says,<sup>4)</sup> He came to *Crotona*, and continued there for twenty years. But this imports no more, than that generally and for the main he resided at *Crotona*: 'tis not to be so rigidly taken, as if he had never went out of Town. For he was frequently at<sup>4)</sup> *Metapontium*, and *Tarentum*, and the neighbouring Cities: why may we not then as well suppose him to have stept into *Sicily*? *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* talk of his<sup>5)</sup> Journies in *Sicily*, long before they say a world of *Cylon*'s Conspiracy. Nay, we have the express Testimonies of them both, that he was in *Sicily* before that time. For they say,<sup>6)</sup> He was present the same day both at *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, and *Metapontium* in *Italy*, at the meetings of his Scholars. But 'tis agreed by all, that he had no Society of Scholars at *Metapontium*, or any where in *Italy*, after that Villainy of *Cylon*; almost all his Followers being burnt or killed then, except *Archippus* and *Lysis*.

Neither can I assent to Mr. *D.*'s Opinion, when he places that Conspiracy of *Cylon* at Olymp. LXXII, 2. This

1) *Pindar* born Ol. 65. forty years old at *Xerxes*'s Expedition, Ol. 75, 1. *Suid.* 2) *De Cyclis* vet. p. 26.

3) *Iustin.* XX, 5. cum annos XX *Crotonæ* egisset.

4) *Livy* I. 18. *Porphy.* p. 189. [§§ 24. 47.] 5) *Porph.* 189. *Jamb.* 46. [134. 136.] 6) *Porph.* 192 [27.] *Jamb.* 128. [134.] *Kal διελέχθαι κοινῇ τοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐταίροις.*

has no express Authority in History, nor any other foundation, than Mr. *Dodwell's* Calculations from some Periods of *Pythagoras's* Life. And since I differ from his opinion in stating those Periods, in consequence I must dissent too about the time of *Cylon's* Treachery. But because this Controversie cannot be well managed without giving a whole View of *Pythagoras's* Life, I will here present the Reader with a Table of it, which shall comprehend the various accounts of the ancient Chronologers. To which I shall subjoyn some Annotations, to shew the Reasons and Authorities for assigning every Period. 'Tis a subject that deserves our nicest Examination; and though I shall determin nothing my self, I may give an occasion to others of bringing it to a Certainty.<sup>1)</sup>

*Olympiad. Years of Pythag.*

43.	4.	1.	<i>Pythagoras</i> born.
48.	1.	18.	Won the Prize at <i>Olympia</i> , Ol. 48, 1. <i>Eratosth. Phavor. Lucian, S. Augustin.</i>
49.	2.	23.	<i>Pythagoras</i> at Man's Age. <i>Antiochus.</i>
53.	3.	40.	<i>Pyth.</i> 40 Years old went to <i>Italy</i> . <i>Aristoxenus.</i>
	4.	41.	<i>Pyth.</i> in <i>Italy</i> after Ol. 50. <i>Dion. Halicarn.</i>

1) We subjoin the criticism indirectly given on this part of Bentley's dissertation by Mr. Grote, History of Greece, ch. XXXVII (vol. III p. 344, ed. 1862): — »The compilations of Porphyry and Jamblichus on the life of Pythagoras, copied from a great variety of authors, will doubtless contain some truth amidst their confused heap of statements, many incredible, and nearly all unauthenticated. But it is very difficult to single out what these portions of truth really were. Even Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus, the best authors, from whom these biographers quote, lived near two centuries after the death of Pythagoras, and do not appear to have had any early memorials to consult, nor any better informants than the contemporary Pythagoreans — the last of an expiring sect, and probably among the least eminent for intellect, since the philosophers of the Socratic vein in its various branches carried off the acute and aspiring young men of that time«. — See also the article on *Pythagoras* in Pauly's »Real-Encyclopaedie« VI 1 p. 321—330. — W.

<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Years of</i>	<i>Pythag.</i>	
54.	1.	42.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 54, 1. <i>Chron. Alexand.</i>
58.	2.	59.	<i>Pyth.</i> went to <i>Italy</i> about 60 years old. <i>Jamb.</i>
60.	1.	66.	<i>Pyth.</i> flourished Olymp. 60. <i>Laert.</i>
61.	1.	70.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Olymp. 61. <i>Diodorus.</i>
	4.	73.	<i>Pyth.</i> came to <i>Italy</i> , in the Reign of <i>Superbus</i> (i. e. from Olymp. 61, 4. to 67, 4.) <i>Cicero.</i>
62.	1.	74.	<i>Pyth.</i> Ol. 62. went to <i>Italy.</i> <i>Jamblich.</i>
	2.	75.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 62. <i>Clemens. Cyril.</i> <i>Euseb. Tatian.</i>
63.	3.	80.	<i>Pyth.</i> died 80 years old. <i>Heracledes.</i>
64.	1.	81.	<i>Pyth.</i> taken Captive by <i>Cambyzes</i> in <i>Egypt</i> , Olymp. 64, 1 <i>Jambl. Syncellus.</i>
51 66.	1.	90.	<i>Pyth.</i> died at 90. <i>Laertius.</i>
67.	2.	95.	<i>Pyth.</i> died at 95. <i>Syncellus:</i> { <i>Pyth.</i> went for <i>Italy</i> , when <i>Brutus</i> was Consul, i. e. Olymp. 68, 1. <i>Solinus.</i> <i>Pyth.</i> in <i>Italy</i> when <i>Brutus</i> was Consul, <i>Cicero.</i>
68.	1.	98.	{ <i>Pyth.</i> at <i>Crotona</i> , when <i>Sybaris</i> was taken, Olymp. 68, 1. <i>Diod. Jambl.</i>
	2.	99.	<i>Pyth.</i> died at 99. <i>Tzetzes. Pyth.</i> died near 100. <i>Jamb.</i>
	3.	100.	{ <i>Pyth.</i> died Olymp. 68, 3. Some MS
	4.	101.	of <i>Euseb.</i> others 68, 4.
69.	3.	104.	<i>Pyth.</i> died at 104. <i>Incertus apud Pho-</i> <i>tium.</i> [Bibl. p. 438 b.]
70.	4.	109.	<i>Pyth.</i> died Olymp. 70, 4. <i>Eusebius vulgat.</i>
72.	4.	117.	<i>Pyth.</i> died, aged 117, Author <i>de Med.</i> <i>par. fac.</i>

1. The Reason for assigning *Pythagoras's* Birth to Olymp. XLIII, 4. is taken from the next Period, his Victory at the Olympian Games, Olymp. XLVIII: for he was then ἐξέφηβος, 17 years of Age; his 18th year commencing with Olymp. XLVIII. *Eratosthenes*, a very great Man, that wrote a Chronology of the Victors at *Olympia*, says,<sup>1)</sup> *Pythagoras*

<sup>1)</sup> Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετραρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, κα-



*Olymp.* XLVIII offered himself at the Boys Match to fight at Cuffs; but being voted by the Judges to be above a Boy's Age, <sup>52</sup> and laugh'd at as a Coward for putting himself among Boys, he presently offer'd himself at the Match for Men, and beat them every one. The Catalogue of the *Stadionica*<sup>1)</sup> says the very same thing, at *Olymp.* XLVIII. So that, there can be no mistake in the number: though *Georgius Syncellus*, who tells the same Story,<sup>2)</sup> sets the time of it at *Olymp.* LI. But his Copy may have been corrupted, which could not possibly happen in the other case. The true reading of that Passage of *Syncellus* I have given in the Margin; and the meaning of it, which is much mistaken by his last Editor, is no other than that of *Eratosthenes* before. *Pausanias* has a like account of one<sup>3)</sup> *Hyllus* a Rhodian, that would have wrestled among the Boys; but being excluded by the Judges, because he was 18 years old, he presently wrestled with the Men, and carried the Victory. This *Hyllus* did the very same thing, *πάλη* at Wrestling, that *Pythagoras* did *πυγμή* at Cuffing. And from this last instance it appears, that the Age of XVIII was above the Match for Boys. The allowed time seems to be XVI, the year when they were called *Ephebi*.<sup>4)</sup>

μήτην, καὶ ἀλουργίδα φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθῆναι τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων, καὶ χλευασθέντα, αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι. *Laeri. in Pythag.* [VIII 1, 25.]

<sup>1)</sup> Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐκκριθεὶς παίδων πυγμὴν, καὶ ὡς θῆλος χλευαζόμενος, προσβὰς εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἀπαντας ἐξῆς ἐνίκησε. *Apuđ Scaligeri Euseb. p. 40.* <sup>2)</sup> Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος δολύμπια ἀθλήσων, ἐξεκρίθη παίδων πυγμὴν, [καὶ χλευασθεὶς] ὡς ἀπαλὸς, προσβὰς [προσβ. *Dind.*] εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐνίκα κατὰ τὴν ν.α. ὀλυμπιάδα. *Syncellus, p. 239. [454 Dind.]*

<sup>3)</sup> *Paus. Eliac. II. p. 191. [14, 1]* Ὑλλος [*Νικασύλος* in *Bekker's* edition] ὁ Ρόδιος δοῦσον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γερονῶς, μὴ καλῆσαι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀπηλάθῃ, ἀνηγορεύσθῃ δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησθῃ. <sup>4)</sup> In the account of the *Ephebi* I follow'd *Censorinus* and *Didymus*. But others in *Harpocration* (ὁ Ἐπιδικετής, and Ἐπώνυμοι) make the Ἐφηβοὶ begin at XVIII years of age, and continue so to XX, and then they were called Ἄνδρες. Before the XVIII year they were Παιδες. And this account agrees better with the story of *Pythagoras's* fighting at Παιδων πυγμή. He, and *Hyllus* the Rhodian mentioned by *Pausanias*, offer'd themselves to fight with the Boys, but being compleat XVIII years old they were ex-

But 'tis not agreed among the Ancients, that this  
 53 *Pythagoras* was he, that afterwards was the Philosopher.  
*Hesychius* says,<sup>1)</sup> *They mistake that say so.* And an<sup>2)</sup> *Epigram* calls this *Pythagoras*, the Son of *Crates*: but the  
 others Father was *Mnesarchus*. Yet *Eratosthenes*, a very  
 accurate Author, believed he was the same. And so prob-  
 ably did *Favorinus*, another great Man,<sup>3)</sup> who cited *Era-*  
*tosthenes*.<sup>4)</sup> *Lucian* too was of this opinion, and<sup>5)</sup> *St. Au-*  
*stin*. And the *Epigram*, that *Theætetus* [*Anth. Gr. ed.*  
*Jacobs* II 229. *Palat.* II 767. *append.* 37.] made upon this  
*Pythagoras*, exactly fits the Philosopher,

*Πυθαγόρην τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὃ ξεῖνε, κομήτην, &c.*

For the Philosopher wore his *Hair long*, which is the mean-  
 ing of *κομήτης*. So that even *Jamblichus*, who applies the  
 Proverb,<sup>6)</sup> *ἐν Σάμῳ κομήτης*, to *Pythagoras* the Philosopher,  
 may be added as another Authority for settling this Period;  
 though it be against his own Computations.

But perhaps it may be thought improbable, that a  
 Man, that was bred up to Fighting, should turn himself  
 to the Study of Philosophy. For it was a common Obser-  
 vation, that<sup>7)</sup> the Gamesters at those Exercises were very  
 stupid and thick-skull'd Fellows. But however there are  
 several Examples, that may warrant this story of *Pytha-*  
*goras*. *Cleanthes* the Stoic Philosopher, when he was young,  
 was<sup>8)</sup> a *Fighter at Cuffs*, *πόκτης*, just as *Pythagoras* was.  
 And his Scholar *Chrysippus*, the acutest of all the Stoicks,

cluded; because they were no longer *Παῖδες*, but *Ἐφηβοί*.  
 Vex'd at this disappointment, they offer'd themselves to con-  
 tend at the Match for Men, though they wanted two years of  
 Man's Age and being admitted, they carried the Victory from  
 them all. This is that which made *Pythagoras's* Victory at  
*Olympia* so memorable. — *Add.*

1) *Hesych.* ἐν Σάμῳ κομήτης. 2) *Laert.* in *Pythag.*

3) *Ἐρατοσθένης* φησί, καθὼς καὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῇ ὁγδόῃ.  
 παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας παρατίθεται. *Laert.* in *Pythag.* 4) *Luc.*  
 in *Gallo* [714] Ἀθλητῇ ποτε γενομένῳ, καὶ ὀλύμπια οὐκ ἀφανῶς  
 ἀγωνισαμένῳ.

5) *Augustin.* Tom. 2. Ep. 3. *Pherecydes*...  
*Pythagoram Samium*... ex athleta in *Philosophum vertit*.

6) *Jambli.* p. 31 [§ 11] and 44 [§ 30]. 7) *Οἱ Ἀθληταὶ*  
*ἀναίσθητοι*. [Cf. *Becker's* *Charicles* I 313 sq. — R.] 8) *Laert.*  
 [VII 5] in *Cleanthes & Suidas*.

was<sup>1)</sup> at first a *Racer*. Even *Plato* himself<sup>2)</sup> was a *Wrestler* παλαιστής at the *Isthmian* and *Pythian* Games. And so was *Lycon* of *Troas*, a *Peripatetic*, at the *Ilían*.<sup>3)</sup> Διὰ ταῦτα δέ, says *Laertius*, καὶ παλαιῶσαι λέγεται τάτε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἰλεια, καὶ σφαιρίσαι. Where instead of Ἰλεια I would rather read it Ἰλεια; that is the *Ilían* Games, from *Ilíum*;<sup>4)</sup> as Ἐφεσσία from *Ephesus*. So *Athenæus*<sup>5)</sup> lib. 8. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ Στρατόνικος ὁ κιθαρωδὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν Σάτυρον ἐπιδημεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλείοις, Ἀεὶ, ἔφησεν, Ἰλίῳ κακά. There is nothing then so very unlikely in this story of *Pythagoras*. And the Description they have given us of his Person makes the account the more probable; for he was a<sup>6)</sup> lusty, proper Man; and built as it were to make a good Boxer. Besides, that they add, that this young *Pythagoras* was the first that boxed ἐντέχνως according to *Art*: which shews a promising Genius, and agrees with the Character of the Philosopher; who, as<sup>7)</sup> *Favorinus* and *Porphry* say, so instructed one *Eurymenes* in his Exercises, that he won the Prize at *Olympia*.

II. The next Period in the Table is *Olymp. xlix, 2*, from which an ancient Writer *Antilochus*, or rather *Antiochus*, dates *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία. They are the words of<sup>8)</sup> *Clemens Alexandrinus*: *Antilochus*, that wrote the Book, called *Ἱστοριες*, reckons 312 years from *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία to the death of *Epicurus*. Now it's agreed that *Epicurus* died *Olymp. cxxvii, 2*. when *Pytharatus* was *Archon*. Reckon therefore backwards 312 years, and the ἡλικία of *Pythagoras* falls upon *Olymp. xlix, 2*. But what's the meaning of ἡλικία? The very learned Mr. *Dodwell* interprets it,<sup>9)</sup> *The Nativity* 55

<sup>1)</sup> *Laert.* [VII 7] in *Chrysippo* δολερὸν ἔχει. <sup>2)</sup> *Laert.* [III 4] in *Platone*, *Apuleius* [de dogm. Plat. I 2] *Cyrillus* [VI contra Jul. 208 Spanh.] <sup>3)</sup> *Laert.* in *Lycone*. [V 4].

<sup>4)</sup> See *Marmora Arundel.* <sup>5)</sup> *P. 350f.* <sup>6)</sup> *Porph.* p. 118 [§ 18] Τὴν τε γὰρ ἰδέαν ἐλευθέριον καὶ μέγαν. <sup>7)</sup> *Laert.* in *Pythag.* [§ 12] *Porph.* p. 186. [§ 15] <sup>8)</sup> *Strom.* 1. p. 133. [366 Potter] Ἀντίλοχος, ὁ τοὺς Ἱστορίας πραγματευσάμενος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπικούρου τελευτὴν, ἔτη φέρει τὰ πάντα τριακόσια δώδεκα. <sup>9)</sup> *De Cyclis Vet.* p. 147.

*Fieri tamen potest, ut scripserit Antilochus; τριακόσια δέοντος ἐνός. Ezinde Librarius, si primam literam duntaxat, manifestam habuerit, facillimo errore δώδεκα reposuerit. Sic omnia rectissime procedent.*

of Pythagoras; and to accommodate the passage to his own Calculations, for δώδεκα he reads, δέοντος ἐνός, that is, 299, for 312. I am afraid the world will not allow us such a Liberty in our Corrections, as for δώδεκα to put δέοντος ἐνός, where but one Letter is the same; and not one, if you write δώδεκα in Numerals, ιβ. But I suppose he will not insist on this Emendation; if it appear, that ἡλικία does not signifie *Nativity*: for then the Emendation will not agree with his Accounts, any more than the vulgar Reading does.

Let us examin then, what the word ἡλικία means in other Passages of *Clement*. *The years*, says he, *from Moses to Solomon's ἡλικία are 610.*<sup>1)</sup> The particulars of his Account are these;

Moses's Life . . . . .	120 Years.
Thence to David's Accession to the Throne	450
David's Reign . . . . .	40
	610

By which it evidently appears, that the ἡλικία of *Solomon* is not meant of his *Nativity*, but of the beginning of his Reign, when he was<sup>2)</sup> 23 years of Age.

In another place he says;<sup>3)</sup> *Esaiah, Hosea and Micah lived after the ἡλικία of Lycurgus*. And he proves it in this manner;

56 From the Destruction of Troy <sup>4)</sup> to the ἀκμή	} 290 Years.
of Lycurgus . . . . .	
From Solomon, in whose Reign Troy was taken,	} 300
to the time of those Prophets . . .	

'Tis manifest here, that ἡλικία and ἀκμή are put as synonymous words to signifie the same thing; *Youth*, or *middle Age*, the *Flower of one's Age*.

*Eratosthenes*, says<sup>5)</sup> *Clemens*, places the ἡλικία of *Homer*

1) *Strom.* p. 140. *edit. Commelini.* [386 P.] Γίνονται ἀπὸ Μωυσέως ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶντος ἡλικίαν . . . ἔτη τὰ πάντα ἑξακόσια δέκα.

2) See *Petav.* in *Chron.* 3) *Ib.* p. 141. [390 P.] Λέγονται δὲ οὗτοι μετὰ τὴν Λυκούργου ἡλικίαν γεγονέναι. — Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶντος [in the *edd. τῆς Σολομῶντος βασιλείας*] διακοσιοστῷ ἔτει. correct it *τριακοσιοστῷ*.

4) Τὴν ἀκμὴν Λυκούργου. *Clem. ibid.* 5) *Ib.* p. 141.

a hundred years after the taking of Troy. That in this place also *ἡλικία* means *ἀκμή*, we may understand several ways. Crates, says Tatian,<sup>1)</sup> Ὅμηρον ἡκμακέναι φησί, says Homer FLOURISHED within 80 years after the taking of Troy; but Eratosthenes says, after 100. Some, says Plutarch,<sup>2)</sup> affirm that Homer lived at the time of the Trojan War, and was an Eye-Witness of it; others, that he lived 100 years after it. The word is here γενέσθαι, not born, but lived; as *ruit* is in Latin Writers. For if it signified, was born at the time of that War, he could not have been an Eye-Witness of it; for it lasted but 10 years, and he had been a Child when it ended.

Thus we see all along in Clement, *ἡλικία* is taken for the *flourishing Age*; and so it is generally in other Writers.<sup>3)</sup> Plutarch in the Life of Homer, after he had spoken of his Childhood, γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, but when he was come at Age, says he, and had already a Reputation for Poetry. I do not believe there is any example, that *ἡλικία*<sup>57</sup> means *Nativity*. When Clemens would express the time of one's Birth, he does not say *ἡλικία*, but *γένεσις*.<sup>4)</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆς Μωυσέως γενέσεως· and<sup>5)</sup> εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος γενέσεως. So that upon the whole there is no question, but the *ἡλικία* of Pythagoras, in the Passage we are speaking of, means the *Flower of his Age*. In the Table, it falls upon his *xxiii* year; and this exactly agrees with Solomon's Age, when he began his Reign; which Clemens, as above, calls his *ἡλικία*. But Pythagoras himself had a peculiar way of distinguishing the Age of a Man's Life. He divided it into four Twenties;<sup>6)</sup> A Boy twenty, a Youth twenty, a Man twenty, and an old Man twenty. And Antiochus perhaps

[389 P.] Ἐρατοσθένης μετὰ τὸ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλλίου ἀλώσεως τὴν Ὀμήρου ἡλικίαν φέρει

1) Tatian. p. 228. Ed. Gesneri. 2) Plutarch. in V. Homeri, p. 44. [c. 5] Γενέσθαι δ' αὐτόν φασι τοῖς χρόνοις, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον οὐ καὶ αὐτόπτην γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τοῦ πολέμου. 3) Id. p. 42. [c. 4] So in *vita Lycurgi* [c. 3] And so Xenoph. ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενοι, [Mem. IV 2, 3] come at Age; So οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, Young Men, those arrived at the Age of Men, Thucyd. [VIII 75] Ἀἰσχύνης.

4) P. 145. [401 P.] 5) P. 146. [405 P.] 6) Laert. in Pythag. [VIII 1, 10] Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτα, νεηνίσκος εἴκοσι, νεηνίας εἴκοσι, γέρων εἴκοσι.

might have a respect to this Doctrine, when he put his *ἡλικία* at Ol. XLIX, 2. For it's not improbable, that he took his measure from Ol. XLVIII, 1. when *Pythagoras* got the Victory at *Olympia*. And if he supposed him to be but XVI years old at that time, which was the legitimate Age for Boys' Exercises; his Account then proceeds exactly from the XXth year of *Pythagoras*. The Reader, if he pleases, may follow this reckoning, and place the Nativity of *Pythagoras* at Ol. XLIV, 2. But I rather chose in the Table to set it a little higher for the Reasons given above.

III. The next Portion of his Life, according to his own Distribution, from his XXth year to the XLth, was spent in Study and Travelling. While he was<sup>1)</sup> young, he was  
 58 Scholar to *Thales*, and *Bias*, and *Pherecydes*, and *Epimenides*, and *Hermodamas*. Indeed when he conversed with *Epimenides*, he must needs be very young; for *Epimenides* died μετ' οὐ πολὺ, not long after Olymp.<sup>2)</sup> XLVI, when he had expiated Athens from the Murder of *Cylon*.<sup>3)</sup> *Suidas* places that Expiation at Olymp. XLIV; but 'tis probable μὲν may be a fault of the Writer, instead of με or μζ. And that he died not long after it, *Suidas* seems to confirm; for he says, he was then old, γηραιός. *Plato*<sup>4)</sup> indeed makes him to have come to Athens, Olymp. LXX, 1. But that great Man did not tie himself in his Discourses to Exactness of Time, as I shall shew at large hereafter. His words are,<sup>5)</sup> *Epimenides came to you (to Athens) ten years, πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν, before the Persian Affairs; and the Athenians being then afraid of an Expedition from Persia, φοβουμένων τὸν Περσικὸν στόλον, he told them, it would be ten years before they came, and then they should be beaten.* He means the Battle at *Marathon*, which was Olymp. LXXII, 3. 'Tis true<sup>6)</sup> *Aldobrandinus* makes *Plato* agree with *Laertius*. For he interprets him, of the Persian

<sup>1)</sup> Νέος ὢν ἀπεδήμησε, *Laert.* [2] Νεανίας γενόμενος, *Porphyr.* [11] Ἐτι ἔφηστος ὢν. Κομιδῇ τι νέος ἔτι ὑπάρχων. Περὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκατον μάλιστα ἔτος γεγονώς, *Jamb.* [11]. <sup>2)</sup> *Laert.* in *Pherecyde*. [I 10, 4] *Eusebius edit. Pontaci.* Some Copies of *Laertius* have Olymp. XLVII. And so has *Eusebius* of *Scaliger's* Edition. <sup>3)</sup> *Suid.* V. Ἐπιμενίδης. [See, however, *Clinton's fasti* *Hell.* I 225.] <sup>4)</sup> [De leg. I 642 D. III 698 C. — R.] <sup>5)</sup> *Plato de Legibus* I. <sup>6)</sup> In notis ad *Laert.* in *Epimenide*. [I, 110.]

Expedition into *Lydia*, when *Cyrus* took *Sardes*. But why should the *Athenians* be afraid of that into *Lydia*? *Plato* himself in another place declares his own meaning.<sup>1)</sup> *Ten years*, says he, before the *Sea-fight* at *Salamis*, came *Datis*, *Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων*, with the *Persian Forces*. As for our *Philosopher's* other *Masters*, *Thales* and *Pherecydes*, the<sup>2)</sup> first was born *Ol. xxxv. 1.* and died above 90 years old, *Olymp. lviii.* The latter is supposed to have died about *Ol. lxx:* and being then<sup>3)</sup> 85 years of Age, he must have 59 been born about *Olymp. xxxvii, 4.* So that *Thales* was in his xxxvth year, and *Pherecydes* in his xxvth, at the Birth of *Pythagoras*.

IV. In the xth year of his Life, our *Philosopher* went to *Italy*.<sup>4)</sup> When he was *xl years old*, says *Aristoxenus*, and was uneasy under *Polycrates's Tyranny*, he made his *Voyage* for *Italy*. This year of his Life falls in with *Olymp. lxx, 3.* according to our Table. But at what Period *Aristoxenus* himself placed the Birth of *Pythagoras*, we cannot be certain. There are some Reasons, that make us doubt, whether he set that Period as high as *Eratosthenes* did, whom we follow in the Table. And there are other Considerations, that seem to make it probable, that these two great Persons were both of one opinion. I'll represent the case on both sides, and leave the Determination to the Judgment of the Reader.

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, a very accurate Writer, seems to countenance that *Epocha*, that is set in the Table.<sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *De Legib. lib. III* [698 C] *Strom. VI p. 268* [755 P.] So *Clemens Alexandrinus* declares that the Expedition was not upon the *Lydians*, but the *Athenians*. Τοῦ χρητὸς Ἐπιμενίδου αἱ θυσίαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον εἰς δεκαετὴ [in *Clemens* it is τὸν ἴσον] ὑπερέβητο χρόνον. He seems to have had this passage from *Plato*, whose words I have cited. — *Add. p. 542.* <sup>2)</sup> *Laert. in Thalete.* [38]. <sup>3)</sup> *Lucian. in Macrob.* [38].

<sup>4)</sup> *Porphyr. p. 184* [9]. Γεγονότα δ' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος, καὶ ὀρῶντα τὴν Πολυχράτους τυραννίδα συντονωτέραν εὔσαν, etc. <sup>5)</sup> *Dionys. Hal. lib. 2. p. 120.* [c. 59]. Ὁ μὲν Νομᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης ὀλ. μεσοῦσης (he says before, ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐς Ὀλυμπ.) τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντηχοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα διέτριβεν [vulg. διέτριψεν] ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

*Pythagoras*, says he, *after the 1<sup>th</sup> Olympiad lived in Italy.* If *after the 1<sup>th</sup>*; then the *LIII*, 3. may possibly be the very year that *Dionysius* meant. But the learned<sup>1)</sup> *Hen. Valesius* suspects the reading to be false; and for *L* he corrects *LX*; because several Writers, and especially Ecclesiastical, have<sup>60</sup> set his Time about *Ol. LX*, and *LXII*. But the whole Context in *Dionysius* reclaims against this Emendation. The Author's design is to prove *Pythagoras's* Age to be very remote from *Numa's*. *Numa*, says he, *came to the Crown, Olymp. xvi*, 3. *How then could he be acquainted with Pythagoras,*<sup>2)</sup> *that flourished after the 1<sup>th</sup> Olymp. four Generations after him?* The Interval between these two Olympiads is 134 years. Now three Generations, as I have shew'd before, make 100 years: four therefore are 133 and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , which wants but a small Fraction, of 134. 'Tis plain then, that our Author meant *Olymp. the 1<sup>th</sup>*: for to *Olymp. LX* there are above five Generations from *Numa*; and his business was to make the distance as wide as he could. In *Mr. Dodwell's* Account, who keeps *Pythagoras* out of *Italy* till *Olymp. LXVII*, 2. there are above six Generations.

Another, that seems to favour *Eratosthenes*, is no less a Writer than *Livy*.<sup>3)</sup> *Numa*, says he, *could not converse with Pythagoras, who lived in the utmost Coast of Italy, above 100 years after him, in the Reign of Servius Tullius.* Now from the Death of *Numa*, *Olymp. xxvii*, 1. to the Period we speak of, *Olymp. LIII*, 3. there are 105 years; which exactly suits with *Livy's* Expression, *centum amplius, above a hundred.* But if *Livy* had been of *Mr. Dodwell's* opinion, he might have said, *above an hundred and sixty.* Besides that *Servius Tullius* was 28 years dead, before *Mr. D.* allows *Pythagoras* to set foot in *Italy*.

<sup>61</sup> *Plutarch* mentions the same Mistake, that *Numa* was *Pythagoras's* Scholar. But he adds, that<sup>4)</sup> *Numa, as they*

1) *Valesius not. ad excerpta, p. 41.* 2) *Dionys. ibid. Τῷ μετὰ τέσσαρας γενεαῖς ἀχμάσαντι, — μετὰ τὴν ν. ὀλυμπιάδα.*

3) *Livius l. 18, Auctorem doctrinæ ejus (Numæ) falso Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiæ ora juvenum cætus habuisse constat.*

4) *Plut. in vita Numæ [1] Οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν μὲν ὀφείναι γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ὁμοῦ τι πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον — ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκαδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος [ῆς] ἔστι τρίτῃ, Νομᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη.*



say, was elected King, Olymp. xvi, 3. and Pythagoras was long after Numa's time, even five Generations. He seems to have taken this Passage out of *Dionysius Halicarn.* whose words we have cited before. But whereas *Dion.* says, four Generations, *Plutarch* says, five. The reason of this difference seems to be, that the latter allows but 30 years to a Generation; as we may learn from<sup>1)</sup> another place. Five Generations then according to *Plutarch* make 150 years. But from Olymp. xvi, 3. to our Period. Ol. liii, 3. are 148 years; as near the mark, as can possibly be expected.

Within two years of the same Period, the *Alexandrine Chronicon* says,<sup>2)</sup> Pythagoras was famous, Olymp. liv, 1. So that this Writer's Testimony, such as it is, concurs exactly with the others above.

But we must observe the words of *Aristoxenus*; When<sup>3)</sup> *Pythagoras*, says he, was 40 years old, and saw the Tyranny of *Polycrates* grow more violent. These last words, if they be not an addition of *Porphyry's*, make it dubious, whether *Aristoxenus* set the Philosopher's Birth, as early as *Eratosthenes*. For by this Account *Polycrates* must begin his Tyranny about Ol. liii, 3. and 'tis agreed, by all Historians, that he held it till Ol. lxiv, 1. when *Cambyses* was in *Ægypt*: which Interval is 42 years, and may seem too long a time to be allow'd for his Government. But did not *Amasis*, his Contemporary, reign 44 years, after he had<sup>62</sup> usurped the Government in *Ægypt*, just as the other did in *Samos*? If we admit of the present Calculation, they begun their Reigns almost at the same time; and that perhaps might be some reason of their Friendship, that is so spoken of in History. But *Polyænus's* Relation of the Tyranny of *Polycrates* will scarce allow of so early a Beginning. For he says,<sup>4)</sup> At the time of his Usurpation, he borrowed Soldiers of *Lygdamis* Tyrant of *Naxos*. Now *Lygdamis* got the Government of *Naxos*<sup>5)</sup> by the Assistance

1) *Plut. de Orac. defectu*, p. 415. [c. 11] Ἐτὶ τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεὰν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. 2) Ὀλυμπ. νδ, α. Πυθαγόρας φυσικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο. 3) Ὁρῶντα τὴν Πολυκράτους τυραννίδα συντονωτέραν οὖσαν. 4) *Polyænus Strat. I*, 23. Μεταπεμφάμενος παρὰ Λυγδάμειδος τοῦ Ναξίου τυράννου στρατιώτας. 5) *Herodotus I*. cap. 64.

of *Pisistratus* after his third return to *Athens*; which could not be before Olymp. LIX, 1. But perhaps it may be answer'd, that *Polyænus* might call him *Tyrant of Nazos* by an Anticipation; meaning that *Lygdamis*, that was afterwards Tyrant there. For *Lygdamis* might assist *Polycrates* with Soldiers, as he help'd *Pisistratus* both with Men and Money,<sup>1)</sup> before he got the Government. *Jamblichus* plainly confirms this Account of *Polycrates*'s long Reign. For he says,<sup>2)</sup> his Tyranny was beginning at the xviii<sup>th</sup> year of *Pythagoras*; and he speaks of it,<sup>3)</sup> as still continuing after his lvi<sup>th</sup> year. Now the lvi of *Pythagoras*, as *Jamblichus* reckons it, falls in about Olymp. LXII. So that his xviii<sup>th</sup> year, when *Polycrates*'s Tyranny commenced, concurs with Olymp. LII, 3. which is just four years, before *Pythagoras* left *Samos*, according to our Table. And to *Jamblichus* we may add *Suidas*,<sup>4)</sup> who places *Polycrates*'s Government about the same Olymp. LII.<sup>5)</sup> But the same Author in another place says, that<sup>6)</sup> one *Polycrates* the Father of the Tyrant govern'd *Samos* about Olymp. LIV, in *Croesus*'s time. This is a Piece of History, that I know not what to say to. For the Father of *Polycrates* the Tyrant was call'd<sup>7)</sup> *Ææces*, and *Croesus*'s Reign did not begin till Olymp. LV, 3. But though *Aristoxenus* say, our Philosopher went to *Italy* at xl years of Age; yet *Jamblichus* makes him about lx; and whether of them must we follow? If we regard

<sup>1)</sup> *Herod.* 1. c. 61.    <sup>2)</sup> *Jamb.* p. 31. [§ 11]. Ὑποφουμένης δὲ ἄρτι τῆς Πολυκράτους τυραννίδος, περὶ τῆς μάλιστα ἔτος γεγονώς.    <sup>3)</sup> *Idem*, p. 90. [§ 88].    <sup>4)</sup> *Suid.* v. Ἀνακρέων.

Γέγονε κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον ὀλυμπιάδι νβ'.

<sup>5)</sup> The famous *Apollodorus* seems to favour this early beginning of *Polycrates*'s Reign. (*Laërt.* in *Anaximand.* [II 1]). For he says *Anaximander* was LXIV years old at Olymp. LVIII, 2 and died soon after, having flourish'd most in the time of *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*; καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτήσαι, ἀμύσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. Now if we place the first year of *Polycrates* at Olymp. LII 3, *Anaximander* at that time was in his XLV<sup>th</sup> year, which seems old enough in all reason to begin his ἀμύη at. — *Add.* p. 542.

<sup>6)</sup> *Suid.* v. Ἰβυκος. Εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν, ὅτ' αὐτῆς ἤρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατὴρ· χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἐπὶ Κροίσου, ὀλυμπιάς νδ.    <sup>7)</sup> See *Herod.* [III 39].

the Authority of the two Parties, I am afraid *Jamblichus* must be laid aside; for he is both inferior to the other, and inconsistent with himself. But let us consider the nature of the thing, and the circumstances of the story. *Hermippus*, a considerable Author, tells us;<sup>1)</sup> »That when *Pythagoras* came to *Italy*; he made a private Room under ground, and having caused a report to be spread of his Death, he hid himself in that Room, ordering his Mother to let him down Meat privately from time to time, with an account in writing of all Affairs that happen'd in *Crotona*, and the places about. After a time he comes abroad,<sup>2)</sup> pretending to be risen from the Dead; and tells all the things, that had happen'd since his suppos'd Death, as if he had learnt them in the other World. Which Project procured him a mighty Authority. The same Story is told us by<sup>3)</sup> *Sophocles's* Scholiast; who thinks the Poet himself alluded to it in these Verses in his *Electra*;

Ἦδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς  
Λόγῳ μάρτην θνήσκοντας· εἶδ' ὅταν δόμους  
Ἐλθῶσιν αὖθις, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον.

64

And *Tertullian* too, a Man of admirable Wit and Learning, in his Book *about the Soul*, gives the same Account of this Story; and he adds this Particular, That he staid under ground<sup>4)</sup> *seven years*: which without question he speaks from some good Authority; and the design it self, that *Pythagoras* had in it, seems to require so long a time. For the Cheat might have been suspected, if he had soon appear'd abroad again; neither would there have been Matter of Fact enough, as Deaths, Marriages, and Births, and publick Transactions, the Accounts of which he pretended to have learnt below from the Ghosts of those that died after him. Now I suppose this design of *Pythagoras* will seem a very absurd one; if he was 17 years old, when he went to *Italy*, as *Jamblichus* makes him. Besides that he must have lived no little time there, so as to be gene-

<sup>1)</sup> *Apud Laert. in Pythag.* [21]. <sup>2)</sup> So *Lucian. in Gallo*, p. 252. [729]. *Ἦκουσα ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς δόξειας ἀναβεβηκέναι ἀποθανών.* <sup>3)</sup> *Schol. ad Electram* p. 83 [v. 62]. <sup>4)</sup> *Tertul. de anima* c. 28. *Mortem simulat, subterranea latitat, septenni se illic patientia damnat — cum fraude vitæ septennio excruciatæ infra terram.*

rally known, before he undertook it: or else they would never have believed, that he had rose from the dead, had they not known him alive before. He must be well advanced then beyond 60, when he began this Design. But what could one of that great Age propose to himself from so tedious a Project?

*Vita summa brevis spem cum vetat inchoare longam.*<sup>1)</sup>

He might die indeed in Jest, when he went down to his Vault; but he might fear, 'twould be in good earnest, before seven years were over. Or if he was sure to come out alive again, yet the Remainder of Life after LXX Years of Age, when he was to enjoy the Fruits of this pious Fraud, was not worth so long a Penance. For he came<sup>2)</sup> out half starved, a mere Skeleton, to make it the more credible to them, that he rose from the Grave. But there's another Circumstance, that makes it still more unlikely, that he was LX years old then. For the only Person privy to his design was<sup>3)</sup> his Mother: and was [not]<sup>4)</sup> she then at a fit Age, for the whole Plot to depend upon? Suppose her to be but 20, when *Pythagoras* was born, though<sup>5)</sup> she had another Son before him: even at this rate she would be about fourscore and ten, before the Intrigue could be finished. This surely was too slender a Thread, to trust a business of that weight to. It is very probable therefore, if this Story be true, that *Pythagoras* was but about XL, when he went into *Italy*. Nay, though the Story should be false, it is still a very good Argument; for it shews at least, that all those that have reported it, must have believed he was not much older.

But we have another Piece of History, which most Writers agree in, that seems to make him much younger, when he went for *Italy*, than *Jamblichus's* Account does. That is the πενταετία,<sup>6)</sup> *The Five years Silence*, that was enjoyn'd to his Disciples; before they were admitted to

1) After Hor. Od. I 4. — W. 2) *Hermippus* [fr. XLVII Loszyński] ὁ γυνὸς κατεσκελετευμένος. *Tertul.* [de anima c. 28 = vol. IV. p. 272 ed. Semler] Corpulentiam interpolasse visus ad omnem mortui veteris horrorem. 3) *Herm.* Τῇ μητρὶ ἐνετείλατο. *Tertull.* ab unica conscia & ministra matre. 4) Not

is given in the original edition, but omitted in ed. 1777. — W.

5) *Porph.* *Jamblich.* 6) *Laert.* [10] *Porphyr.* [19] *Jambl.* [72] &c.

his Conversation; or as some say, even to the sight of him. Now it appears from the whole Conduct of *Pythagoras*, that he aim'd to be Founder of a Sect; and by the interest <sup>66</sup> of his Scholars to change the forms of several Governments. But would any Man of threescore years age, if he had such designs in his head, have taken such a slow Method of bringing them about? he must surely be a younger Man, and have the prospect of many years before him, when he began such a Discipline. Or else he must needs apprehend, that old Age and Death would be at his Heels, before the ceremonious Silence was over. This *Quinquennium* therefore even alone makes it very unlikely, that he was *LX*, when he went for *Italy*; but if it be added to the Story above, his *seven years stay in the Vault*, it will make that Account of his Age still the more improbable: for at that rate he was near *LXX* years old, when he began that tedious Method.

Another Confirmation of *Aristoxenus's* Account, that *Pythagoras* was but *XL*, when he first came to *Italy*, is his marrying <sup>1)</sup> a Wife at *Crotona*, *Theano* the Daughter of *Brontinus*, by whom he had two Sons and two Daughters. About his Love to *Theano* we have these elegant Verses of *Hermesianax*, the *Colophonian* Poet, that lived in *Alexander's* time:

ὅτῃ μὲν Σάμιον μανίῃ κατέδησε θεανοῦς <sup>2)</sup>  
 Πυθαγόρην, ἐλίκων κομφὰ γεωμετρίας  
 Εὐράμενον, καὶ κύκλον ὅσον περιβάλλεται αἰθήρ,  
 Βαίῃ τ' ἐν σφαίρῃ πάντ' ἀποτασσόμενον.

Here we see, he had such a Passion for his Mistress *Theano*, that the Poet calls it *Madness*. Which better agrees, with the Age of 50, than 70, after he had stay'd 7 years in the Vault. For that he had no Wife till after that time, may be fairly gather'd from this circumstance, that his old Mother, and she only, was conscious to his Plot. The Names of his two Sons are *Telauges* and *Mne-<sup>67</sup>sarchus*. The former is mention'd by *Empedocles*; <sup>3)</sup> whose Verse must be mended thus;

<sup>1)</sup> *Laert. in Pythag.* [VII 1, 22]. <sup>2)</sup> *Athen. 13. p. 599 [a].*

<sup>3)</sup> *Laert. in Pyth.* [22] Ἰπρόβοτός φησι λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα  
 Τηλαυγῆ, κλυτὲ κοῦρε θεανοῦς Πυθαγόρῳ τε.

Τηλαυγές, κλυτὲ κοῦρε θεανοῦς Πυθαγόρεώ τε.

and by *Jamblichus*,<sup>1)</sup> Τηλαυγῆς κομιδῇ νέος ὑπὸ τὸν Πυθαγόρου θάνατον ὑπολειπόμενος ἦν περὶ θεῶν οἱ τῇ μητρὶ. Where the Latin Version has it, *In spectaculo matris Deum*. But for περὶ θεῶν οἱ τῇ μητρὶ, it ought to be corrected, παρὰ θεανοῖ τῇ μητρὶ. The other Son, in *Jamblichus* is called Μνήμαρχος, *Mnemarchus*: which perhaps is a Reading not to be rejected. For *Festus*<sup>2)</sup> tells us, *Pythagoras* had a Son called *Mamercus*; which seems to be form'd from the Dorick Pronunciation of the Greek word, Μνάμαρχος.

V. Most of the Ecclesiastical Writers date the Ἀκμή, the flourishing Age of *Pythagoras* at Olymp. LXXII, *Tatian*<sup>3)</sup> and *Clement*<sup>4)</sup> are the first of them; and their very Subject, which was to shew the Greek Antiquity to be more recent than the Jewish, induced them to bring his time down as low as they could. No wonder then, that they rather follow'd those Writers that placed him at Olymp. LX, than those others, which as we have already seen, have put him something higher. *Clement's* Computation is subscribed to, as in most other Cases, by *Cyril*.<sup>5)</sup> *St. Austin* says,<sup>6)</sup> he began to be famous at the return of the Jewish Captivity; that is, about Olymp. LXII. *Eusebius* indeed, according to *Scaliger's* Edition, fixes his time at Olymp. 68 LXV, 1. But some MS Copies of him, which I think are here in the right, set it at Olymp. LXII, 3, or 4. But in all this there is no Contradiction, between those that say, he flourished Olymp. LXII, and those that say, about LX. For since he lived to be above ninety years old; we may truly say, he flourished at 40, 50, 60, nay 80 years of Age.

But *Cicero* says,<sup>7)</sup> he came into Italy in the Reign of *Superbus*; which could not be before Olymp. LXI, 4. And *Jamblichus*<sup>8)</sup> dates his Voyage thither at Olymp. LXII, when

1) [§ 146]. 2) *Festus v. Emil.* [p. 23 M]. 3) *Tatian. ad Græcos pag. ult.* [141 ed. Worth]. 4) *Clem. I. Strom. p. 130, [354 P.] & 143, [396 P.]*. 5) *Cyril. contra Julian. p. 12. [13 Spanh.]* 6) *Aug. de Civitate Dei, XVIII, 37.* 7) *I. Tuscul. [16] Pythagoras, qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset.*

8) Παρεγένετο εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὴν ὀλυμπ. ξβ. καθ' ἣν Ἐρυξίδας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς στάδιον ἐνίκησεν. *Jambl. p. 47. [§. 35].*

*Eryxidas*, or as others call him,<sup>1)</sup> *Eryxias* of *Chalcis* won the Race at *Olympia*. These are plain and direct Testimonies against the opinion of those above. And the judicious Reader must consider, which account is the more probable. Only let him remember, that the later he brings *Pythagoras* into *Italy* and *Sicily*, the more surely he detects the Forgery of *Phalaris's* Epistles. But what if it may be suspected, that *Cicero* and *Jamblichus* or the Authors they had it from, mistook out of forgetfulness? So as, when others had said, he was in *Italy* Olymp. LXII, these might say, he came thither. We have a near instance of an Error exactly like this. *Cicero* had said,<sup>2)</sup> That *Pythagoras* was in *Italy*, at the same time that *Brutus* deliver'd his Country; that is Olymp. LXVIII, 1. This seems to have been the sole foundation of *Solinus's* new Doctrine;<sup>3)</sup> That *Pythagoras* came to *Italy*, when *Brutus* was Consul.

As for *Jamblichus*, he has so managed his Accounts, <sup>69</sup> that he has discover'd how little he was versed in ancient Chronology, »*Pythagoras*, he says, went into *Ægypt*, and <sup>4)</sup> »continued there xxii years, till he was carried by *Cambyses* to *Babylon*,<sup>5)</sup> where he staid xii years; and <sup>6)</sup> »from »thence, being about 56 years old, he returned to *Samos*; »where not finding things to his desire, he left it and <sup>7)</sup> »went to *Italy*, Olymp. LXII, when *Eryxidas* got the Prize. Here's a Story so well told, that it contradicts it self in the reckoning, no less than xx years. For it was viii years after Olymp. LXII, when *Cambyses* was in *Ægypt*; and xii more, he says, were spent at *Babylon*. Who would depend upon such a Computation, or indeed upon any part of it, when the whole is so inconsistent? Yet the learned Mr. *Dodwell* has assumed that 12 years Stay at *Babylon*, that has nothing to vouch it, but this lame and selfconfuted Story, for the Basis of all his Calculations in *Pythagoras's* Life. Though at the same time, he makes very bold with

1) *Catalog. Stadion. in Euseb. Scaligeri.*      2) *Tuscul. iv.*  
[1, 2] *Pythagoras, qui fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem, quibus*  
*L. Brutus patriam liberavit.*      3) *Solinus, c. xxi. Pythagoras,*  
*Bruto consule, qui reges urbe eiecit, Italiam advectus est.*

4) *Jambl. p. 36. [§ 19].*

5) *P. 37.*

6) *P. 37.*

7) *P. 47. [§ 35].*

the other parts of the Story; for he differs from the Date at *Eryxidas's* Victory, no less than five whole Olympiads: and instead of  $\text{xxx}$  years in *Ægypt*, he allows something <sup>1)</sup> above one; though *Plutarch*<sup>2)</sup> says, it's confess'd he was there long time; and no little time, says *Cyrillus*.<sup>3)</sup>

*Syncellus* indeed agrees with *Jamblichus* in his Narrative of *Cambyzes*. For he also says,<sup>4)</sup> that *Pythagoras* was found by him in *Ægypt*, and carried away Prisoner. But *Apuleius* tells the Story quite another way: For he says,<sup>5)</sup> *Pythagoras* was carried to, and not from *Ægypt*, among the Captives of *Cambyzes*. And he seems to refer to that Stratagem of *Polycrates*<sup>6)</sup>, when under pretence of sending Forces to the Aid of *Cambyzes*, he selected all the men he was jealous of; with private directions to the King, that he should let none of them return home. *Apuleius* therefore adds, in contradiction to this; That the more general report was,<sup>7)</sup> that *Pythagoras* went voluntarily into *Ægypt*; that is, he was not pressed by *Polycrates* into the Persian Service. This, as I take it, is the true meaning of *Apuleius*; and the Reader may consider, what credit a Story deserves, that is told such different ways. But what will he say to the other Piece of secret History, that one *Gillus* a Prince of *Crotona*, redeemed *Pythagoras* out of Captivity? Some take this *Gillus* to be the same with *Cylon* of *Crotona*: but he is<sup>8)</sup> *Gillus* of *Tarentum*, who living in exile at *Crotona*, redeem'd some Persian Slaves there, and carried them into *Persia* to *Darius*, about Ol. lxxv, 1. Here we see, how the Story is turn'd. *Gillus* really redeem'd Slaves at *Crotona*, and carried them to *Persia*; but *Apuleius* makes him

1) *De Cycl. Vet.* p. 138. Spatio plusquam annuo. 2) *Plut. Symp. quæst.* viii, 8. Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς σοφοῖς συγγενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν πολλὸν χρόνον ὁμολογεῖται. 3) *Cyrillus contra Jul.* p. 15. Πυθαγόρας καὶ θαλῆς οὐκ ἐδαρίσθητον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατετριφότες καιρόν.

4) *Syncell.* [p. 397 Dind.] Πυθαγόραν εὐρώων ἐπιξενωθέντα διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πρὸς τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις εἰς Πέρσας ἦγε [τελεῖ]. 5) *Apuleius Florid.* 11. [15]. Sunt qui Pythagoram aiant, eo temporis, inter captivos Cambysæ regis Ægyptum cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum Magos; posteaque eum à quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe recuperatum.

6) *Herod. lib. iii cap. 44.* 7) *Ibid.* Celebrior fama obtinet, sponte eum petisse Ægyptias disciplinas. 8) *Herod. lib. iii. c. 138.*



redeem one in *Persia*, and carry him to *Crotona*. I know it's easie to be said, that He might do both: but he had another errant to *Persia*, than buying of Slaves, as may be seen in *Herodotus*.

VI. We come now to the several Periods of *Pythagoras's* Death. The most early, that we meet with, (for perhaps *oe*, 75, in *Syncellus* is an Error for *pe*, 105)<sup>1)</sup> is thus deliver'd by *Laertius*; *Pythagoras*,<sup>2)</sup> says he; as *Heraclides the Son of Serapion* says, died *LXXX* years old, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν, according to his own *Distribution of Ages*. This *Heraclides* had epitomized *Sotion's* Work, about the *Successions of the Philosophers*, and another Work of *Satyrus's* about the *Lives of famous Men*. In one of these two Treatises he is supposed to have said this, that *Laertius* cites from him. Upon which the very learned *Mr. D.* observes,<sup>3)</sup> that this was not *Sotion's* nor *Satyrus's* Opinion, but the private one of *Heraclides*; because it was according to his own *Description of Ages*. And from thence he makes a Conjecture, what *Sotion's* Account might be; and believes it to be a<sup>4)</sup> wonderfull Confirmation of what he had deliver'd. But I am sorry this learned Person should so widely mistake the sense of his Author; who does not mean *Heraclides's* own *Distribution of Ages*, but *Pythagoras's* own. For *Pythagoras*, as the same *Laertius* relates,<sup>5)</sup> divided the whole Life of Man into four Ages, ἡλικίαι; to each of which he assigned the space of *xx* years: so that the compleat life of a Man, was according to him *LXXX* years. *Pythagoras* therefore, says *Heraclides*, died *LXXX* years old, after his own *Description of Ages*, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν.<sup>6)</sup>

1) An error of Bentley's. *Syncellus* says Πυθαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος τέθνηκεν ἐτῶν ἑδ', οἱ δὲ οὐ. P. 469 Dind. — R. 2) *Laert. in Pythag.* [§ 44] Πυθαγόρας, ὃς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὀγδοηκοντοῦτης ἐτελεύτα, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν. 3) *De Cyclis vet. p. 144, 145.* 4) *Ibid.*

*Faciunt hæc mirifice ad ea confirmanda, quæ hactenus observavimus.* 5) *Laert. in Pythag. sect. 10.* 6) *Censorinus*

cap. XV says the very same thing about *Plato*, that he died at *LXXXI*, which he counted the legitimate extent of human Life. *Annus octogesimum et unum, in quo Plato finem vitæ et legitimum esse existimavit et habuit.* — *Add. p. 542.*

- 72 But to determine the year of *Pythagoras's* Death, we must endeavour in the first place to discover the time of *Cylon's* Conspiracy; for they all say, that he either lost his Life at that time, or survived but a few Months after. It could not happen before Olympiad LXXII, 4, if *Diodorus*<sup>1)</sup> and *Jamblichus*<sup>2)</sup> may be believed, who affirm, that *Pythagoras* was then alive, and in *Italy*, when the *Crotonians* went to war with the *Sybarites*. For that War, by *Diodorus's* Computation, was about that Olympiad. And *Cicero* also concurs with them; for he says, *Pythagoras*<sup>3)</sup> was in *Italy*, when *Brutus* deliver'd his Country: which happen'd at the very same time, Olymp. LXXII, 4. But that *Cylon's* Villainy was committed presently after that War, it appears from *Jamblichus*, or rather *Apollonius*, whom he cites for it. After the *Crotonians* had destroyed *Sybaris*,<sup>4)</sup> says he, then *Cylon's* Faction put their Malice in Execution. And in *Cylon's* Invective against the *Pythagoreans*, when he incensed the Government against them, there is this Expression,<sup>5)</sup> That it was a shame, that they who had conquered 300,000 men at the River *Traïs*, should now be enslaved at home by the 1000th part of that number. By the 1000th part he understands the Disciples of *Pythagoras*, that were in all about 300.<sup>6)</sup> And by the Victory at *Traïs*, he means, the Battle with the *Sybarites*, who brought into the Field 300,000 Men.<sup>7)</sup> Τράευντα I read in *Jamblichus*, for τετράευντα: 73 for I find in *Diodorus*,<sup>8)</sup> that *Traïs* is a River near *Sybaris*. These Passages of *Jamblichus*, will, I suppose, be allowed to prove, that the Conspiracy of *Cylon* must be dated very soon after the Destruction of *Sybaris*, which was Ol. LXXII, 4.

<sup>1)</sup> *Diodor. Sic. p. 77. [XII 9].* <sup>2)</sup> *Jambl. p. 125 [133], 157. [177].* <sup>3)</sup> *Cic. Tuscul. quæst. iv [1, 2].* <sup>4)</sup> *Jambl. p. 212. [255].* Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σύβαριν ἐχειρώσαντο, ἐξερράγη τὸ σιωπώμενον μῖσος. <sup>5)</sup> *Jamb. p. 217 [260].* Αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα μυριάδων περὶ τὸν Τετράευντα ποταμὸν περιγενομένους, ὅπῃ τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ μέρους ἔσθινων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει φανῆναι κατεστασιασμένους. <sup>6)</sup> *Jambl. p. 212. [254] Justin. xx, 4. Athenagoras. [p. 280 Rech.]* <sup>7)</sup> *Diod. Siculus, p. 76, & 77.* Στρατευσάντων τῶν Συβαριτῶν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν, *Strabo vi [263].* τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ Κροτωνιάταις ἐστράτευσαν. <sup>8)</sup> *Diod. p. 85. [XII 22]* Διαφύγοντες τὸν ἐν τῇ στάσει κίνδυνον Συβαρίται περὶ τὸν Τράευντα ποταμὸν κατήκνησαν.

Let it be put then about two years after it, Olymp. LXVIII, 2; and it concurs with the 99th year of *Pythagoras*, according to *Eratosthenes*, and the Calculation in our Table. All which tends to make it still more probable, that the Computation is true. For at that very year of his Age *Pythagoras* died, as the Generality of Authors say. *He died*, says *Tzetzes*,<sup>1)</sup> *a hundred years old, wanting only one: Near a hundred*, says *Jamblichus*.<sup>2)</sup> *Laertius* indeed says *at ninety*; <sup>3)</sup> but *Casaubon* and *Menagius*, and other judicious Criticks, think the Author wrote it *ninety nine*; his Copies being now corrupted. And some MSS of *Eusebius*<sup>4)</sup> place his Death at the very next year, Olymp. LXVIII, 3.

This last Passage of *Jamblichus*, where he intimates that *Cylon's* Conspiracy came quickly after the *Sybaritic* War, being not only corrupted in the Original, but most miserably handled in the Latin Translation; it cannot be imputed as a fault to the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, that he did not take direction from it, when he made his Computations. He has dated that Conspiracy at Olymp. LXXII, 3; which is almost xx years, after the War with the *Sybarites*. But his reckoning proceeds upon two Suppositions, that perhaps<sup>74</sup> will hardly be granted him. First he assumes, that *Pythagoras* staid a dozen years at *Babylon*, after *Cambyses's* Expedition into *Ægypt*. But this, I presume, will now appear to be a false Account, by the Authorities I have produced above. Then he adds that *Pythagoras* continued just xx years at *Crotona* in *Italy*; and since according to his Calculation he came thither at Olymp. LXVII, 2; he must consequently be driven out of it at Olymp. LXXII, 3. But the only Voucher for that xx years stay at *Crotona*, is a Passage in *Justin*, which we have cited already<sup>5)</sup>. And that seems to be spoken roundly and in the gross, without taking notice of odd years. But *Jamblichus* says, he continued there 39 years; and perhaps it may be suspected

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Tzetzes*, p. 205. [Chil. XI 93]. Ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ἑκατὸν πλὴν ἔτους ἑνὸς μόνου. <sup>2)</sup> *Jamb.* p. 220 [265] Βιώσαντα ἑτὶ ἑγγιστῶν ἑκατὸν. Read with Mr. D. ἑγγιστα τῶν ἑκατὸν or rather ἑγγὺς τῶν, for the MS. had it ἑγγυστῶν. <sup>3)</sup> *Laert.* in *Pyth.* [44]. Ὡς δὲ πλείους, ἑτὶ βιοῦς ἐννενήκοντα, they read, ἐννενήκοντα ἐννέα. <sup>4)</sup> *Euseb.* Edit. Pontac. <sup>5)</sup> P. 49.

that the true reading in *Justin* is *xl*, and not *xx*: for the Copies are not much to be trusted, when there is nothing but bare Figures, without circumstances to specify the time.

'Tis true, *Jamblichus* does not say expressly, that *Pythagoras* staid in *Italy* 39 years; but only<sup>1)</sup> that he presided over the *Pythagorean School* so long. Mr. *D.* therefore, comparing these two Passages of *Jamblichus* and *Justin* together, has inferr'd from them both, that *Pythagoras* liv'd *xix* whole years after the Conspiracy of *Cylon*. This is a History entirely new and his own; and I am sorry, it has no better Foundation, than two Figures (*xx*) in *Justin*, and those also misapplied to a place of *Jamblichus*. For I think nothing can be plainer, than that *Jamblichus* understood the whole 39 years to have been spent before  
 75 the Treachery of *Cylon*. For when he first enters upon his Narrative about *Cylon*, he tells us of *Pythagoras*'s Death at *Metapontium*:<sup>2)</sup> and after he has finish'd it, his very next words are an Account<sup>3)</sup> of *Pythagoras*'s Successors. Several Writers have affirmed; that *Pythagoras* himself was burnt at the same time with his Scholars.<sup>4)</sup> And the rest that disagree with these, make him die presently after. And some tell us the several Steps of his Escape; that<sup>5)</sup> first he fled to *Locri*, thence to *Tarentum*, and thence to *Metapontium*; where he took Sanctuary in the Temple of the *Muses*, and was starved there after 40 days fasting. All this they describe, as done without any stop or stay; so as the *Locrians* met him at the very Confines, and would not let him set foot upon their Territory. Others therefore take no notice of his going to *Locri* and *Tarentum*; but<sup>6)</sup> carry him immediately and directly from *Crotona* to *Metapontium*, where he ended his days.

1) *Jambl. p. 220.* Αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγόραν ἀφηγήσασθαι λέγεται ἐνδὸς δέοντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. 2) *P. 208. [249].*

3) *P. 219. [251. 265].* 4) *Quidam apud Laert. [39]. Suidas [II 544 Bh.]. Plutarch de repugn. Stoicorum, p. 1051, & de Socratis Genio, p. 583. Arnob. lib. I [40]. Athenagoras. Valer. Max. viii, 7. Firmicus Astron. i, 3. Tzetzes, Chil. xi, 366 [rather XI 79 sqq.]*

5) *Porph. de vita Pyth. 206 [57]. The-mistius Orat. iv. Firmicus ibid.* 6) *Dicaearchus apud Laert. [40]. Justin. xx, 4. Jamblichus, 208 [249].*

Thus, we see, the whole Stream of Historians runs against Mr. Dodwell.

But the same very learned Person has proceeded yet further; and has told us the place where *Pythagoras* lived for those XIX years after the Sedition of *Cylon*. Even in *Sicily*, where he deposed *Phalaris*, and rescued *Himera*, and *Catana*, and other Cities from the Yoke of Tyranny. The only Fund for this Conjecture is *Hermippus's* Relation of *Pythagoras's* Death; which differs from all the rest. He says, *When the Agrigentines were at War with the Syracusians, Pythagoras*<sup>1)</sup> *went with some of his Scholars, and*<sup>76</sup> *headed the Agrigentines; but his Party was routed, and himself slain, being overtaken in his Flight, because he would not go through a Field of Beans.* Now what is there in these words, that shews *Pythagoras* to have lived in *Sicily* before? Why might he not go from *Crotona* to the Assistance of the *Agrigentines*? Is there any thing more common in History, than to have the *Sicilians*, and the Inhabitants of *Magna Græcia* engaged with one another? But allowing he was fixed in *Sicily* before, yet here's nothing determin'd about the time of this War: why may we not then suppose, it was about the time of *Cylon's* Sedition, rather than as Mr. D. sets it, XIX years after? *Hermippus's* own words seem to favour us in it; for he adds, *That the rest of his Scholars, being xxxv in number* (all but those that were slain in the Fight with the *Syracusians*) *were*<sup>2)</sup> *burnt at Tarentum for disturbing the Government.* Now this burning at *Tarentum* appears to be the same,<sup>3)</sup> that was contrived by the *Cylonian* Faction, presently after the Sedition at *Crotona*. But Mr. D. thinks, *Pythagoras* was slain in that War, that *Thrasydæus* Tyrant of *Agrigentum* made upon *Hiero* of *Syracuse*,<sup>4)</sup> *Olymp. lxxvii, 1.* Which is to add another Improbability to all that have gone before. For who will believe, that *Pythagoras* would side with *Thrasydæus*, a tyrannical and profligate Man, in<sup>5)</sup> a groundless and

1) *Laert.* [40] Ἐξελεῖν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων τὸν Πυθαγόραν, καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων. 2) *Laert. ibid.* Ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι.

3) *Porphyr.* p. 207. [56] Εἰς Τάραντα πλεῦσαι, πάλιν δὲ χάκεϊ παραπλήσια παθόντα τοῖς περὶ Κρότωνα. See *Jamb.* p. 218. [249]. 4) *Diodor. Sic.* p. 40. [XI 53].

5) *Diodor. ibid.*

77 unjust War, against *Hiero*, who was the bravest Prince of his time and a great Patron of Learning; some of the greatest Wits of that Age residing at his Court, *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Bacchylides*, *Æschylus*, and (which is still a further Argument) *Pythagoras*'s own Scholar, *Epicharmus*.

But Mr. *Dodwell* fetches two new Arguments, from the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School, to confirm his Assertion about the Age of *Pythagoras*. »For *Lysis*,<sup>1)</sup> one »of the Scholars of *Pythagoras*, was Præceptor to *Epaminondas* and *Philip* of *Macedon*, both of whom lived after »Olymp. c. And *Aristoxenus*; a Scholar of *Aristotle*'s had »some *Pythagorean* Acquaintance, that were not very remote from *Pythagoras*'s own time."

That one *Lysis* a *Pythagorean* lived at *Thebes* with *Epaminondas*, is a thing not now to be questioned; since so many Writers of good note have affirmed it.<sup>2)</sup> But there is good reason to doubt whether this was the same *Lysis*, that was an Auditor of *Pythagoras*; though several of these Authors expressly say, it was he. For if we compute the Interval of years between the Sedition of *Cylon*, and the Age of *Epaminondas*, they will be found too many to be allow'd for one Life; even in Mr. *D*'s own reckoning. For let us suppose with Mr. *D*. that *Cylon* fired the *Pythagorean* 78 College at Olymp. LXXII, 3. tho' this appears to be set XVII years too low. *Lysis* then at that time may be supposed about XX years of Age; for<sup>3)</sup> he and *Archippus* being the youngest and the strongest, are said to have escaped

1) De Cyclis Vet. p. 148. Conveniunt certe Scholæ Pythagoricæ diadochai. a *Lysis* enim *Pythagoræ* in Magna Græcia discipulus, *Philippum* Macedonem *Alexandri M.* patrem *Thebis* instituit atque *Epaminondam*, qui ipsi Olymp. c. superârunt, nec admodum remoti erant à *Pythagora* ipso, quos vidit. b *Aristoxenus* *Peripateticus* *Aristotelis* discipulus. a *Plutarch*. b *Gellius* iv, 11.

2) *Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt.* [X 28]. *Cornel. Nepos* [Ep. 2]. *Pausanias* [IX 13, 1]. *Ælian. in Var.* [III 17]. *Plutarch de Socratis Genio.* [579c]. *Porphy.* [55]. *Jamblich.* [250]. *Hieronimus contra Rufinum* [III p. 469 ed. Paris. 1706].

3) *Porphy.* *Jamb.* p. 208. Οὗτοι τελευτάτοι ὄντες καὶ ἐδρωστώτατοι. Corrige, Οὗτοι τε νεώτατοι. So *Plutarch. de Socr.* [c. 13] idem p. 583 Νέων ὄντων ἔτι βίῃ καὶ κουφότητι διασμένων τὸ πῦρ.

out of the Fire, in which their Companions were burnt. Now *Epaminondas's* Age might be determin'd with sufficient exactness from the time of his Death at the Battle of *Mantineia*, Olymp. civ, 2: for he was then in the Vigour of his years, and died fighting heroically.<sup>1)</sup> But we can fix it precisely out of *Plutarch*;<sup>2)</sup> who informs us, that he was  $\pi$  years old, when he was first made *General*;<sup>3)</sup> which was Olymp. cii, 2. He was born then at Olymp. xcii, 1. and we must suppose, he was no less than  $\pi$  years of Age before the Death of his Tutor: otherwise he could not have made those mighty Improvements under his Discipline, that Historians speak of. I conceive, all we have hitherto allow'd in our Computation is very fair and reasonable. And yet at this rate from the Nativity of *Lysis* to the  $\pi$ th year of *Epaminondas* there are  $\epsilon\iota\iota\chi$  years; too long a time certainly for the Life of *Lysis*, whom neither *Lucian* nor any one else have mention'd in their Catalogues of long liv'd men. Nay we must still stretch it out longer; for *Plutarch*,<sup>4)</sup> telling a Story of one *Theanor* a *Pythagorean*, who upon the News of *Lysis's* Death was sent by the Society out of *Italy* to *Thebes*, to perform some Ceremonies at his Sepulchre,<sup>5)</sup> makes him arrive there the very time that the proscribed *Thebans* return'd home,<sup>6)</sup> 79 which was Olymp. c, 3. If we admit this account, we must add fourteen years more to *Lysis's* Life, which is already so much too long: for from the Birth of *Lysis* to Olymp. c, 3, there are  $\epsilon\chi\chi\chi\iota$  years. But we must prolong this Life still further, according to *Diodorus*, who is follow'd by Mr. *Dodwell*. For *Diodorus* says,<sup>7)</sup> that *Philip* of Ma-

1) Ἡρωικῶς. *Diodor.* [XX 87]. 2) *Plut. de Λάθε Βιωσας*. [4]. Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἰς τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος ἀγωνηθεῖς, ὅστερον δὲ πιστευθεῖς καὶ ἄρξας. 3) *Diodorus*, 367. [XV 52].

4) *Plut. de Socratis Daemónio*. [16]. 5) *Olympiodorus* in his MS Commentary on *Plato's Phaedon*, says it was *Philolaus*, one of those that escap'd *ex incendio Cylonis*, who came to his Master's *Lysis's* Sepulchre at *Thebes*. Γύλων ἐφῆψε πῦρ τῷ διδασκαλείῳ, καὶ πάντες ἐκαύθησαν πλὴν δύο, Φιλολάου καὶ Ἰππάρχου. Ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ Φιλόλαος εἰς Θήβας, ὀφείλων χάς τῷ οὐκ εἰὼς διδασκάλῳ τεθνεώτι καὶ ἐκεῖ τεθαμμένῳ ποιήσασθαι τῷ Λύσιδι. — *Add.* p. 542. 6) *Diodor.* 345. [XV 25].

7) *Diodor.* xvi. p. 407. [2]. Μετέσχευ ἐπὶ πλείον τῶν Πυθαγορείων λόγων· ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν &c.

*cedon*, the Father of *Alexander*, was educated at *Thebes* under the same *Pythagorean* with *Epaminondas*, and made a considerable Progress in Philosophical Knowledge. But we are certain that it was Olymp. cii, 4, when *Philip* was sent a Hostage to *Thebes*. This is expressly said by *Diodorus*,<sup>1)</sup> and clearly intimated by *Plutarch*;<sup>2)</sup> and fully confirmed from the Account of *Philip's* Age. For he died Olymp. cxi, 1.<sup>3)</sup> when he was xlvii years old;<sup>4)</sup> and consequently at Olymp. cii, 4. he was but xiv; which is an Age young enough in all reason for the understanding of the *Pythagorean* Doctrines. If the same *Lysis* therefore was both Scholar to *Pythagoras*, and Master to *Philip*, he must survive the Sedition of *Cylon* (when we suppose him xx years old) till Olymp. cii, 4. So that he must live in all cxxxxi years. This is a Life of such an extraordinary length; that I am persuaded, even Mr. *D.* himself, rather than he will believe this, will come over to my opinion, that there were two *Pythagoreans* of the same Name, and that Historians have confounded two *Lysis's* together. And yet in all this Computation, I have follow'd Mr. *D's* own Sentiment about the date of *Cylon's* Conspiracy. But if we  
 80 place it at Olymp. lxxviii, 2. which I conceive I have proved above to be the more probable opinion, then the Longævity of *Lysis* will be still augmented more extravagantly, even to clviii years.

Mr. *Dodwell's* next Argument is taken out of *A. Gellius*, who reporting a thing from *Aristoxenus*, a Disciple of *Aristotle's*, says, *He seems to have had it from his Acquaintance Xenophilus*,<sup>5)</sup> and other ancient *Pythagoreans*, that lived at no great distance from *Pythagoras's* own age. But as I humbly conceive, this Expression of *Gellius* is too loose and general to determine so nice a point. For who can tell, whether *Haud multum* shall signify fifty years, or fourscore,

1) *Diod.* xv. p. 379 [67].

2) *Plut.* in *Pelopide* [26].

3) *Diod.* xvi. [94].

4) *Justin.* ix, 8. — *Pausanias* says [VIII 7, 6] above XLVI. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν [modern editions οὐ] πρόσω βιώσας ἑξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν. — *Add.* p. 542.

5) *Gellius* iv, 11. *Quam rem videtur Aristoxenus cognovisse ex Xenophilo familiari suo, & ex quibusdam aliis natu majoribus; qui ab ætate Pythagoræ haud multum aberant.*



or perhaps a hundred? This *Xenophilus* was Præceptor to *Aristoxenus*; <sup>1)</sup> who, upon the death, as it seems, of his *Pythagorean* Master, was a follower of *Aristotle*. *Aristotle* set up his School at *Athens* about Olymp. cxi: <sup>2)</sup> and without question *Aristoxenus* was one of the first of his Scholars: for he expected to have succeeded him after his death; which he could not have presumed upon a short acquaintance. We will suppose then, that *Xenophilus* might die about Olymp. cx. But he lived above a hundred and five years; as *Aristoxenus* <sup>3)</sup> himself has told us. He was born therefore about Ol. lxxxiii; which is xxv from *Pythagoras*'s days according to Mr. *Dodwell*; and after the other reckoning lx. Either of these Sums is *haud multum*, so that this point cannot be decided from that passage of *Gellius*. But there are other Writers, that speak more particularly of the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School; and they perhaps may enable us to determin the Controversy. »Py-<sup>81</sup>  
*thagoras* flourished, says *Laertius*, <sup>4)</sup> about the lx Olymp. and his School continued for Nine or even Ten Generations. For the last of the *Pythagoreans* were *Xenophilus*, *Phanto*, *Echecrates*, *Diocles*, and *Polymnastus*. These were known to *Aristoxenus* and had been the Scholars of *Philolaus* and *Eurytus*. But what does he call a Generation? The very Argument it self will assist us to find his meaning; for he proves from the Interval between Olymp. lx and the Deaths of those last *Pythagoreans*, that the Generations were Nine or Ten. He cannot then here allow xxx or xxxiii years to a Generation; as those Authors we have cited above did: for at that rate there would not be above Six Generations. But he seems to take a Generation for 11 years, as *Hesychius* <sup>5)</sup> and some others define it. Now

<sup>1)</sup> *Suidas* in Ἀριστόξ. <sup>2)</sup> At Olymp. CXI, 2. when *Euaenetus* was Archon. *Dionys. Halicarn. de Demosth.* [Ep. ad Amm. p. 728 c. 5]. — *Add.* p. 542. <sup>3)</sup> *Apud Lucianum in Macrob.* [221].

<sup>4)</sup> *Laert.* in *Pythag.* [45]. Ἠλικας δὲ κατὰ τὴν ξ. ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστημα διέμεινε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα· τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὗς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος εἶδε, Ξενοφίλος τε, &c. The vulgar *Lection* is ἐννεακαίδεκα: but the MSS have it ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα, which is the true reading.

<sup>5)</sup> *Hesych.* v. γενεά. Τὴν δὲ γενεὰν ὁρίστανται ἐτῶν οἱ μὲν εἴκοσι.

if we reckon from Olymp. lx to the Death of *Xenophilus* Olymp. cx; there are ten such Generations. But *Xenophilus* being above 105 years of Age when he died, may be supposed to have out-lived all his School-fellows by one whole Generation. So that here appears an evident reason, why our Author says *Nine or even Ten*: for they are but *nine*, if we count to the Deaths of *Phanto* and *Echecrates*, and the Generality of them: but if we measure to the long extent of the Life of *Xenophilus*, who perhaps for xx years together, was the only genuine *Pythagorean* left in the world, they are even *ten* Generations. *Diodorus* says,<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *The last of the Pythagoreans were alive at Ol. ciii, 3.* which wants but half a dozen years of Nine Generations. But the learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Computation will in no wise agree with this passage of *Laertius*. For Mr. *D.* sets the Founding of the *Pythagorean* School xxx years later than *Laertius* does: which cuts the account shorter by a Generation and a half. *Tully* says, The *Pythagorean* Sect continued *many Generations*<sup>2)</sup> after the Death of their Master: which Expression seems not to favour those, that would shorten the Duration of it.

This I take to be a true Explication of this place of *Laertius*; which has given so much trouble to his Interpreters. And I conceive, it may be further confirmed by the testimony of *Jamblichus*; who, when he speaks of the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School,<sup>3)</sup> makes *Aristæus*, *Pythagoras's* immediate Successor, to have been *very near vii Generations before* Plato. Now let us suppose *Aristæus* to have been lx years old, when he took *Pythagoras's* Chair about Olymp. lxxviii, 2: for he was the eldest<sup>4)</sup> of all the Society, and for that reason succeeded him. He was born then at Olymp. liii, 3. And from that time to the Nativity of *Plato* Olymp. lxxxviii, 1,<sup>5)</sup> there are 138 years; which

---

1) *Diodor. p. 386. [XV 76].* Ἐτι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ τελευταῖοι. 2) *Cicer. Tuscul. I. [16, 38]. Multa sæcula postea viguit.* 3) *Jambl. p. 219. [265].* Ἀρισταῖος, ἐπὶ γενεαῖς ἑγγιστα πρὸς Πλάτωνος. lege, πρὸ Πλάτωνος. 4) *Jambl. 220 [265].* Παραδοῦναι Ἀρισταίῳ τὴν σχολὴν πρεσβυτάτῳ ὄντι. 5) *Ol. LXXXVII, 3* according to *Corsini, Fasti Attici III 230 sqq.* — R.

wants but two years of VII Generations. But if Mr. D's Computation were allowed, there would be 102 years only between *Aristæus* and *Plato*; that is, five Generations.

The same *Jamblichus* has given us a List of the whole Succession of the *Pythagoreans*: which being very faulty in the present Edition, I hope it will not be unacceptable<sup>es</sup> to the Reader, to see some of it here corrected; and it will supply us with some considerable Hints, about the Age of *Pythagoras*.

1. *Pythagoras*.
2. *Aristæus*.
3. *Mnemarchus*, *Pythagoras*'s Son.
4. *Bulagoras*.
5. *Tydas*.
6. *Aresas*.
7. *Diodorus*.
8. *Clinias*. *Philolaus*. *Theoridas*. *Eurytus*. *Archytas*.

*Aristæus*, he says, was not only made *Pythagoras*'s Successor, but<sup>1)</sup> he had the honour to marry his Widow *Theano*, and to be Guardian to his Son: and that because of his extraordinary knowledge in the *Pythagorean Doctrines*. But this place is very corrupt in the Original; and so is the next, where he says, *Mnemarchus*<sup>2)</sup> the Son of *Pythagoras* succeeded *Aristæus*. The name of *Tydas*<sup>3)</sup> too seems to be wrong; but whatever his true name was, He was so much concerned for the sacking of *Crotona*, which happen'd while he was travelling abroad, that he died with grief not long after his return. And he was the only person in the whole Succession, that had an immature Death, all the rest living to an extreme old age.<sup>4)</sup> The next Successor *Aresas* is quite lost by the Latin Interpreter, who translates<sup>5)</sup> ἀρέσαν *tulerunt*; <sup>sa</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *Jamb.* p. 220. Τῆς παιδοτροφίας καὶ τοῦ Θεανοῦς γάμου κατηξιώθη, διὰ τε ἐξαιρέσεως περιεκρατηχέναι τῶν δογμάτων. lege, διὰ τὸ ἐξαιρέτως: as the Annotator has observ'd. <sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.* Μεθ' δὲ ἡγήσασθαι Μνήμαρχον [*Μνήσ.* Westerm.] τὸν Πυθαγόραν. lege, Πυθαγόρα. <sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.* Μεθ' δὲ γὰρ Τύδαν. forte, μεθ' δὲ Γορτύδαν, vel simile quid [*Γαρτ.* West.]. <sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.* Ἐναδμήμονα γενέσθαι τοῦτον ὡς ὑπὸ λύπης προύλιπε τὸν βίον. lege, Ἐνα δὴ μόνον γ. τοῦτον δς ὑπὸ. [*ἐν ἀδμήμονι* Westerm.] <sup>5)</sup> *Ibid.* Χρόνῳ μέντοι γε ὕστερον ἀρέσαν ἐκ τῶν Λευκάνῳ σωθέντα. lege, Ἀρέσαν.

as if he had read it ἥρεσαν.<sup>1)</sup> But the passage is plain and easie; if we write it with a Capital Letter, to denote it a proper Name.

Well, We see here are no fewer than eight Lives in the *Pythagorean* Succession; and this very number is attested by another ancient Writer, who says,<sup>2)</sup> *Plato was the ninth Successor from Pythagoras; having been the Disciple of Archytas*. Now 'tis known, that *Plato* conversed with the *Pythagoreans* in *Italy*,<sup>3)</sup> about Olymp. xc. to which time, from the death of *Pythagoras*, according to Mr. D's Scheme, there are no more than LXX years: which without question is too small an allowance; being but x years a Piece to the several Successors. Whereas we know in the *Peripatetic* School, *Aristotle* presided XIII years, *Theophrastus* after him about XXXIV; and then *Strato* XVIII, and then *Lycon* XLII. In the same manner, if we examin the *Platonic*, or *Stoic*, or *Epicurean* Successions; and compute by a middle rate; and allow the same Measure to the *Pythagoreans*: we shall find a necessity of dating the Original of the *Pythagorean* School, as high as it is placed in our Table; which is LXXVI years earlier than Mr. D. has set it.

Now, to summ up the Evidence about the *Pythagorean* Succession; First *Laertius* says, the Sect continued *Nine* or *Ten* Generations; then *Jamblichus* says, *Aristæus*, the Second in the *Pythagorean* Line, was about *Seven* Generations before *Plato*, who was Scholar to the last of the *Pythagoreans*: and *Photius's* Author says, *Plato* was the Tenth Successor from *Pythagoras*. All these Accounts, conspiring so together, seem to make the thing pretty certain. But yet in the particulars that *Jamblichus* has given us, relating to this Succession, there are some things unaccountable; whether they be owing to the ill Copies of *Jamblichus's* Book, or to the Author himself, I cannot tell. As when he says,<sup>4)</sup> *That in the time of Bulagoras, the Fourth in the Succession, the City of Crotona was taken and sack'd*: I sup-

<sup>1)</sup> Did Bentley mistake this for ελλον?—W. <sup>2)</sup> *Scriptor vitæ Pyth. apud Photium*. [Bibl. 249]. Ἐνατος ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου διάδοχος γέγονε Πλάτων, Ἀρχύτου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μαθητῆς γενόμενος. <sup>3)</sup> *Laert. in Platone* [16]. <sup>4)</sup> *Jamb. p. 220*. Ἐφ' οὗ διαρπασθῆναι συνέβη τὴν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλιν.

pose he means the time, when *Dionysius* the Elder conquer'd the *Crotonians*, and the neighbouring Cities, and held them in Slavery for many Years; as we are taught by *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halic.* and *Livy*:<sup>1)</sup> which happen'd at Olymp. xcviij, 1.<sup>2)</sup> Now *Plato* was xl years old at the time of this Olympiad: and this *Bulagoras* is but the Second from *Aristæus* in the Line of Succession: how then can this be consistent with what *Jamblichus* has said before, that *Plato* was near Seven Generations from the time of *Aristæus*?

Again, *Jamblichus*<sup>3)</sup> puts *Diodorus* the *Aspendian* in the Line of Succession before *Philolaus* and *Eurytus* and *Archytas*: the youngest of whom was *Præceptor* to *Plato*. But this *Diodorus* appears to have been younger than *Plato* himself. For *Plato* died above lxxx years old at Olymp. cviii, 1. But *Diodorus*<sup>4)</sup> was an Acquaintance of *Stratonicus* the Musician<sup>5)</sup> who was in the Court of *Ptolemæus Lagi*: which must be after Olymp. cxiv. Again, *Archestratus* the *Syracusian* was junior to *Plato*; as we may gather from *Athenæus*'s words; *Archestratus*,<sup>6)</sup> says he, *knows not, that in Plato's Convivium there were xxviii Guests.* But *Archestratus*<sup>86</sup> mentions this *Diodorus*, as a person then alive, in these elegant Verses;

Ἄλλ' οὐ πολλοὶ ἴσασι βροτῶν τόδε θεῖον ἔδεσμα,  
 Οὐδ' ἔσθειν ἐθέλουσιν, ὅσοι κούφην τελεβῶδη  
 Ψυχὴν κέκτηνται θνητῶν, εἰσὶν δ' ἀπόπληκτοι,  
 ὧς ἀνθρωποφάγου τοῦ θηρίου ὄντος. ἅπας δὲ  
 Ἰγθύς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτέην, ἃν πού περικύρσῃ.  
 Ὅτε πρέπει καθαρῶς ὁπόσοι τάδε μωρολογοῦσι,  
 Τοῖς λαγχάνοις προσάγειν, καὶ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἰόντας  
 Τὸν σοφόν, ἐγκρατέως μετ' ἐκείνου Πυθαγορίζειν.

They are Fools, says he, that refuse to eat the Dogfish; because it devours Human Bodies: for any Fish will eat Man's Flesh, if it find it. So that they, that are scrupulous upon that account, must live upon Salads, and go to *Diodorus*, and turn *Pythagoreans*. The second Verse the learned *Casaubon* has observed to be faulty;

————— ὁπόσοι κούφην τελεβῶδη

1) *Diod.* 317 [XIV 108] *Dionys.* in *Excerpt.* p. 539 [XIX 5].  
*Livy*, l. xxiv [3].

2) See, however, Böckh, on *Philolaos* p. 13. — R.

3) *Jamb.* 220.

4) *Athen.* [IV] p. 163 [f].

5) *Id.* [VII] 350.

6) *Athen.* [I] p. 4 [e].

Ψυχὴν κέκτηνται· for there's no such word as τελεβώδης. He offers a double emendation of it; one, κούφην x' ἐρεβώδη· the other, οἱ κούφην x' ἔλλεβορώδη. But the first of these cannot be allowed; for it ought to be κάρεβώδη; and then the first syllable will be long. The second is too remote from the common reading. After so great a Man, it will be pardonable, if I mistake in my conjecture. The same Verse comes again in pag. 310; and there it is — ὅσοι κούφαν γε λεβώδη. I would correct it,

—— ὅσοι κούφ' ἀττελεβώδη Ψυχὴν κέκτηνται.

Ἀττέλεβος is a Locust, or sort of Grashopper; He means persons of a *light and desultory temper*, that skip about, and are blown with every wind, as Grashoppers are. But I would go a little further, and joyn the words together thus, ὅσοι κεπφαττελεβώδη. Κέπφος is a small light sort of Bird, that is tossed about with the wind; and is metaphorically taken, for a foolish light-witted fellow. See <sup>87</sup> *Hesychius*, the Scholiast on *Aristoph.*<sup>1)</sup> and others. So that κεπφαττελεβώδης, is a very fit compound from κέπφος and ἀττέλεβος.

But it is time to take notice of another Contradiction in this Account of *Jamblichus*. For in another place<sup>2)</sup> he makes *Philolaus*, and *Eurytus*, and *Archytas* Contemporaries with *Pythagoras*; though here we see he has placed them at seven Generations from him. 'Tis a wonder, that in so short a work he should be so often inconsistent with himself. But which of his Assertions shall we follow? No doubt, that which he says oftenest, and which agrees best with what others have said. And what can be more express than his own words?<sup>3)</sup> *In so many Generations no body had ever seen one of the Pythagorean Books, till Philolaus's time.* Does he not here declare there were *many Generations* between *Pythagoras* and *Philolaus*? And *Laer-*

1) [Pl. 912]. 2) *Jambl. p. 103. [104].* Οἱ καλαιώτατοι καὶ αὐτῷ συγχρονίσαντες, καὶ μαθητεύσαντες τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ πρεσβύτη νέοι, Φιλόλαός τε, καὶ Εὐρυτος, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c.

3) *Ib. p. 172. [199].* Ἐν τοσαύταις γενεαῖς ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ φαίνεται τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὑπομνημάτων περὶ τετευχῶς πρὸ τῆς Φιλολάου ἡλικίας. *lege, περιτετυχέναι. [περιτετυχῶς Dobree, περιτετευχῶς Westerm.]*

*tius* has preserved for us one of *Archytas's* Letters to *Plato*, who had desired to purchase the Writings of *Ocellus Lucanus*: and there *Archytas* says,<sup>1)</sup> *He had made an Enquiry after them, and had spoken with the Grandchildren of Ocellus about them.* Here are plainly three Generations between *Archytas* and *Ocellus*: and yet no body has said, that even *Ocellus* himself was Contemporary with *Pythagoras*. And so much by way of Enquiry about the Age of that Philosopher.

THE very learned Mr. *Dodwell*<sup>2)</sup> has advanced some <sup>88</sup> other Arguments to establish his opinion about *Phalaris's* Age, which must here be consider'd. In the pretended Epistles<sup>3)</sup> there is mention of one *Clisthenes*, who was banish'd, it seems, out of some Democratical City, but the name is not set down. This Person Mr. *D.* supposes to be the famous *Clisthenes* the *Athenian*, who had almost as great a share in driving out the Family of *Pisistratus*, as *Brutus* the *Roman* had in expelling the *Tarquins*. Now *Pisistratus's* Sons were driven out at Olymp. *LXVII*, 1.<sup>4)</sup> And there must be an Interval of some years between that, and *Clisthenes's* Exile. *Phalaris* therefore, who relieves *Clisthenes* after his Banishment, must have been still in the Throne about Olymp. *LXVIII*, that is, *XL* years after *Eusebius's* Period, which I follow as a Rule and Standard through all my Dissertation.

But I must here again profess my sorrow, to see this excellently learned Writer so imposed on by these spurious Letters. For all this Affair of *Clisthenes* was no where but in the Sophists head; neither is the Scene of it laid at *Athens*. For our *Phalaris's* *Clisthenes* was the Son of *Autonoe*,<sup>5)</sup> a Kinswoman of the Tyrant's: But the *Athenian's* Mother was called *Agariste*, as *Herodotus*<sup>6)</sup> and *Ælian*<sup>7)</sup> assure us; and a Niece of the same *Clisthenes*, the Mother of *Pericles*,<sup>8)</sup> was called *Agariste*, in memory of the other. Perhaps it may be suspected, that *Autonoe* in the Epistles

1) *Laert. in Arch.* [VIII 4, 80] Ἀνῆλθομεν ὡς Λευκανῶς, καὶ ἐνετύχομεν τοῖς Ὑκέλλω ἐγγόνοις.

p. 253. 3) *Phal. Epist.* 77. 95, 110.

2) *De Cyclis vet.*

4) *Marm. Arund.*

5) *Ep.* 95.

6) *Herod.* vi. 126.

7) *Ælian.* xii. 24.

8) *Herod.* vi. 131. *Plutarch. in Pericle* [3].

may be only a Mother-in-Law. But this I think would be a sorry Evasion; though we had not that direct answer to it, which the Letters themselves afford us, where they call her *his own Mother*.<sup>1)</sup> If the fault be laid on the Copies of *Phalaris*, and *Autonoe* be supposed a Corruption of the true word *Agariste*: there will be no dealing upon this Argument with such Masters of Defence. But then again *Phalaris's Clisthenes* was fined three Talents,<sup>2)</sup> and all he had was seized on and confiscated to the publick use. Now this Story will never suit with the circumstances of the *Athenian Clisthenes*; who being banish'd, as *Ælian*<sup>3)</sup> says, by way of Exostracism, must consequently have the free use and enjoyment of his Estate all the time of his Exile. For this was one difference between Exostracism and ordinary Banishment;<sup>4)</sup> that the former allowed to the person the entire right of his own Revenues. *Herodotus* so represents this Transaction, as if *Clisthenes* had quitted *Athens* by order of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, without suffering any Exostracism. But even this account sufficiently proves, that he was not the *Clisthenes* in the Epistles: for here was no Fine nor Confiscation of Goods; if he only retired in obedience to *Cleomenes*. *Clisthenes the Athenian*, says *Cicero*,<sup>5)</sup> having a mistrust of his Affairs, deposited Money for his Daughters Portions in *Juno's Temple* at *Samos*. This mistrust appears to have been a little before his Banishment: and if he had Money of his own lodged then in *Samos*, it is 'pretty hard to believe, that he would send a begging to *Sicily*, the quite contrary way, and so much further than *Samos*. But what need of many words? Let but any body read the History of *Clisthenes* in *Herodotus*; and then look upon the Letters, where he will not find one Circumstance mention'd, not so much as *Athens* named, nor *Clisthenes's* Rival *Isagoras*, nor *Cleomenes*, but some general Heads only, and Common Places: and let him believe if he can, that the Writer of those Epistles

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. 110. Παρὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ μητρός.

<sup>2)</sup> Ep. 95.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ælian*. xiii, 24.

<sup>4)</sup> *Plutarch*. in *Aristide* [7]. Ἐξοστραχισμὸν εἰς ἑτὴ δέκα καρπούμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. *Suid.* v. Ὀστρακισμός. *Schol. Arist.* 238 [Eq. 855] & 344 [Vesp. 947].

<sup>5)</sup> *Cicero de legibus*. II, 16. Cum rebus timeret suis.



speaks of the *Athenian*. Or if he do speak of him; even This may go among the other Arguments to detect him a Sophist.

Mr. *Dodwell*<sup>1)</sup> adds one little Suspicion more towards settling the Age of *Phalaris*. There is one Epistle<sup>2)</sup> directed to *Hiero*, and two to *Epicharmus*. Now if this *Epicharmus* be the Comic Poet, and this *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*; their Ages will agree well with Mr. *D*'s Notion, that makes him alive at Olymp. LXXII. But I will not lose any time in refuting this Suspicion; since Mr. *D*. himself seems not to rely upon it. 'Tis enough, if we remark; that there's not the least hint in the Letters, that the *Epicharmus* there was a Poet: which the Author, had he meant the Comedian, would hardly have omitted; if we may guess at his Humour by his many Letters to *Stesichorus*. As for *Hiero*, the Epistles have represented him as a Citizen of *Leontini*; where the *Hiero* of *Syracuse* had no concern, that we know of.

And now, I think, I have gone through the most memorable Passages that have relation either to *Phalaris*'s or *Pythagoras*'s Age; and I have consider'd all that Mr. *Dodwell* has made use of to support his new Assertions. I do not pretend to pass my own Judgment, or to determine positively on either side: but I submit the whole to the Censure of such Readers, as are well versed in ancient Learning; and particularly to that incomparable Historian and Chronologer, the Right Reverend the Bishop of <sup>91</sup> *Coventry and Litchfield*.<sup>3)</sup>

## I.

In the last Epistle, to those of *Enna*, a City of *Sicily*; *Phalaris* says, the *Hyblenses* and *Phintienses* had promised to lend him Money at Interest; *Οἱ δὲ δπέσχηγντο δανείσειν, ὡς Ὑβλαῖοι καὶ Φιντιεῖς*. The Sophist was carefull to mention such Cities as he knew were in *Sicily*. For so *Ptolemee* places *Φιντία* there; and *Antoninus*, *Phintis*; and *Pliny*, *Phintien-*

1) *De Cyclis vet.* p. 253.

2) *Ep.* 86; 61. 98.

3) [Dr. William Lloyd. — Ed. 1777.]

ses.<sup>1)</sup> But it is ill luck for this Forger of Letters, that a Fragment of *Diodorus*,<sup>2)</sup> a *Sicilian*, and well acquainted with the History of his Country, was preserved to be a Witness against him. That excellent Writer informs us, that *Phintias*, Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, (the very Place, where *Phalaris* was before him) first built *Phintia*, calling it by his own Name; *Κτίζει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν, ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα*. and that this was done, while the *Romans* were at War with King *Pyrrhus*, that is, about Ol. cxxv; which is above cclxx Years after *Phalaris*'s Death, taking even the later Account of *St. Hierom*. A pretty Slip this of our Sophist, who, like the rest of his Profession, was more vers'd in the Books of Orators<sup>92</sup> than Historians, to introduce his Tyrant borrowing Money of a City, almost ccc Years before it was named or built.

The Preliminaries about *Phalaris*'s Age being agreed on between Mr. B. and me; for he consents to place him as I have done, at Olymp. lvn, 3. we are at last come to the Business it self. And what does the learned Examiner advance against our first Argument?

For methods sake, says he, the Doctor begins at the last *Epistle*.<sup>3)</sup> For Modesty's sake the Gentleman begins with a very worthy Cavil. As if I was not to rank my Arguments according to their force, rather than to take them as they happen to rise? But he will find by and by, that I put this Argument in the Front, because it's one of the strongest, and can never be eluded.

But the Copies of *Phalaris* have *Υαλαῖου*,<sup>4)</sup> and I make use of the Examiner's Conjecture *Υβλαῖου*. I conceive it's but a small fault to make use of it in a Citation, if I do not assume it to my self. But he resents, I suppose, that I did not name him, and give him the Glory of his Cor-

1) *Ptol.* p. 79. [3. 4, 15]. *Anton.* p. 21. [*Itin.* p. 44 ed. *Be-rol.*]. *Plin.* iii, 8. 2) *Diod.* p. 867 [XXII 4]. 3) *P.* 122.

4) *P.* 122.

rection. If that be it, I can heartily excuse him: for his true Emendations being so very few, he has reason to look after them. But to speak freely, the Correction is so very easie, that the Honour of it is but moderate. *For if in all the Editions of Phalaris it has been Ὑλαῖοι; the reason was, that before Mr. B. arose, no body of eminent Learning would debase himself by the Publication of those Epistles.*

*But granting it to be Ὑβλαῖοι; whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be here meant, is dubious.*<sup>1)</sup> Though all this be <sup>93</sup> wide from the question, for I fetch no argument from *Hybla*; yet it has a worse Quality than that, for it is not true. *I have sent, says Phalaris, over ALL SICILY*<sup>2)</sup> *to borrow Money at Interest; and some freely gave me Money, as the Leontines and Geloans; others promised to lend me, as the Hyblæans and Phintians.* Is it dubious now, whether any of the *Hybla's* of *Sicily* be meant in this place? Does he not say expresly, that he sent to borrow in *SICILY*? I am sorry, our Honourable Editor is no better versed in his own Author: I am glad, I would say; for 'tis to be hoped he employs his time better.

I may now put in one word about those *Ὑλαῖοι*, a People that are not in *Sicily*: so that I was unlucky in saying, *The Sophist took care to mention such Towns, as he knew were in Sicily.*<sup>3)</sup> Though the Examiner's Emendation *Ὑβλαῖοι* be so obvious and certain; yet he is half in the mind to renounce his own Correction out of pure Contradiction to me. Let it then be *Ὑλαῖοι*, to humour him a little. What Spoils now does the Examiner carry with him, but a manifest Detection, that his Epistles are a Cheat? For the Writer declares, *that it was Sicily*, where he borrow'd his Money; but when he comes to name those that lent it, he talks of *Ὑλαῖοι*, which are no where in *Sicily*. Now a Sophist might be guilty of this mistake; but the true *Phalaris* could not.

At last the Examiner is come to the merits of the Cause; for he will prove there were two *Phintia's* in *Sicily*.<sup>4)</sup> »For the *Phintia* built by *Phintias*, which is mention'd in

1) P. 122.

3) P. 122.

2) Ep. 148. Εἰς ἅπασαν Σικελίαν.

4) P. 122.

- 94 » *Diodorus*,<sup>1)</sup> was a *Maritime Town*: but the *Phintia* of *Ptolemy*<sup>2)</sup> and *Pliny*<sup>3)</sup> was *Mediterranean*; and this latter may » be the place, that is meant in the *Epistles*.

This it is to have a Reach of Thought, and a Sagacity peculiar to a great Genius. These are the very Passages, that I had cited; and yet so dull was I, that I could not discover, that the Authors spoke of different *Phintia*'s. For I fancied, if *Pliny* or *Ptolemy* had meant another *Phintia* besides that of *Diodorus*; they would have given us an account of Two: for *Diodorus*'s *Phintia* was too considerable to be omitted. Since therefore they mention One only; 'twas a plain Argument to me, that they knew but of one. Nay, I went further, and imagin'd I had found the true Reason, why these Authors disagreed so in the account of its Situation. For when a City is situated but a little within land, near the Mouth of a River, as *Phintia* was: 'tis no wonder that Writers differ, some calling it a *Maritime Town*, because it is near the Sea, and has a Harbour for Ships; others calling it an *Inland Town*, because it really lies within Land and not in the Verge of the Sea-Coast. As in the very same place *Ptolemy* reckons *Agrigentum* among the *Mediterranean Towns*; though *Pliny*, and every body else call it a *Sea-Town*: for, as *Polybius*<sup>4)</sup> says, it was seated xviii *Stadia*, one League only within the Mouth of the River. And the same *Ptolemy* calls *Gela* and *Camarina* *Inland Towns* for the very same reason: though every Novice in Geography knows they were *Maritime*. *Virgil* describes the Promontories and Sea-Towns of *Sicily*, that *Æneas* saw, as he coasted it:<sup>5)</sup>

- 95 *Hinc altæ rupes projectaque saxa Pachyni*  
*Radimus: & fatis nunquam concessa moveri*  
*Apparet CAMARINA procul, campique Geloi,*  
*Immanisque GELA fluvii cognomine dicta:*  
*Arduus inde AGRAGAS ostendat maxima longe*  
*Mœnia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum.*

Here we see are three *Maritime Cities*, *Camarina*, *Gela* and *Agrigentum*: will our Examiner therefore double these,

1) *Diod.* p. 867.

4) *Polyb.* ix. [27.]

2) *Ptol.* iii, 4.

5) *Æn.* iii. [699].

3) *Plin.* iii, 8.

as he has done *Phintia*, because *Ptolemee* calls them Mediterranean? If he pleases to publish a new Map of *Sicily*, with these noble Discoveries in it, he will meet with his deserved Applause.

But the Gentleman procedes,<sup>1)</sup> and tells us, *Phintia in the Epistle must therefore be the Mediterranean Town; because Hybla, which is there joyn'd with it, is Mediterranean. This, he says, is a way of arguing, that I my self use in the next Section: which I will shew him to be mistaken in, when I come to that Paragraph. In the mean time why so positive, that this Hybla in the Epistle must needs be Mediterranean? Did he not newly say, it is dubious whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be there meant? and the supposed Hybla's out of Sicily might be maritime, for ought he knows. But allow this to be a Sicilian Hybla: were all of that name in Sicily Mediterranean Towns? This he must affirm, or else his Argument is lame of one foot, which we ought not to suspect in so great a Logician. To be sure then, he imagins that all the Hybla's of Sicily were Inland Cities: as it farther appears from his Index to Phalaris;<sup>2)</sup> where that Hybla, that was really maritime, is described to be Mediterranean: a manifest Error, and plainly refuted by Thucydides, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Mela,<sup>96</sup> Pliny, and others.<sup>3)</sup> So very happy is our Examiner in every step he takes.*

But he fancies, *I may maintain,<sup>4)</sup> that all those Authors, Diodorus, Ptolemee, and Pliny may mean the same Phintia. (And if all his Fancies were as true as this, I would not write one word against him.) If so; why may not Diodorus be mistaken as much in the Date of this Town, as two good Witnesses prove him to be in the Situation of it?*

I have already shewn, that none of them were mistaken in the Situation of *Phintia*; for they all knew, that it was a Port-Town seated a little within Land, near the Mouth of the River *Himera*. The only difference is in the name; some calling such a Situation Maritime, others Mediterranean. But that it was really a Port Town, there

<sup>1)</sup> P. 123. Ep. 148. Ὑβλαῖοι καὶ Φιντιεῖς. <sup>2)</sup> V. Megarenses. Hyblæi, quorum urbs Megara Mediterranea.

<sup>3)</sup> See Cluverius's Sicil. 133.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 123.

are two as good Witnesses on *Diodorus's* side; *Antonine* in his *Itinerary*,<sup>1)</sup> and *Cicero*:<sup>2)</sup> so that we have three Testimonies against two. But let us see what evidence may be produced from matter of Fact. *Carthalo*, the *Carthaginian Admiral*, hearing the *Roman Fleet* was gone from *Syracuse*, came towards them with *cx Sail*: the *Romans* not daring to engage him, got into the *Harbour* of *Phintia*; whither the *Carthaginians* pursued them, and sunk 67 of their *Ships*, and disabled 13. Soon after the *Roman Consul*, knowing nothing of what had happen'd, comes from *Messana* with 36 *Sail*, and cast *Anchor* before *Phintia*. This Action is told at large in *Diodorus*:<sup>3)</sup> and can we think all this a mere *Dream* of his, written when he was fast asleep, as our *Examiner* expresses it?<sup>4)</sup> He was born within 60 Miles of *Phintia*, and surely he that travell'd through  
 97 *Europe* and *Asia* to view the *Places* he wrote of,<sup>5)</sup> could scarce be so ignorant at home, as to make whole *Fleets* engage and be sunk upon dry Land. But if the *Examiner* will still remain obstinate against *Diodorus* and the rest; I have one *Witness* more in reserve, whom I dare say, he'll allow to be a good one. 'Tis the *Honourable Charles Boyle Esquire*, the learned *Editor* of *Phalaris*, who in his *Index* there has these very words; *Phintia*, now called *Lycata*, a *Maritime Town* in the *East* of *Sicily*, not a *Mediterranean* as *Ptolemee* calls it.<sup>6)</sup> Here's an *Authority* beyond all *Exception*, not only that there was a *Maritime Phintia*, but that *Phalaris* meant it. The *Gentleman* perhaps may blush at this *Passage*: and therefore I will not bear hard upon him, but only ask him one short *Question*. *Phintia* a *Maritime Town*, says the *Editor*; a *Mediterranean*, says the *Examiner*: Now whether's harder to be proved, that the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean* are the same *Town*, or that the *Editor* and the *Examiner* are the same *Person*?

But let us observe the *Inference* he makes from this

1) *P. 21. Per Maritima loca, &c.* 2) iii in *Verrem* [c. 83] *Coge ut ad aquam tibi frumentum metiantur, vel Phintiam, vel Halesam, &c.* 3) *Diod. 880. [XXIV 1].* 4) *P. 137.*

5) *Diod. in Præf. [I 4].* 6) *Phintia, hodie Lycata, urbs Maritima in Orientali Siciliæ latere, non Mediterranea, ut Ptolemæus.*

*Error*, as he thought it, of *Diodorus*: for here we may expect the very Quintessence of Logick. *Why may not Diodorus be mistaken as much in the Date of this Town, as he is in the Situation of it?*<sup>1)</sup> Now the Mistake in the *Situation*, even supposing it a Mistake, might perhaps be five Mile, for that's enough to denominate it an Inland Town. But the Mistake about the *Date* must be no less than cclxx years: for any thing, less than that, will do the Epistles no Service. So that here lies the true import of our Examiner's Query; If *Diodorus* might mistake a League or two, why might he not mistake cclxx years?<sup>98</sup> that is, If *Milo* the *Crotonian* could carry a Bull, why might he not carry a Brace of Elephants?

But that *Diodorus* has not mistook himself in his account of the *Date* of *Phintia*, any more than in the *Situation*, we may be as sure as any History can make us. 1. For first, he could not mistake in the Age of *Phintias* the Tyrant. He has involved him in so many Circumstances, and link'd him with so many Contemporaries; that a Man must hate his own Reputation, who will presume to say, that this *Phintias* was older than *Phalaris*. He had war with *Hicetas* Tyrant of *Syracuse*;<sup>2)</sup> that *Hicetas*, that had another war with *Mæno* the Poisoner of *Agathocles*, and was succeeded by *Thynio*, or *Thæno*, an Allie of King *Pyrrhus*. He is mention'd with *Decius Jubellius* the Roman Tribune,<sup>3)</sup> whose Age we know from *Polybius*, and *Livy*, and *Appian*. He had concerns with the *Mamertines*<sup>4)</sup> of *Messana*, a People never heard of in *Sicily* before the Age of *Agathocles*. He razed to the very Ground the City of *Gela*,<sup>5)</sup> which a whole Cloud of Historians witness to have been standing long after *Phalaris*'s Time. What Man of common Modesty or Sense will say all these Actions are confounded, and that *Phintias* lived three Centuries before? Can so excellent an Historian be suspected of such a gross piece of Negligence? 'Tis as absurd, as to affirm, that the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Sarum*, in his Immortal

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 123.    <sup>2)</sup> *Diodor. lib. xxii* [2. 6].    <sup>3)</sup> *Diod. ibid. & Excerpt. Vales. 265.*    <sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.*    <sup>5)</sup> *Ibid.*

*History of the Reformation*,<sup>1)</sup> may have mistaken the affairs of Henry the III. for those of Henry the VIII.

There's a Medal in *Goltzius* and *Paruta*,<sup>2)</sup> with this Inscription, *BACIAEΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ*: on one side it has a Dog, and on the other a Head crown'd with Laurel. *Goltzius* thinks it's the Head of *Gelo*: and that *ΦΙΝΤΙΑ* means the City *Phintia*. And the learned *Harduin*<sup>3)</sup> concurs with him, that *ΦΙΝΤΙΑ* relates to the City, and not to a Person. But I am entirely of *Paruta*'s opinion, who interprets it of King *Phintias*. For is not *Βασιλέως Φιντιά* in the Genitive Case, exactly like those other Inscriptions, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ*, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ*, *ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*? And the Inscription is placed in the same manner in all of them; not where the Head is, but upon the Reverse. Besides, the very word *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* shews, it belongs not to *Gelo*. For in his and his Brother *Hiero*'s Coins, that word is not used: *Dionysius*, as it seems, being the first *Sicilian*, that stiled himself *Βασιλεὺς* in his Money. Without question therefore this *Phintias* was a long time after *Phalaris*'s Age; as appears not only from the word *Βασιλέως*, but from the Head with the Laurel. For it was not the custom in *Phalaris*'s time for Princes to set their Images upon the publick Money.

2. Neither could *Diodorus*, mistake in the second part, that this *Phintias* founded the City *Phintia*, and called it after his own Name. 'Tis observable, that he says it more than once:<sup>4)</sup> *Phintias*, says he, *builds a City, naming it Phintia*; and in another place, *Phintias the Founder of Phintia*. He is very particular in the Circumstances of it. *The Mamertines*,<sup>5)</sup> says he, *of Messana having sack'd the City of Gela, Phintias King of Agrigentum*<sup>6)</sup> *pulls down all the Houses and the Walls of the place, and removes the People that were left and builds a City for them (within the Territory of Agrigentum) with good Fortifications, and a fine*

<sup>1)</sup> Bentley apparently means *Gilbert Burnet's History of the Reformation*, two volumes of which were published in 1679—1681. — W.    <sup>2)</sup> *Sicilia numismatica*, Palermo 1612. Rome 1649. etc. — W.    <sup>3)</sup> *Harduin Nummi Antiqui illustrati*.

<sup>4)</sup> *Diod. p. 868. Κτίσει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα* and [XXII 15] *Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδος χτίστωρ*.

<sup>5)</sup> *Diod. p. 874 [XXIII 2]*.

<sup>6)</sup> *Diod. p. 868*.



*Market-place and Temples.* Will our Examiner say, that all these Buildings were Castles in the Air? No, but perhaps there might be a City there call'd *Phintia* before, and *Phintias* might only repair it. No doubt on't: he was at all that trouble and Expence purely for the sake of a *refreshing Quibble*<sup>1)</sup>. The Town was a Namesake of his, and therefore he would rebuild it. By the same Argument, there was an *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and a *Rome* before *Romulus*. But no body heard, you'll say, of these Names before the Times of those Founders. No matter for that: whoever heard of *Phintia* before *Phintias's* time? Yet our Examiner can give you a view of it in the Region of Possibilities.

Give me leave to add one short remark about the Building of *Phintia*. *Diodorus* has pass'd his word, that the City of *Gela* was quite razed and dispeopled, before *Phintia* was built: and that the Residue of the *Geloans* were transplanted to this new *Phintia*, and from that time were called *Phintienses*. But the pretended Author of the Epistles mentions the *Geloans* and *Phintienses* as different people; as if *Gela* and *Phintia* were both standing at once. *The Leontines*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> and *Geloans* gave me Money; the *Hyblenses* and *Phintienses* promised to lend. So that here we have a double Discovery, that the Epistles are spurious: first because they talk of the *Phintians*, a Name not heard of in *Phalaris's* Time; and then because they make them quite different from the *Geloans*: though they were both the same people, the new City arising out of the Reliques of the old.

Mr. *Boyle* is pleased to end this Paragraph with a <sup>101</sup> little innocent Mirth. *Unless*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *this Phintia be such another place as Agrigent, a Sea-Port Town in the middle of Sicily.* Those words of mine that he refers to are, *The Letters are dated in the middle of Sicily*:<sup>4)</sup> where there is not one Syllable about *Agrigentum*; but he adds that of his own, to make way for his Jest. But pray, Sir, where had you the Secret, that all *Phalaris's* Letters were dated at *Agrigentum*? Does not *Suidas*<sup>5)</sup> say, he was Master of

1) *P. 133.*

2) *Ep. 148.*

3) *P. 123.*

4) *Diss. p. 50.*

5) *Suid. v. Φαλ.*

all *Sicily*? Do not the Letters pretend, that he conquer'd the *Leontines*, the *Tauromenites*, the *Zancleans*? Did he not vanquish the *Sicani*,<sup>1)</sup> the Inhabitants of the Mid-land Country? And could he not write a Letter in any of these Expeditions, as well as at home? Or were Ink and Paper such heavy Baggage, that they could not be carried after him? By the Subject of several of the Letters one would guess, they were dated from the Castle where his Bull was kept;<sup>2)</sup> which was XVIII Miles from *Agrigentum*. But for the most part they are such common-place stuff, without any note of Place or Time, that one cannot tell where nor when they were written. And the Reader may observe this, as another mark of their Spuriousness. But what then, if I had meant *Agrigentum*; when I said, *The Letters are dated in the middle of Sicily*? Is not *Agrigentum* in the very middle of the Island, between the East and West Points of it, *Pachynus* and *Lilybæum*? And I conceive, there's a Middle of a Line, as well as of a Surface. And how if *Agrigentum* be a Mediterranean Town, what will then become of your Jest? I have two very good Authors to bear it out: *Ptolemy* in his Tables that reckons it among the *μεσούριαι*, *Mid-land Cities*; and Mr. Boyle in his Index to *Phalaris*; *Agrigent*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> a *Mediterranean City*. If Mr. Boyle be so quarrelsome, that he cannot agree with himself, how is it possible for other people to agree with him?<sup>4)</sup>

If the Reader now pleases to review, what the Examiner has said upon this first Argument; he will joyn with me in this Character of it, That all the Authorities he has brought, were already in my Dissertation; and that all his Inferences are false, and may have the honour to be his own.

## II.

In the xcii Epistle, he threatens *Stesichorus* the Poet, for raising Money and Soldiers against him at *Aluntium* and *Alæsa* καὶ εἰς Ἀλούντιον καὶ εἰς Ἀλαισαν: and that perhaps he might be snapt, before he got home

<sup>1)</sup> *Polyænus*, v, 1 [3].

<sup>2)</sup> *Diod.* 741 [XIX 108].

<sup>3)</sup> *Agrigentum urbs Mediterranea*.

<sup>4)</sup> *P.* 119.

again from *Alæsa* to *Himera*, ἐξ Ἀλαίσης εἰς Ἱμέραν. What a pity 'tis again, that the Sophist had not read *Diodorus*? for he would have told him, that this *Alæsa* was not in being in *Phalaris*'s days. It was first built by *Archonides*,<sup>1)</sup> a *Sicilian*, Olymp. xciv, 2. or, as others say, by the *Carthaginians*,<sup>2)</sup> about Two Years before. So that here are above cxl Years slipt, since the latest period of *Phalaris*. And we must add above a dozen more to the reckoning, upon the Sophist's own Score: For this Letter is supposed<sup>103</sup> to bear date, before *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris* were made Friends; which was a dozen Years, as he tells his Tale,<sup>3)</sup> before *Stesichorus* died; and *Phalaris* he makes to survive him. I am aware, that the same Author says,<sup>4)</sup> that there were other Cities in *Sicily*, called *Alæsa*: But it is evident from the situation, that this *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is meant in the Epistles; for this lies on the same Coast with *Himera* and *Aluntium*, (to which two the Sophist here joyns it,) and is at a small distance from them. And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist, the rest being ruin'd and forgotten long before.

If our Examiner's Performance in the last Section was very poor and jejune; we may expect an amends in this. For to encourage himself with a small Victory, he begins his Attack upon a fault of the Press; cxx for cxl; though it was nothing to his Subject, even allowing it to be my own mistake. And being flush'd with this little advantage over the Printer, he then proceeds with his victorious Forces against the Argument it self. But we shall see by the Event, that not the Author of the Epistles only, but one of his Editors too may be guilty of Sophistry.

---

1) *Diod. p. 246* [XIV 16].

2) *P. 247.*

3) *Epist. 103.*

4) *Diod. ibid.*

The Doctor, says he,<sup>1)</sup> finds Stesichorus in danger of  
 104 being snapt in his intended Journey from Alæsa to Himera.  
 Now, with the Examiner's leave, the Doctor was more inclined to think it a *Voyage* than a *Journey*; for both *Himera*, where *Stesichorus* liv'd, and *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*, whither he went, are maritime Towns. And the very words of *Phalaris* confirm'd the Doctor in this opinion; for he makes this Sarcasm upon *Stesichorus*: *I hear*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *you are writing Νόστος*, the *Return of the Greeks from Troy*: but you take no thought for your own *Return from Alæsa to Himera*. But it shall be hard for you to escape my hands; and that shall be as bad to you, as the *Capharean Rocks*, and *Charybdis* were to them. There's a greater Propriety in this comparison, if *Stesichorus* was to come home by Sea; than if he was to come by Land. And 'twas at Sea, as it's pretended, that he was snapt at last;<sup>3)</sup> as he was sailing from *Pachynus* to *Peloponnesus*.

I observed, that because there had been several *Alæsa's* in *Sicily*, this Argument would be of no force, unless we could know which of them was meant in the Epistles. And that I thought, might be determined from the very Circumstances of the Action. *Stesichorus* is supposed to sail from *Himera* to *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*. Now the *Alæsa* of *Archonides* being a Sea-port Town, and lying exactly in the way between *Himera* and *Aluntium*; there was no question, as I thought, but this was the place, mention'd in the Epistles. Especially since there is good reason to suppose, that the other *Alæsa's* (if there were any other) were Mediterranean Towns. For if they had been Port Towns, and more ancient than the Age of *Phalaris*; 'tis almost impossible, but that in the *Punick*, or *Athenian*, or  
 105 *Roman*, or *Civil Wars*, in *Sicily*, there must have been some Naval Action there; and then the Historians could never have been so ignorant of them, as it appears they all were.

But Mr. B. desires<sup>4)</sup> to borrow this Argument for a Moment, and he will prove just the contrary to what I have proved, that this *Alæsa* is not upon the same Coast with *Alun-*

1) P. 123.

2) Ep. 92.

3) Ep. 108.

4) P. 124.

tium. I perceive 'tis dangerous *lending* this Gentleman any thing. He borrow'd the MS *Phalaris*, and now he borrows an Argument: but he makes a wrong use of both of them; and then calumniates him that lent them. First he quite mistakes the Form of the Argument; and supposes that to be the Conclusion, which is the Minor Proposition. For I do not *prove* by this way of Argument, *That Alæsa is upon the same Coast with Aluntium*. That I *suppose* and *premise* as known, from *Antoninus's Itinerary*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*; who all describe it in that Situation. Methinks a Man, that had a System of Logic made and printed for his own use,<sup>1)</sup> might have been able to reduce an Argument into the Form of a Syllogism. My Argument lies thus:

*Alæsa*, *Himera*, and *Aluntium* are mention'd together in the Epistle, as Sea-Towns and near one another. But *Alæsa of Archonides* is a Sea-Town in the Neighbourhood of *Himera* and *Aluntium*.

Therefore *Alæsa of Archonides* is the *Alæsa* mention'd in the Epistle.

But let us see what Exploits he will do, if I *lend* him the Argument.<sup>2)</sup> » *Tully* says, *Halesini*, *Catinenses*, *Panormitani*, &c. and again, *Halesini*, *Catinenses*, *Tyndaritani*,<sup>3)</sup> &c. 'Tis evident therefore, that *Alæsa* is upon the same Coast » with *Catana*; that is, upon the Coast directly opposite to <sup>106</sup> *Aluntium*. This he nicknames *my way of Argument*: though it be just as much like it, as *Planudes's Picture of Æsop* is like the Original. When either the design of the Writer, or the Circumstances of the thing it self, plainly intimate, that the places mention'd together are near one another, we may infer that they are so: as first I know from the design of the Writers (because *Strabo* and *Antoninus* mention the Towns in order) that *Alæsa of Archonides* is in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*: and again, I know, that *Alæsa* in the Epistle is supposed in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*, from the Circumstances of the Action. But what is there like these in the passage of *Cicero*? All *Sicily* had been pillaged by *Verres*; and there were People

1) By Dr. Aldrich. — D.  
in *Verrem*. [49. 65].

2) *P. 124.*

3) *Cic. II.*

from all the Towns to inform against him at *Rome*: Now *Cicero* was not obliged, like a Geographer, to mention each of them according to their Situation; but rather according to the Quality and Wealth of the People.

But who is this, that makes all this Controversie about *Alæsa* in the Epistle? Is this the same Mr. *Boyle*, that was the Editor of these Epistles? so he gives himself out to be: and yet that Editor has described this *Alæsa* in the Epistle, to be the very same that I say it is. For he says<sup>1)</sup> *Alæsa is a Sea-port Town on the West side of the Island, Cic. in Verrem 3.* Now this Situation agrees with no other, than the *Alæsa* of *Archonides*: and we are sure *Cicero* meant that very Town, from those words of *Diodorus*; *That the Romans*<sup>2)</sup> *gave to Alæsa of Archonides an Immunity from paying Taxes*, compared with these of *Cicero*,<sup>3)</sup> *Centuripa and Alæsa, free Cities, and exempt from paying Taxes.* What shall we say to such an Examiner? He could speak the Truth freely, as long as Truth was not against him. But when he sees these things turn'd upon him, to expose his admired Author, and pull down the Honour of his Edition; then he reverses his own Judgments, and what was white before, must now be black. But perhaps some white may turn red, when the Examiner pleases to reflect upon these Self-Contradictions.

To shew his Talent once more at misrepresenting; he repeats another Argument of mine thus:<sup>4)</sup> *Alæsa of Archonides must be meant in the Epistles, because there was no other Town of that Name in the days of the Sophist.* Now in those words of mine that he refers to, there is nothing like *because*; neither are they brought there as an Argument to prove, what he says they are. After I had fully proved, that the Writer of the Epistles meant *Archonides's Alæsa*; I concluded with this, *And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist.* Which I did not design for a separate Argument; for that would plainly

<sup>1)</sup> Index. Phal. *Alæsa, Cic. in Ver. 3. Maritima est in occidentaliore insulæ latere.* And again, *Aluntium, non procul ab Alæsa.*

<sup>2)</sup> Διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δοθεῖσαν ἀτέλειαν. *Diod. p. 246 [XIII 16.]*

<sup>3)</sup> *Immunes civitates ac liberæ Centuripina, Halesina, &c. III. in Verrem [6].*

<sup>4)</sup> P. 124.

suppose the thing in Question, That the Epistles were writ by a Sophist. But I added them only as an account *à priori*, How it came about that the Sophist should mention that *Alæsa*. And the Account I take to be good and rational, that no other *Alæsa* was heard of in the days of the Sophist.

The very design then of this Period is misrepresented<sup>108</sup> by the Examiner; but he is mistaken too incidentally, as he dresses up his Inference.<sup>1)</sup> *We find*, says he, *in these Epistles the names of Astypalæa, Himera, Zancle, Towns out of date long before the days of the Sophist.* If Mr. B. means *Astypalæa*,<sup>2)</sup> a City of *Crete*, where he fancies *Phalaris* was born, I can readily agree with him, that that Town was quite out of date, both before and after the days of the Sophist, till *Phalaris's* Editors first found it out. *But Mr. B. forgets*,<sup>3)</sup> *that he is disputing with a strange sort of People, who won't allow, that Astypalæa in the Epistles is a Town of Crete, but a City and Island in the Ægean Sea; which City, they believe, was not out of date in the days of the Sophist. For it was standing*<sup>4)</sup> *in Tiberius's and Titus's Time;*<sup>5)</sup> and for ought Mr. B. or I know, many Centuries after. But grant it only as low as *Titus*: I believe the Author of *Phalaris's* Epistles might live before that time; for I find the forged Letters of *Euripides* were extant in *Tiberius's* days. And I can allow the same Antiquity to the counterfeit *Phalaris*. 'Tis a Query therefore, whether I do not think him older, than the Examiner himself does?

I would summ up the Particulars of this second Head, if the Examiner's Performance could bear recapitulating. But it's too thin and tender to endure handling again. I referr it all to the Readers, and let it stand or fall by the Judgment of that Jury.

### III.

109

The LXX Epistle gives an account of several rich Presents to *Polyclitus* the *Messenian* Physician, for

<sup>1)</sup> P. 125.

<sup>2)</sup> *Phal. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>3)</sup> P. 125.

<sup>4)</sup> *Strabo, p. 488.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Plin. iv, 23.*

doing a great cure upon *Phalaris*. Among the rest, he names ποτηρίων θηρικλείων ζεύγη δέξα, *ten couple of Thericlean cups*. But there is another thing, besides a pretty Invention, very useful to a Lyar; and that is, a good Memory. For we will suppose our Author to have once known something of these Cups, the time and the reason they were first called so; but he had unhappily forgot it, when he writ this Epistle. They were large Drinking-Cups, of a peculiar shape, so called from the first Contriver of them, one *Thericles* a *Corinthian Potter*. *Pliny*,<sup>1)</sup> by mistaking his Author *Theophrastus*, makes him a *Turner*. The words of *Theophrastus* are these,<sup>2)</sup> Τορνεύεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς (τερμίνθου) κύλικας θηρικλείους, ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν ἓνα διαγνῶναι πρὸς τὰς κεραμέας; *That the Turners make Thericlean Cups of the Turpentine tree, which cannot be distinguished from those made by the Potters*. Here can nothing be gathered hence, to make *Thericles* himself a *Turner*; for after He had first invented them, they were called *Thericlean*,<sup>110</sup> from their shape, whatsoever Artificer made them, and whether of Earth, or of Wood, or of Metal. But as I said, by the general consent of Writers, we must call him a *Potter*. *Hesychius*, θηρίκλειος, κύλικος εἶδος ἀπὸ θηρικλέους κεραμέως. *Lucian*.<sup>3)</sup> Καὶ γηγενῇ πολλὰ, οἷα θηρικλῆς ὤπτα. *Etymologicon M.* θηρίκλειον κύλικα, ἣν λέγουσι, πρῶτος κεραμεὺς θηρικλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησιν Εὐβουλος, ὁ τῆς μέσης Κωμωδίας ποιητής. The words of *Eubulus*, whom he cites, are extant in *Athenæus*.<sup>4)</sup>

Καθαρώτερον γὰρ τὸν κέραμον εἰργαζόμεν,  
ἢ θηρικλῆς τὰς κύλικας, ἥνιχ' ἦν νέος.<sup>5)</sup>

1) *Lib. xvi. cap. 40* [§ 205 Detl.] *Celebratur & Thericles nomine, calices ex terebintho solitus facere torno.* 2) *Hi. Plant. l. v. cap. 4.* [v 3, 2]. 3) *In Lexiphane, p. 960* [II 332 Reitz]

4) *Lib. xi. p. 471* [d].

5) [Mein. Com. III 221].



And again;

᾽Ο γὰρ κεραμῖτ', ἥ σε Θηρικλῆς ποτε  
Ἔτευξε, κοίλης λαρόνος εὐρύνας βάθος.<sup>1)</sup>

Now the next thing to be enquired, is the Age of this *Thericles*; and we learn that from *Athenæus*; one Witness indeed, but as good as a multitude, in a matter of this nature. *This Cup*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> was invented by *Thericles the Corinthian Potter*, who was *Contemporary with Aristophanes the Comædian*. And in all probability, he had this indication from some Fable of that Poet's now lost; where that *Corinthian* was mention'd, as one then alive. But all the Plays that we have left of his, are known to have been <sup>111</sup> written and acted between the LXXXIX and XCVII Olympiads, which is an interval of XXXVI years. Take now the very first year of that number; and *Thericles*, with the Cups that had their appellation from him, come above CXX years after *Phalaris's* death.

But I must remove one Objection that may be made against the force of this Argument: for some ancient Grammarians give a quite different account, why such Cups were called *Thericlean*. Some derive the word *θηρίκλειος*, ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων, from the *Skins of Beasts that were figured upon them*: and *Pamphilus*<sup>3)</sup> the *Alexandrian* would have them called so, ἀπὸ τοῦ θῆρας κλονεῖν, because *Beasts were scared and frightened, when, in Sacrifices, Wine was poured upon them out of those Cups*. So I interpret the words of *Pamphilus*; ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Διώνυσον τοὺς θῆρας κλονεῖν, σπένδοντα ταῖς κύλιξι ταύταις κατ' αὐτῶν. For what is more ordinary in old Authors, than the memory of that custom of pouring wine on the heads of Victims?

<sup>1)</sup> [Mein. Com. III 226].    <sup>2)</sup> Pag. 470 [f]. Κατασκευάσαι λέγεται τὴν κύλικα ταύτην Θηρικλῆς ὁ Κορίνθιος κεραμεὺς, γεγονῶς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸν Κωμικὸν Ἀριστοφάνη.

<sup>3)</sup> *Athenæus*. p. 471 [c].

*Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido  
Candentis vaccæ media inter cornua fudit.<sup>1)</sup>*

Nor are wild Beasts only called *θηρες*, but tame  
112 too, such as Bulls and Cows; as the Epigrammatist<sup>2)</sup>  
calls the *Minotaure*, *ἄνθρωπον μίξοθηρα*. I cannot  
therefore comprehend why the most learned *Is. Ca-*  
*saubon* would read *σπεύδοντα* in this passage, and  
not *σπένδοντα*. For I own, I see little or no sense  
in it, according to his Lection. And as for the Autho-  
rity of the ancient Epitomizer of *Athenæus*, who, he  
says, reads it *σπεύδοντα*; one may be certain, 'twas  
a literal fault in that Copy of him that *Casaubon*  
used. For *Eustathius*, who appears never to have  
seen the true *Athenæus*, but only that Epitome, reads  
it in his Book *σπένδοντα*, and took it in the same  
sense that I now interpret it,<sup>3)</sup> *Ἥ δ' ὅτι θήρας κλονεῖ,  
σπένδουσι γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν κύλιξι τοιαύταις.*

And now for these two derivations of the word  
*θηρίκλειος*; was 'ever any thing so forced, so frigid,  
so unworthy of refutation? Does not common Ana-  
logy plainly shew, that as from *Ἡρακλῆς* comes *Ἡρά-*  
*κλειος*, from *Σοφοκλῆς*, *Σοφόκλειος*, and many such  
like; so *θηρίκλειος* must be from *θηρικλῆς*? besides so  
many express Authorities for it, which I have cited  
before. To which I may add that of *Julius Pollux*,<sup>4)</sup>  
*θηρίκλειον καὶ Κάνθαρον ἀπὸ τῶν ποιησάντων*: and *Plu-*  
*tarch* in *P. Æmilius*,<sup>5)</sup> *Οἱ τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας, καὶ Σε-*  
*λευκίδας, καὶ θηρικλείους ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.* and *Clemens*  
113 *Alexand.*<sup>6)</sup> *Ἐρρέτων τοίνυν θηρίκλειοι τινες κύλικες, καὶ*  
*Ἀντιγονίδες, καὶ Κάνθαροι.* For one may justly infer,  
that both *Plutarch* and *Clemens* believed *θηρίκλειοι*  
to be from *θηρικλῆς*; because they joyn them with  
those other Cups, all which had their names from

<sup>1)</sup> [Verg. Aen. IV 60.]  
Br. (ed. Jacobs) IV 180. — D.

<sup>2)</sup> Adesp. anth. Gr. ex rec.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 1209. *Iliad.* [Bas. = 1153, 43 Rom.] <sup>4)</sup> *Lib.* vi. c. 16 [96]. <sup>5)</sup> P. 273. [33].

<sup>6)</sup> [Paed. II 3 p. 188 ed. Pott.]

Men, that either invented or used them. And so says a Manuscript note upon that passage of *Clemens*; *Θηρικλείοι ἀπὸ Θηρικλέους τοῦ ἐφευρόντος*. So that upon the whole, let *Pamphilus* and those other Grammarians help him as they can, our Sophist stands fully convicted, upon this Indictment, of Forgery and Imposture.

THE Examiner has been frugal and sparing of his Learning upon the former Topicks, that he might lay it out more profusely upon this Third; at the same time that his Friend *Phalaris* was exercising his Liberality upon his Physician *Polychitus*.

And first he endeavours to cut the Knot, that he may save the hard labour of loosing it. The Text of *Phalaris*, as it stands now, is, *Καὶ ποτηρίων θηρικλείων ζεύγη δέξα*. What, says he,<sup>1)</sup> if it was heretofore, *Ποτηρίων θ' Ἡρακλείων*, *Heracleian* or *Herculean* Cups instead of *Thericlean*? 'Tis a very inconsiderable alteration, and yet it salves all. I agree with Mr. B. that this alteration of his is every way very inconsiderable. I won't contend with him about the unreasonable Licence he takes in changing a plain Reading against the Authority of three MSS, and the whole Set of Editions, purely to serve a turn. Another man perhaps<sup>114</sup> would have disputed it, but I am willing to encourage Criticism in every well-wisher. The only Exception that I'll now make against his Emendation, is this, That there never was any sort or fashion of Cups, that were called *Herculean*.

'Tis true, *Athenæus* in his Catalogue of Cups reckons the *Herculean*, *Ἡράκλειον*; but he meant not, that it was a Species of Cups of such a shape, so denominated from *Hercules*; but it was one single Cup, that *Hercules* made use of on a particular occasion. He tells us from *Pisander*,<sup>2)</sup> *Panyasis*, and *Pherecydes*, that when *Hercules* design'd to go to *Erythea*, an Isle in the Western Ocean; he forced the Sun to lend him his Cup, that he uses to sail in from West to East every night; and in that Cup

1) *P. 146.*

2) *Athen. p. 469.*

he pass'd over to *Erythea*. And he proves further out of *Stesichorus*, *Antimachus*, and *Æschylus*; that there was such a fabulous Tradition, about the Sun's sailing over the Ocean every night in a Cup.<sup>1)</sup> *Apollodorus* tells the same Story,<sup>2)</sup> that the Sun lent *Hercules* his *Golden Cup* to sail in. *Antiqua historia est*, says *Macrobius*, *Herculem poculo, tanquam navigio, vectum immensa maria transisse*. The vulgar Editions read it *ventis* instead of *vectum*.<sup>3)</sup> 'Tis an old Story, that *Hercules* pass'd over the Sea in a Cup, as if it had been a Ship. And he names his Authors, the same that *Athenæus* quotes, *Panyasis* and *Pherecydes*. But *Athenæus* adds, that according to *Mimnermus* 'tis a *Golden Bed*,<sup>4)</sup> and not a Cup, that the Sun uses to sail in; nay, that if we believe the Author of *Titanomachia*, and one *Theoclytus*, 'tis a *Cauldron*.<sup>5)</sup> And thence it is, that *Alexander Ephesius*<sup>6)</sup> says, *Hercules* sail'd to *Erythea* in a *Brazen Cauldron*.<sup>7)</sup>

115      Χαλκείῳ δὲ λέβητι μέγαν διενήξατο πόντον.

And so say *Servius*<sup>8)</sup> and *Albricus*:<sup>9)</sup> but *Euphorion*<sup>10)</sup> denies this, and calls it a *brazen Ship*,

Χαλκείῃ ἀκάτῳ βουπληθέος ἐξ Ἐρυθείης.<sup>11)</sup>

If *ἄκατος* in this place do not signifie a Cup in the fashion of a Ship. Now upon the whole, I conceive 'tis most evident, that the *Herculean* was one single particular Cup, used once only by *Hercules* upon extraordinary service: not imitated and multiplied into a sort or fashion, so as xx pair of such Cups might be presented by *Phalaris*. 'Twas so far from being a vulgar Cup for domestick uses; that as we have seen above, 'tis not known among Writers, what shape or fashion it was of, nor indeed whether it was a Cup or no. This Explication of *Athenæus* will perhaps seem new to our Examiner; but he'll be satisfied

1) *Φιάλη, δέπας.*      2) *Apol. lib. ii. p. 115* [5, 10].

3) *Macrob. Saturn. v. 21.*

4) *Εὐνὴ χρυσή.*

5) *Λέβης.*

6) *Eustath. ad Dionys. [558].*

7) R. refers to Strabo

642. — W.

8) *Servius ad Æn. vii [662].*

9) *Albr.*

xxii [931 Stav.]

10) *Athen. fragm. Casaub. p. 782.* [There

seems to be some mistake in the reference. Both the lines quoted above are found in *Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. p. 217 ed. 1697. — D.]*

11) *Mein. Anal. Alex. p. 117. — R.*

'tis the true one, if he pleases to take that Author, whom he has abused and reviled so much, once more into his hand. Or if Authority goes further with him than bare Reason, I have *Eustathius* to vouch for it; who, after he has set down this very passage of *Athenæus*, I mean out of his Epitome, concludes thus; *So that the Herculean Cup is that, which is called also the Sun's Cup.*<sup>1)</sup>

In the same manner *Athenæus* puts *Νεστορίς*, the *Nestorean*<sup>2)</sup> in his Catalogue of Cups; not that there were a sort of Cups of that name and fashion; but it was a particular Cup of *Nestor's* described by *Homer*<sup>3)</sup>

Πὰρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλὲς, δ' οἶκοθεν ἦγ' ὁ γεραυὸς  
Χρυσείοις ἤλοισι πεπαρμένον, &c.

There were many Disputes among the old Grammarians about the shape of this Cup, which they gather'd from *Homer's* account of it; and many Treatises were written<sup>116</sup> upon the Subject: which is a sure Indication, that it was not in common use. *Dionysius Thrax*,<sup>4)</sup> a Grammarian of great Note, to shew his Scholars the figure of it, by a more sensible way, than a verbal Description, got a Workman to make one in Silver according to his Directions, the Metal being provided at the Charge of his Scholars. This, I presume, will convince the Examiner, that no such Cups, called *Nestorean*, were then in fashion. And in truth the *Ἡράκλειον* and the *Νεστορίς* were words never heard of, but out of the mouths of Grammarians. *Athenæus* therefore has not brought one single Author, that used either of those names; nor has *Pollux* made any mention of them in his Chapters of *Cups*.

But, Mr. B. will say,<sup>5)</sup> *are not Heracleian Cups mention'd in Cicero, among the wealth of Verres, which he had amass'd together out of Sicily, the very place where the Scene of these Letters lay?* His words are, *Pocula duo quædam*,<sup>6)</sup> *quæ Heraclea nominantur*. This Passage our Examiner met with in *Salmasius's* Notes upon *Solinus*;<sup>7)</sup> and perceiving that that great Man did not approve this vulgar Lection, he

<sup>1)</sup> *Eust. ad Odys. p. 359* [Bas. = 1632, 24 Rom.] *Δὲ καὶ Ἡράκλειον δέπας λέγεσθαι, τὸ καὶ Ἥλιον.* <sup>2)</sup> *Lehrs Arist. 199. — R.* <sup>3)</sup> *Il. A. v. 631.* <sup>4)</sup> *Athen. 469.* <sup>5)</sup> *P. 146. Ed. II.* <sup>6)</sup> *Cic. iv. [18, 38] in Verrem.* <sup>7)</sup> *P. 1043 sq. — R.*

thus animadvert upon him; *Salmasius*, says he,<sup>1)</sup> will not allow the present Reading of *Heraclea*; but, like a true Critic, without any Authority, substitutes *Thericlea* in the room of it. He shews, what Class of Critics himself is in, by this little insult upon a true one. But by what Authority does our Examiner affirm, that *Salmasius* did it without any Authority? If he had but cast his Eyes upon the most common Editions of *Cicero*, he would have seen there, that two MS Copies have it *Theridia*, and another & *heridia*; which a  
 117 Man of the smallest Acquaintance with Books will easily know to be for *Therichia*; *d* being put for *cl* in infinite places. And before *Salmasius* was born, this same Correction was started by *Gul. Canterus*; <sup>2)</sup> who says, some Persons affirm'd that the MSS have it expressly *Thericlea*. Here, I suppose, is sufficient Authority for substituting this Reading. But the best Authority is what I have newly laid before him, that there were no such Cups call'd *Heraclean*. And if *Cicero* had meant such, he would have call'd them not *Heraclean*, but *Herculean*.

But *Athenæus*<sup>3)</sup> talks of a σκύφος Ἡρακλεωτικός, which the Examiner<sup>4)</sup> would interpret, an *Heraclean* or *Herculean Bowl*. This Objection therefore must be removed; and it will be done very easily. Some, says *Athenæus*,<sup>5)</sup> call this Bowl *Heracleotick*, from *Hercules*, who first used this sort in his Expeditions. His way is, to set down the several Opinions, though they be false and absurd; as the ridiculous Derivation of *Thericlean* Cups from *θηρίων*, or *θῆρας κλονεῖν*; which we have spoken of above. And thus he has imparted to us that Etymology of *Heracleotic*, though it be against all Rules of Analogy. But he has sufficiently intimated his own Opinion, that they are called so from *Heraclea*, the Town of their Manufacture; and for the same reason they are called also *Bæotic*; because this *Heraclea* was in or near *Bæotia*. 'Tis true, these Cups had the *Herculean Knot* wrought upon the Ears of them;<sup>6)</sup> yet that did not give them their name: but it was put there, be-

1) P. 147. 2) *Canterus nov. lect. v. 28. Nam in scriptis quidem Libris Thericlea se reperisse sunt qui asserunt.*

3) *Athen. apud Casaub. 782. [XI 19 Dind.]*

4) P. 146.

5) P. 500.

6) Ἡράκλειος δεσμός.

cause *Heraclea*, the Town where the Cups were made, had its Original and Name from *Hercules*. For this was *Heraclea Trachin.*<sup>1)</sup> situate near the foot of *Oeta*, where *Hercules* <sup>118</sup> was burnt. These Bowls therefore were called *Heracleotic* from the place of their Manufacture; as others upon the same account were called *Rhodian*, *Syracusian*, *Chalcidic*, *Λυκουργεῖς*. So there were *Heracleotic Nuts*, *Heracleotic Crabfish*, so called from another *Heraclea*, a City of *Pontus*.

Our Examiner being thus baffled in his alteration of *Phalaris's* Text; he now resolves to turn about, and try to maintain it as it now stands. *Athenæus* affirms, that *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes's* time: and he, said I, in a case of *History and Philology*, is a *Witness as good as a multitude.*<sup>2)</sup> The Examiner endeavours to ridicule the very Expression, as far as his puerile Jests can help him out. But methinks he might have remember'd his *Homer*:<sup>3)</sup>

Ἱητροὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων,

Or that Epigram upon *Heracitus*:<sup>4)</sup>

Εἷς ἐμοὶ ἀνθρώπος τρισμύριοι ———

*One man to me is as good as 30000.* Or the saying of *Antimachus*, *Plato mihi unus est instar multorum millium.*<sup>5)</sup> But for fear he should fall foul upon these Authors; as he has upon *Manilius* and *Laertius* and others,<sup>6)</sup> because he thought I had an esteem for them, I'll give him his own *Favourite Author Phalaris*,<sup>7)</sup> who thus complements one *Epicharmus*, *One such man as you is as much to me, as all Sicily is.*<sup>8)</sup>

The two next Pages are spent in a *tedious insipid* Declamation (they are his own words to a better Writer, *Dion Chrysostom*) about *Athenæus's* not citing his Authors to shew the Age of *Thericles*. The short of his Speech is this, That he won't take *Athenæus's* word for a single Farthing, unless he get somebody to be bound for him. But <sup>119</sup> there is one stroke in it, of a more subtle Turn than the rest, that shews the wonderful Sagacity of our Examiner.

<sup>1)</sup> See *Athen.* p. 500. & 461.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 147.

<sup>3)</sup> *Iliad.*

A. [514]. <sup>4)</sup> *Anthol.* iii [IV 226 Jac.; anth. Pal. 342].

<sup>5)</sup> *Cic. in Bruto* [51, 191].

<sup>6)</sup> P. 26, 28 &c.

<sup>7)</sup> P. 32.

<sup>8)</sup> *Ep.* 98. Εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐμοὶ τοιοῦτος ἀπάσης ἐστὶ Σικελίας μέτρον.

*Athenæus* had made this *Thericles* Contemporary with *Aristophanes* the Poet. This, says the Examiner, he had no down-right Witness of: but only he had never read, or did not then call to mind any older Author that spoke of him. *For observable it is*<sup>1)</sup> (yes, I pray you Sirs, observe it) *that among the several Quotations, in which he abounds on this head, there is none that runs higher, than the Age of that Poet.* Now certainly there was never such a sharp-sighted Observer, since the Famous *Lynceus* saw through a Mill-stone. *Athenæus*, when he enters upon this head, expressly declares, that this *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes*'s time: and yet *observable it is*, that he quotes no body, that mentions him before *Aristophanes*'s time. Now in my opinion it had been much more *observable*, if he had produced any Testimony before the time of *Aristophanes*. For that would have been as flat a Contradiction to what he had newly deliver'd, as our Examiner's Contradictions are, to what the Editor of *Phalaris* says.

But since *Athenæus* has so little credit with Mr. B. that he won't believe a word he says, without a Voucher: I'll endeavour to produce a Witness for him, *Eubulus* the Comic Poet.<sup>2)</sup>

Διένιφα δ' οὐδὲν σκεῦος οὐδεπώποτε  
Καθαρώτερον γὰρ τὸν κέραμον εἰργαζόμεν,  
ἢ ὅθι κλέῃς τὰς κύλικας, ἥνιξ ἦν νέος.

*I made*, says he, *the Earthen Ware purer, than Thericles did his Cups, when he was young.* Those that know Style and Language, will agree with me, that the last words, *ἥνιξ ἦν νέος*, must be referr'd to *Thericles*; and not be  
120 render'd in the first Person, as the Latin Translator has mistaken them. And I take them to be an intimation, that *Thericles* was alive, when this Play was acted; and that he was old then and past his Work. This I dare say is the best and neatest Explication, that can be put upon the words, and therefore I believe it the truest. For if *Thericles* had been long dead before the Age of *Eubulus*, (so long, as to be older than *Phalaris*) the Poet would not have added those words, *when he was young.* For how could he know then, that *Thericles* lived

<sup>1)</sup> P. 149.

<sup>2)</sup> Athen. 471 [c].



so long, that he left off his Trade, or at least did not work at it with his own hands, as the words imply? *Thericles* therefore by this account, was an old Man in the time of *Eubulus*, and flourished *κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη*, in *Aristophanes*'s days. And this is remarkably confirmed by the Testimony of Chronology. For *Eubulus* lived Olymp. ci,<sup>1)</sup> in the middle Interval, between the old and the new Comedy: and *Plutus*, the last of *Aristophanes*'s Plays, was acted Olymp. xcvi, 4;<sup>2)</sup> which is about x years before. So that the same man might be in his Prime in *Aristophanes*'s time, and decrepit in *Eubulus*'s.

The Examiner has been so perpetually mistaken, since his very first setting out, that I could wish for a little Variety, he would be once in the right. But I find he won't oblige me yet; for he falls into a new Error in the very next Paragraph. *Athenæus*'s words are,<sup>3)</sup> *One Thericles, who lived about the time of Aristophanes, is said (or is reported) to have made this sort of Cup.* 'Tis the Examiner's own Translation; and he makes this observation<sup>121</sup> upon the place;<sup>4)</sup> *That the Author says, λέγεται, is said, is reported; which is an expression of distrust, and that he was not satisfied of the truth of the report.* Now to what purpose our Examiner remarked this, it's hard to understand. For that *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes*'s time, *Athenæus* speaks positively; witness Mr. B's own Version of his words. And this is all we depended on *Athenæus*'s Credit for; for as to the other point, that *Thericles* invented the Cups, we have ten witnesses at least, besides *Athenæus*. What service then can he do his cause from this *λέγεται*, though it really signified such a distrust? But this fancied distrust is another Error, of near affinity to the former. For *λέγεται* is so far from being a token of want of Evidence, that it is principally used upon the contrary account, when the generality of Writers are agreed. When a single witness says a thing, he is commonly mention'd by name; but when the Evidence is numerous, and cannot all be

<sup>1)</sup> *Suid.* v *Εὐβουλος*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Schol. vet. ad Plutum.* [Argum. IV 173].

<sup>3)</sup> *Athen.* 470 [f]. *Κατασκευάσαι δὲ λέγεται τὴν κύλικα ταύτην Θηρικλῆς, γεγονώς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη*

<sup>4)</sup> P. 150.

brought in, then they say, *Λέγεται* or *Φασί*. Even this passage under debate might have given the hint to the Examiner: for after our Author had said *Λέγεται*, he brings three witnesses to that very point. But I'll give him an instance of another Writer. *Λέγεται*, 'Tis said, says *Laertius*,<sup>1)</sup> that as Pythagoras chanced to shew his Thigh naked, it appeared to be Gold. The reason why he says *Λέγεται* here, when in other places he names his Author, is not the want of witnesses, but the abundance of them; so that 'twas needless to name particulars. And that this is true, 122 it manifestly appears from the many Writers yet extant that affirm the same story, *Apollonius*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, *Ælian*, *Porphry*, *Jamblichus*, *Ammianus*, &c. Again says *Laertius*;<sup>2)</sup> *Λέγεται*, Pythagoras is said to have advised his Scholars to say this Verse every day, when they came home,

Πῇ παρέβην, τί δ' ἔρεξα, τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

Now the Authors, that say the same thing, the Writer of the *Golden Verses*, *Cicero*, *Porphry*, *St. Hierom*, are a full proof that this *Λέγεται* does not here import a defect of proof; but rather a superfluity of it.

I had said, *Common Analogy plainly shews, that as from Ἡρακλῆς comes Ἡράκλειος, from Σοφοκλῆς, Σοφόκλειος, and many such like; so Θηρίκλειος must be from Θηρικλῆς*. The Examiner acknowledges the Derivation is true;<sup>3)</sup> but the Argument, he says, is stark naught.<sup>4)</sup> For let us try it, says he, in another instance. As from *Ἀπελλῆς* comes *Ἀπέλειος*, so from *Θαλῆς* the Philosopher must come *Θάλειος* *virens*. Now with the leave of our pert Examiner, this instance of his is no instance at all. For the Analogy, that I spoke of, does not extend to all words that have termination in *ης*; but only to the compound words ending in *κλῆς*, from *κλέος gloria*: as besides the words I named before, *Βαθυκλῆς*, *Βαθύκλειος*; *Ξενοκλῆς*, *Ξερόκλειος*; *Διοκλῆς*, *Διόκλειος*; and so *Φιλοκλῆς*, *Λαμπροκλῆς*, *Μεγακλῆς*, *Θεμστοκλῆς*, &c. all form their Adjectives in *κλειος*. Now let him give one single instance, if he can, of a word ending

1) *Laert. in Pythag.* Λέγεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε παραγυμνωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν ὀφθῆναι χρυσοῦν. 2) *Laert. ibid.* [22].

3) *P. 151.*

4) An archaïc expression meaning 'very foolish'. — W.

in *κλειος*, that does not follow this Analogy: and then his boyish Witticisms and doggeril Rhimes, which he has spurted here, will come in more seasonably. But at present he only exposes himself, by breaking his unmannerly Jests upon his own mistakes.

But let *Athenæus* be as positive as he will, that *The-123*  
*ricles* and *Aristophanes* were Contemporaries, Mr. B. will confute him out of his own words,<sup>1)</sup> *Καὶ μήποτε Ἀλέξις ἐν Ἡσιόγῃ Θηρικλείῳ ποιεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πίνοντα*: which he translates, *And does not Alexis introduce Hercules drinking out of a Thericlean Cup?* Now our Examiner has committed a double Error about this one Sentence. First he has not construed the words right; for *μήποτε* is not in this place a Particle of Interrogation, which is the most positive way of affirming; but on the very contrary 'tis a word of doubting, *Fortasse, Perhaps, or, it may be, that Alexis introduces*. This the Examiner might have learnt in those very Dictionaries, that he talks so much of; or in *Budæus's* Commentaries,<sup>2)</sup> where several Passages of *Athenæus* himself are cited to prove it. And indeed *Athenæus* could not be positive, that *Alexis* meant the *Thericlean* Cup; for the Poet's words are only these, as they now stand:

—— Γενόμενος δ' ἔνους μόλις  
 ἤπιεσε κύλην καὶ λαβὼν ἐξῆς πυκνὰς ἔλκει —

But the true reading of them is rather thus:

—— Γενόμενος δ' ἔνους μόλις ἤπιεσε κύλικα.

But at last, coming to himself, he called for a Cup of Wine. The very words *γενόμενος* and *μόλις* confirm the Conjecture about *ἐνους*; for so *Plutarch*,<sup>3)</sup> *Τότε δὲ ἔνους γενόμενος*; and an Author in *Suidas*,<sup>4)</sup> *Ὑστερον ἔνους ἐγένετο*. And the last Syllable in *κύλικα* was lost, because *καὶ* follow'd it. And so much by way of Emendation. But, as I said, *Athenæus* could not be positive; for the whole Stress lay upon the word *κύλικα*. *Alexis*, says he, introduces *Hercules* drinking in a *Chalice*; and perhaps he meant the *Theri-*

1) *Athen.* p. 470 [e]. 2) *P.* 910. [For *Budæus's* Commentarii see e. g. *Hallam*, Lit. Hist. I p. 334sq.] 3) *Mul.* virt. 252 E. — R. 4) *Suid.* v. Ἐνους.

124 clean. For that the Thericlean was a Chalice, *Theophrastus* is a plain Witness.<sup>1)</sup> These are the very next words; and this is the true sense of that Passage.

But says Mr. B.<sup>2)</sup> If *Athenæus* could suppose, that *Hercules* and a Thericlean Cup were brought upon the Stage together; he must suppose too, that the Thericlean Cup was as ancient as *Hercules*; or else it would have been absurd and ridiculous. Here's the second Mistake of our Examiner; for *Athenæus* knew very well, that the Writers of the Greek Comedies did not tie themselves so strictly to the Rules of Chronology. He might have a thousand Instances of it, which we cannot now come at. But there are enough yet extant, to make the Examiner repent his rashness, in taxing so great an Author. *Anaxandrides* in a Play called *Hercules* (because *Hercules* was the chief Person brought in upon the Stage) mentions *Argas* the Musician,<sup>3)</sup> who was alive when the Play was acted. The same Poet in another Play called *Protesilaus*, from the Hero of that name, that was slain by *Hector*, speaks of the same *Argas*,<sup>4)</sup> and *Antigenidas*, and *Cephisodotus*, three Musicians, and *Iphicrates* the Athenian General, and *Cotys* King of *Thrace*; all of them then living in the Poet's own time. *Diphilus*<sup>5)</sup> the Comedian in his *Sappho* introduced *Archilochus* and *Hipponax*, as Gallants to that Lady: though one of them was dead before she was born; and she dead, before the other was born. Nay *Alexis* himself, in his *Linus*,<sup>6)</sup> brings *Linus* upon the Stage, instructing his Pupil *Hercules*, and offering him Books to chuse of,<sup>7)</sup>

125 Ὅρφεός ἐνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, Τραγῳδία,  
Χοίριλος, Ὀμηρος, Ἐπίχαρμος, Συγγράμματα  
Παντοδαπά

*Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, Tragedies, *Chærilus*, *Homer*, *Epicharmus*, and all sorts of Authors: but *Hercules* makes choice of one *Simon's*<sup>8)</sup> *Art of Cookery*. Can we desire an instance more apposite, and more full against our Examiner? Here's the same Poet *Alexis* brings the same person *Hercules* with

1) Ὅτι δὲ κύλιξ ἐστὶ θηρίκλειος, σαφῶς παρίστησι Θεόφραστος. 2) P. 152. 3) Athen. 638. 4) Athen. 131.

5) Athen. 599. 6) Athen. p. 164. 7) [Mein. Com. III 444 sq.] 8) The name is Σίμος. — W.

*Epicharmus* in his hand: and why might he not as well introduce him with a *Thericlean Cup* in his hand?

But besides all this, had we no such Examples of this Liberty of the Greek Comedians, we could still defend *Athenæus* against the insults of our Examiner. For he forgets, that *Hercules* was a God, and consequently, in the Poet's Creed, he eat and drunk even in *Thericles's* time. And had not *Hercules* several Temples? and were not Cups frequently among the Donaries presented to the Gods? Nay the *Thericlean* are expressly mention'd, as Donaries<sup>1)</sup> in the *Acropolis* at *Athens*. *Hercules* therefore might have several *Thericleans* among his own Plate. For what Present could be more proper to such a Fuddler as he was, than a *Thericlean*, one of the biggest fashions of Cups, some of them holding above seven *Cotylæ*,<sup>2)</sup> that is, five of our Pints?

Nay, allow that *Hercules* was a Hero only, and no God; even the Heroes too might be introduc'd drinking in *Thericles's* Ware. For they also had their Temples and Donaries, and they pass'd their time merrily, eating and drinking;<sup>3)</sup> and the mischief they were supposed to do (for they were thought to be very quarrelsome and dangerous) was attributed to their being so often in drink. But <sup>126</sup> *Hercules* was particularly,<sup>4)</sup> and of them all the most addicted to the Juyce of the Grape. So that he was commonly painted with his Cup, and sometimes reeling and tumbling.

But our Examiner makes yet another Assault against *Athenæus*. That Author had said, *Thericles* was a *Corinthian Potter*;<sup>5)</sup> but Mr. B. will prove from his own words (which *Athenæus's* dulness did not suffer him to understand) that he was an *Athenian Potter*; if that Invention was truly his. *Lynceus Samius* says, *Ῥοδίουσιν ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι τὰς Ἡδυποτιδας πρὸς τὰς Ἀθήνησι θηρικλείους*,<sup>6)</sup> That the Rhodians wrought a sort of Cup, called *Hedypotides*, in imitation of the *Thericlean*, made at *Athens*. So Mr. B. translates it, but erroneously, as his manner is. For

1) *Polemon apud Athen. p. 472.*

2) *Athen. 472.*

3) *Athen. 46. [461 C. — R.] Zenob. [V 60]. Οἱ γὰρ ἥρωες πακοῦν ἔτοιμοι, μᾶλλον ἢ εὐεργετεῖν.*

v, 21.

5) *P. 153.*

6) *Athen. p. 469 [b].*

ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι, is not to work in imitation, but in opposition. Now what will he infer from hence? That the *Thericlean* Cups were invented at *Athens*? But the words do not imply it, but only that they were in great use and fashion at *Athens*, when *Lynceus* wrote this Discourse; that is, a hundred years after *Thericles's* Death. Now the Cups might be invented at *Corinth*; but because they took mightily at *Athens*, they might afterwards be the best wrought there, and so be accounted an *Athenian* Manufacture. But let us grant, they were invented at *Athens*; must *Thericles* therefore be an *Athenian*? A very precarious Consequence. For he might be a *Corinthian* born, and yet be settled at *Athens*. For near half of the Inhabitants there, were Strangers from other places;<sup>1)</sup> and the Strangers were commonly such as wrought in the Manufactures.<sup>2)</sup> In *Demetrius* 197 *Phalereus's* time<sup>3)</sup>, when the Citizens were 21000, the μέτοικοι Strangers were 10000.<sup>4)</sup> And where now is the Inconsistency and Confusion that our modest Examiner charges upon *Athenæus*? Has he not reason to make the Itch of opposing great Names upon very slight or no grounds, a chief and distinguishing mark of *Pedantry*?<sup>5)</sup>

The Examiner will still hang upon the cause; and if we will but allow him, that *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, he has found a very surprizing Salvo,<sup>6)</sup> to bring off the Epistles.<sup>7)</sup> »For then perhaps, this *Thericles* was no Potter, »but the *Athenian* Archon of that Name, Olymp. Lxi, 4; »and the Cups might take their Name from him, because »he first used them, as the Ἀντιγονίδαί and Σελευκίδαί »mention'd in *Plutarch* were so called from *Antigonus* and »*Seleucus*, who delighted in those fashions. And then if »*Phalaris* lived till Olymp. Lxxii, 3. (as Mr. *Dodwell's* opinion »is) the Epistles may be an Original still; for by this »account the name might be given to the *Thericlean* Cups »above xl years before *Phalaris's* Death.

<sup>1)</sup> *Xenophon*, Περὶ πόρων [c. 2].

his life of *Solon* [24]: Γενέσθαι πολίτας οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν δειφυγία τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήνας μετακίζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνη. — Add. p. 542.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 154.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 157.

<sup>6)</sup> A salvo, 'an exception, an excuse', is quite an obsolete expression nowadays. — W.

<sup>7)</sup> P. 153.

What a Parcel of Suppositions are here, one in the neck of another? If *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, which a good Author assures us, he was not; then he might not be a Workman, but a Magistrate; though no fewer than ten witnesses say expressly, he was a Workman, *Pliny*, *Hesychius*, *Lucian*, *Etymologicon* *M. Scholion* upon *Clemens Alex.* *Pollux*, *Athenæus*, *Cleanthes*, *Theopompus*, *Eubulus*; not one single Evidence appearing against them. But suppose him to be a Magistrate; then suppose too, that Mr. D's notion is true: but I have already consider'd that learned Man's opinion; and *Eusebius's* Computation is still as firm as 128 ever. What a sorry crippled Argument's here, even lame upon all four? But there's a worse distemper in it still, either to be laugh'd at, or pitied; I mean, that wretched and scandalous Barbarism of *Ἀντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*. The words of *Plutarch*, which I had cited in my Dissertation, are, *Οἱ τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ Θηριχλείους ἐπιδεικνύμενοι*: which the Examiner having occasion to put into the Nominative Case, calls them *Ἀντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι* (in both his Editions) as if the Nominatives Singular were *Ἀντιγονίδης* and *Σελευκίδης*. The man, that has a Controversie with Mr. B. must do the office of a Schoolmaster, and teach him his Declensions; for the Cups are not to be called *Ἀντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*, but *Ἀντιγονίδες* and *Σελευκίδες*, from *Ἀντιγονίς* and *Σελευκίς*. So *Clemens Alex.*<sup>1)</sup> *Θηρίχλειοι κύλικες καὶ Ἀντιγονίδες*, *Athenæus*:<sup>2)</sup> *Σελευκίς*, *Ῥοδιάς*, *Ἀντιγονίς*, *Pollux*; <sup>3)</sup> *Σελευκίδα καὶ Ῥοδιάδα*; see *Hesychius* in *Σελευκίς*. Is not this now a formidable Writer, and born to be the Terror and Scourge of the *Scaliger's* and *Salmasius's*? 'Tis to be hoped that henceforward he will not make so many awkward Jests upon Lexicons and Dictionaries: any one of which upon this occasion might have done him good Service.

The last Effort, upon this Topic, that Mr. B. makes for his *Sicilian Prince*, is a Memorandum he gives his Reader, that this and all the other Chronological Arguments touch only those particular Epistles, from whence they are taken. So that should those Epistles be found spurious, yet the

1) *Clem. Pædag.* p. 69. [188 P.].

2) *Athen.* p. 479, 783.

3) *Pol. lib.* vi, 26 [96].

rest of the Set may, *to his Comfort*, be genuine. What a passionate Concern's here! who can find in his Heart now to deprive the Gentleman *of his Comfort*? I for my  
 129 part, whom he calls a Man of *singular Humanity*, will reserve this point to some other Section towards the end of this Book, and let him enjoy his dear Comfort, as long as I can.

And now having exhibited these Specimens of his Learning, he takes the opportunity to shew his Readers a little of his Temper.<sup>1)</sup> *He assures them, that I went no farther for ALL this Learning about Thericlean Cups, than my Dictionaries, and what one of those referr'd me to, Casaubon's Notes on Athenæus.* This he assured in his first Edition; but in the second he discovers, that I take some part of it from *Salmasius*: So that there he *assures*, that I went to my Dictionaries, and *Casaubon*, for ALMOST ALL *this Learning*.<sup>2)</sup> The Readers without question will allow, that the Examiner's Assurance is good, that shall dare to assure two contrary things, and inconsistent with one another. A Man that accuses at this rate, answers himself. But however, because it's such a matter of Fact, as I can give a direct reply to; I'll shew him that piece of Respect, to return him an answer. He says, I have taken some of it out of *Salmasius*; I answer directly, *I have not*; for I knew not then, that *Salmasius* had said one word about it. *Casaubon's* Notes I own I had seen, and I desire the Reader to see them too; that he may see the Spirit of the Examiner. One main branch of what I said upon this Head, is a refutation of *Casaubon*. And did I gather out of *Casaubon's* Notes a refutation of himself? I wish I could truly own it; for the Reputation of it would be the greater. And lastly, If this Learning lay so very obvious; that, as Mr. B. says, *I went no further than Dictionaries for it*; the  
 130 greater is the shame for Him; that when *Phalaris* was published, he was ignorant of such a common thing: for he neither translates the word *Θηρίκλεια* right; nor appears to have had any knowledge of the Original of the Name.

But now the storm begins to rise higher; and *I fall*,

<sup>1)</sup> P. 156.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 156. 2d. Edit.



he says, upon Casaubon,<sup>1)</sup> *against common Gratitude, common Sense, Truth, Decency, and Reason.* The occasion of all this Out-cry is this; Casaubon had endeavour'd to correct the Text of *Athenæus*, and alter *συνέδοντα* into *συνέδοντα*. But in my Dissertation, I plainly shew'd, how that great Man was mistaken; neither has the Examiner offer'd one word to justify his Correction. What is it then, that he is so incensed at? Casaubon had observ'd, that the MS Epitomizer of *Athenæus* read it *συνέδοντα*; But one may be certain, said I, 'twas a fault only in that Copy of him, that Casaubon used. For Eustathius, who appears never to have seen the true *Athenæus*, but only that *Epitome*, read it in his Book *συνέδοντα*. Here the Examiner swells and blusters;<sup>2)</sup> and indeed I must beseech the Reader to read over those Pages of his; they are an Original Strain for Civility and good Manners; and yet he is all-over mistaken in every Paragraph of them.

It is certain, says he, that Eustathius had seen *Athenæus* himself: and therefore Casaubon says only of him, that he did OFTEN<sup>3)</sup> use the *Epitome*. And Dr. B. will not pretend ever to have seen it, for it's unprinted to this day: so that he talks of a thing, that he knows nothing of, and can know nothing of, but from Casaubon, and yet ventures to contradict him. Now to stop the Examiner a little in the Career of his Confidence; In the first place, that very Copy of the *Epitome*, that Casaubon used and possessed, 131 among many other Books, was purchased of his Executors soon after his Death, and deposited in the Royal Library: and I had the Book then in my hand, and had newly consulted it, (let the Examiner read this, if he can, without blushing) when I writ this Passage in my Dissertation. For suspecting from those Instances, which Casaubon had given, that Eustathius had only used the *Epitome* of *Athenæus*, without having the Original, I had the Curiosity to examin near a hundred Passages of Eustathius, and I perpetually found, that he had taken them from the *Epitome*, and never from the true Author. Had I not reason then to say, That Eustathius APPEARS never to have seen the true

<sup>1)</sup> P. 156, 157.  
*Epitome*, p. 2.

<sup>2)</sup> 157, 158, 159.

<sup>3)</sup> *Sæpe uti*

Athenæus? Half of that Examination would have encouraged our Examiner into the positive Style, that he had *certainly* never seen him.

For without any grounds at all he is positive of the contrary, though it be *a thing that he knows nothing of*. *It is certain*, says he, *that Eustathius had seen Athenæus himself*. Why so? And whence has he this Air of Assurance? Because *Casaubon* says, *He often followed the Epitome*. A very extraordinary Inference; Because he *often* follow'd the Epitome; therefore he *sometimes* follow'd the Original. If his new System of Logic teaches him such Arguments, I'll be content with the old ones. Mr. *Casaubon* had examined several Passages of *Eustathius*, where he quotes *Athenæus*: and he cautiously says, that he *often* uses the *Excerpta*; because perhaps he had no leisure, or no desire to be satisfied further. I come after him, and examin many more Passages of *Eustathius*; and I find,  
 132 that he appears to have *always* follow'd the *Excerpta*. Both of our Assertions are true, and consistent with each other. And yet the Examiner says *I contradict Casaubon*.<sup>1)</sup> But I would advise him to take one Lecture more in his Logic, to know what a Contradiction is.

But I had said, *'Twas a fault only in that Copy of the Epitome that Casaubon used*. By a *Fault only*, I meant, *'twas only a Fault*, nothing but an Error of the Scribe, and a literal Mistake. Here the Examiner argues against me, as if I had said, *'Twas a Fault in that only Copy*; and he presently falls into his old Vein of civil Language. Now this is just as good Construction, as if his own words in this very Page,<sup>2)</sup> *And therefore Casaubon says only of Eustathius*, should be interpreted, *That he says it of Eustathius only*. In which Acceptation the thing is false. But a mistake of Syntax is a small fault in our Examiner, after those great ones that have come before.

The Examiner now *begs the Reader's Pardon*,<sup>3)</sup> *while he wanders a moment or two from his Subject*; but I am very much mistaken, if he will not find it the greatest Difficulty to *pardon* himself. In my Latin Dissertation

1) P. 157.

2) P. 157.

3) P. 158.

upon *Johannes Antiochenus*,<sup>1)</sup> I had started a new Observation about the Measures of the *Anapæstic* Verse. All the Moderns before had supposed, that the last Syllable of every Verse was common, as well in *Anapæsts*, as they are known to be in *Hexameters* and others: so that in Poems of their own composing, the last Foot of their *Anapæsts* was very frequently a *Tribrachys*, or a *Trochee*, or a *Cretic*; or the Foot ended in a Vowel or an M, while the next Verse begun with a Vowel or an H. In every one of which Cases an Error was committed: Because there was no Licence allowed by the Ancients to the last Syllable of *Anapæsts*; but the *Anapæst* Feet run on to the *Paræmiac*, that is, to the end of the Sett, as if the whole had been a single Verse. This, I said, was a general Rule among the Greek Poets; and even *Seneca*, the Latin Tragedian, (to shew he was conscious of this Rule, that I have now discover'd) never ends an *Anapæstic* Verse with a *Cretic*, as *Buchanan*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, &c. usually do; though sometimes indeed he does it with a *Trochee*,<sup>2)</sup> but even that *very seldom*, and generally at the close of a Sentence. Even Envy it self will be forced to allow, that this Discovery of mine, if it be true, is no inconsiderable one. I am sure, had any man found it out, before *Buchanan*<sup>3)</sup> and the rest had publish'd their Poems, he would have had their hearty thanks for preventing those Flaws in them. But see the hard Fate of Discoverers! At last the Learned Mr. *Boyle* arises, and roundly tells the World, which had believed me for VIII or IX years, *That nothing can be falser and fuller of Mistake, than what I have there asserted*. One would think, as he says, that a man that talks at this bold rate,<sup>4)</sup> *with such an Air of Self-sufficiency*, had need to be *perfectly sure of his point*. And is that the Case of our Examiner here? Has he *wandered from his Subject* upon a sure and true Scent? That the Reader shall presently judge of: but I must freely own to him before-hand, that some little Disdain rises

1) *Dissert. ad Joh. Antioch. p. 26.* [ed. 1691]. 2) *Semel atque iterum.*

3) The learned tutor of King James I. of England. His Latin poetry is justly esteemed. — W.

4) *P. 158.*

within me, to see my self employed in confuting such Stuff, as he has brought on this occasion.

*How durst you oppose, says he,*<sup>1)</sup> *Men of Grotius and Scaliger's Character with such groundless Assertions? For it*  
 134 *is usual among the Greek Tragedians to end their Anapæsts with a Trochee or a Tribrach: and Seneca has done it at least forty or fifty times, where there is no close of the Sense. The Instances he gives, are five out of Æschylus, and as many out of Seneca. The first from Æschylus, is,*

I. Τὴν Διὸς ἀλλήν εισοιχνεῦσι Prom. v. 122.  
 Διὰ τὴν λίαν ———

And the III. like it,

Τὸν δὲ χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισι v. 565.  
 Χεμαζόμενον ———

These two Verses, as our Examiner imagines, are ended with *Trochees*, the last Syllable being short. Now methinks a Man of half the Learning of Mr. Boyle, might have known that *σι* may be long here, by adding *ν* to it before a Consonant, as Poets frequently do; *εισοιχνεῦσιν*, *πετρίνοισιν*. This very Fable, that Mr. B. quotes, might have taught it him;

Ἐπαιδοῖσι θέλξει στερέας. v. 173.

Or that Verse in *Supplic.*

Ὀμβροφόροις τ' ἀνέμοις ἀγρίας. v. 36.

Or these of *Aristophan.*

Ἄλσιν διασημηχθεῖς ὄναιτ' ἂν οὔτοσί. Plut. [11].

Ἰατρὸς ὦν καὶ μάντις ὥς φασὶ σοφός. Nub. [1237].

In all which places, and a hundred more that it's easie to allege, the Syllable *σι* is long; as if it was pronounced, *ἐπαιδοῖσιν*, *Ὀμβροφόροισιν*, *ἄλσιν*, and *φασίν*. And these Examples are all found in the middle of Verses, lest the Examiner should make any Exceptions, if they were in the end of *Anapæsts*.

II. But he may have better Success with the next Passage that he produces from *Æschylus*;

Εἰς ἀρδμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃτα  
 Σπεύδων ——— Prom. v. 191.

<sup>1)</sup> P. 159.

Here too he supposes the last Foot is a *Trochee*, because *τα* is a short Syllable. But I must tell the Learned Examiner, that *τα* in this place is long, because the next word *σπεύδων* begins with two Consonants. There's nothing more common among the Poets, than this; as I will shew him out of his own Author *Æschylus*, and that in the middle of *Anapaestic* Verses:

*Πῆμα στενάχω πῇ ποτε μόχθων.* Prom. v. 99.

*Γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν αὔθις.* Sept. Theb. 1064.

*Οὕς περὶ πᾶσα χθών Ἀσῆτις.* Pers. 61.

*Ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγροί.* 630.

Have not *πῆμα*, *ὠλέσατε*, and *πᾶσα*, and *ἀλλὰ*, their last Syllables long here, because two Consonants follow them? Has our Examiner forgot his Virgil too?

*Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.*<sup>1)</sup>

*Æstusque pluviasque, & agentes frigora ventos.*<sup>2)</sup>

*Ferte citi flammam, date tela, scandite muros.*<sup>3)</sup>

Another of his Instances out of *Æschylus*, is, III.

*Στρέμβοι δὲ κόνιν* v. 1084.

*Ελλίσσουσι*

Where he thinks the last Foot of the Verse is a *Tribrachys*: *νιν* in *κόνιν* being short. But under favour, I say it's an *Anapaest*, and the last of *κόνιν* may be long. So *Homer*. [B 169. 636]

*Εὐρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Δὲ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον.*

*Τῶν ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤρχε Δὲ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος.*

And *Aristophanes* in his *Ὀρνιδες* [512];

*Ὅπότ' ἐξέλθοι. Πρίαμός τις ἔχων ὄρνιν ἐν τοῖσι τραγωδοῖς.*

Let us see now the remaining Example, that he fetch-IV. es out of *Æschylus*:

*Νῦν δ' αἰθέριον κίνυγμ' ὁ τάλας.* v. 156.

This also is one of his *Tribrachs*; for he is so well versed in Greek Poetry, that he believes the last Syllable of *τάλας* is short. What says he then to this *Anapaestic* of the same Poet?

*Τεύξῃ κεῖνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγοος.* Sept. Theb. 1071.

<sup>1)</sup> [Ge. IV 222.]

<sup>2)</sup> [Ge. I 352.]

<sup>3)</sup> [Æn.

IX 37, though not accurately quoted.]

Will he make *Tribrachs* in the middle of the Verse, as well as at the end? And what says he to these of *Euripides*?

Καὶ μὴν ὁ τάλας ὄδε δὴ στείχει. Hippol. [1338].  
 Ἀπόλωλα τάλας οἶμοι, οἶμοι. [ib. 1347].

Or to those *Iambics* out of the same Play?

Οὐ τλητὸν, οὐδὲ λεπτὸν ὦ τάλας ἐγώ. [879].  
 Ἄρηεν ὡς ἔουκεν ὦ τάλας ἐγώ. [1093].

Or to these out of *Sophocles*?

Οἶμοι τάλας ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Τυδέως γόνος. Philoct. [415].  
 Ἰησι δυσθρήνητον ὦ τάλας ἐγώ. Antigone. [1195].  
 Οἶμοι τάλας εἰκ' ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς. Oed. Tyr. [735].  
 Ὡς φῶδ' ἐχόντων, ὦ τάλας ἐγώ τάλας. Ajace. [970].

I believe, there is scarce one Play extant, either Comedy or Tragedy, that does not afford us an instance against the Examiner. But let him find if he can, *or his Assistant that searches for him*, one single Passage there, that makes *λας* in *τάλας* to be short. Where had he his Eyes then? or what was he thinking on, when he made this Observation? Perhaps he might remember that Verse of *Theocritus*,

Ὅς μοι δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ τάλας οὐδέποθ' ἦκει. Id. 2 [4].

For there indeed *τάλας* is short, but surely such a Learned Græcian would know, that this was the *Doric* Idiom, and not to be drawn into Example, where that Dialect is not used. For the *Dorians* abbreviate even *ας* in the Accusative Plural; as the same *Theocritus*,

Βόσκονται κατ' ὕρος καὶ ὁ Τίτυρος αὐτὰς ἐλαύνει.

Τίτυρ' ἐμὴν τὸ καλὸν περιλαμένε, βόσκε τὰς αἴγας. Id. 3 [2].

137

I have now gone over all the Instances, that the Examiner has thought fit to produce out of the *Greek* Poets: and I must own, that when I look back upon them, I cannot think without some astonishment upon the hardness of this forward Writer; who, when he was utterly unfurnish'd of this part of Learning, could venture so beyond his depth, without any necessity. He has gone, as he says, *out of his way*, to seek an occasion to expose himself: which was a very needless Ramble, for he can expose himself in every page without stirring a foot from his Subject. And what provocation could He have to be medd-

ling with *Greek Anapæsts*, who has shewn his ignorance of the most vulgar measures in *Latin Iambics*? In the LXXXI Ep. of his *Phalaris* he has thus translated a Greek Distich:

*Multo videtur satius, timentem nihil  
Futura fata, quam timentem, perpeti.*<sup>1)</sup>

The first of which is a false verse, and betrays the skill of its Author; who, if he had been in the least sensible that this verse was lame, might have had another word, *Metuentem*, ready at hand for him.

But our Examiner not content to have lessen'd his Reputation for Verses by an unfortunate essay upon *Æschylus*, seems resolv'd to be prodigal of that little which is yet left him,<sup>2)</sup> and lose it all with playing the Critic upon *Seneca's* Tragedies. His first attempt is upon a passage in *Agamemnon*,

—— *Trucibus monstribus Stetit imposita  
Pelion Ossa: pinifer ambos* Agam. v. 337.  
*Pressit Olympus.*

This he produces as an instance, that a *Tribrachys* may<sup>138</sup> be the last foot of an *Anapæstic* Verse; which supposes that he thought *Imposita* had its last Syllable short here; and consequently *Imposita Ossa*, in Mr. B's Construction, are the Nominative Case. Now I would desire a small favour of him; that, if it be not too great a secret, he'll acquaint us, how he construes this passage. Is it *Ossa imposita stetit Pelion*? but the word *stetit* with an Accusative after it will be a very great rarity. Or is it, *Ossa stetit imposita Pelion*? but this *imposita* before an Accusative will be a greater rarity than the other. Besides, if *Imposita* be a *Tribrachys* at the end of the Verse; then *Ossa* will be a *Trochee* in the middle of the Verse; which will not only be contrary to my new Discovery about *Anapæsts*, but to all the old ones, that ever were heard of. But one may suspect from this passage, That Mr. B. has a particular *Grammar* made for his use, as well as a particular *Logic*. When he obliges the Public with it, we

<sup>1)</sup> For the original see Nauck Trag. gr. fr. adesp. 263. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 159.

shall be ready to receive instruction. But till then, we shall take *Imposita*, as every body, before he arose, understood it, to be the Ablative Case,

*Stetit impositâ                      Pelion Ossâ ———*

It has now been in the world, about XVI whole Centuries; and it's hardly to be believ'd, that such an awkward Construction has ever been put upon't before, except perhaps in some lower Class at a Grammar School.

Of the Four Passages, yet behind, which he cites as out of *Seneca*, no fewer than Three are taken out of *Hercules Oetaeus*, which is not a Play of *Seneca's*; as the Learned *Daniel Heinsius* has prov'd fourscore Years ago: so  
 139 that the Examiner cannot cry out in his usual Strain, that this is a Paradox of mine. There is *one* single Example V. left then, out of *Seneca's Medea*, to confute me for asserting that he does it *once or twice*. A very gentle and civil Antagonist! Though I must tell him, if he had brought six Instances, and all of them legitimate ones; he had only shew'd his good will to cavil and carp. For *semel atque iterum*, *ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς*, are not strictly tied up to denote *twice* and no more: they often signifie *seldom*; as *δὶς καὶ τρὶς*, *bis terque*, *iterum atque tertium*, mean not *thrice* only, but *often*. Ten times therefore may be *seldom*, *semel atque iterum*, if the whole number, that they relate to, be some hundreds or a thousand.

And now I have follow'd our Learned Examiner, *while he has been wandring from his Subject*: and I leave him to reflect at his leasure, how much Honour he has acquired by this same Ramble of his. It seems He, with his *fidus Achates*, sifted all that I had publish'd in Latin; and he singled out this Passage, as the weakest place, where he might make a successfull Attack. And the Victory seeming to be worthy of a Digression, he went out of his way to fetch it. But I suppose he may be sensible by this time, *that 'tis not in EVERY BODIES power to confute me, that do but cast their Eye on Seneca and the Greek Tragedians.*<sup>1)</sup>

A man, that does not only *cast an Eye on*, but thoroughly

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 160.



reads the Books that he pretends to discourse of, would have been able to bring several seeming Examples, where an *Anapaestic* is terminated with a *Trochee*, or a *Tribrachys*, or a *Cretic*. This I was aware of, when I publish'd my Observation; and yet I enter'd no caution about it to the <sup>140</sup> Reader; but left the thing entirely to his own Judgment und Sagacity: supposing, that if he took notice of any such Exceptions, he would be able of himself to give an account of them. But now because this observation of mine has been openly assaulted; and lest any body should think, that not it's own Truth and Solidity, but the weakness of the Assailant. may be the reason of its holding out: I will here produce every single Exception, that I can meet with in the three Greek Tragedians, and *Aristophanes*, and *Seneca*; and shew they are all Errors only, and mistakes of the Copyers. And the very facility and naturalness of every correction will be next to a Demonstration to an ingenuous mind, that the Observation must needs be true.

*Æschyl. Prom. v. 279.*

1. *Καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῶ ποδὶ κραιπνόσσυτον*  
*θῶκον προλεπούς* —

Here's a *Cretic* terminates the Verse; and if the reading be allow'd, it plainly proves against me, that the last Syllable is common. But we must correct it, *κραιπνόσσυτον* with a single *σ*; and then it is an *Anapaest*. The Poets use either the single or double Consonant, as their Measures require. *Hesychius*, *Αὐτόσσυτος*, *αὐτοκέλευστος*, *Σοφοκλῆς Σχυρίους*.<sup>1)</sup>

*Æschyl. Eumen. v. 1008.*

2. *Πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπὸν*  
*ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶν δ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν*  
*Κατὰ γῆς σήμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτῆριον*  
*Χώρας κατέχειν* —

The first Verse here ends with a *Trochee*, and the third with a *Cretic*; both of which are seeming instances against <sup>141</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> It ought to be *Σχυρίαις*: Dindorf, *Fragm. Soph. s. Σχύρια*. Ribbeck unaccountably gives *Σεριφίους*, though Dyce and the other editions read *Σχυρίους*. — W.

my Assertion. But in the first Verse we must read *προπομπῶν*,<sup>1)</sup> as the learned Mr. *Stanley* guess'd from the Sense of the place; and his Conjecture is now confirmed by the Measure of it. And in the third Verse, for *ἀτήριον*, I correct it *ἀτηρόν*, which is a word of the same Signification, and of more frequent use than the other: witness *Æschylus* himself;

*Δυσχεΐμερόν γε πέλαγος ἀτηρᾶς δύης.* Prometh. 745.

*Sophoc. Elect. v. 112.*

3. *Σεμναί τε θεῶν παῖδες Ἑριννύες*  
*Τοὺς ἀδίκως θνήσκοντας ὁρᾶτε.*

Here again is a *Cretic* in the close of the first Verse: but it will be a *Dactyl*, if the second Verse be read as it ought to be, without τοὺς;

*Ἀδίκως θνήσκοντας ὁρᾶτε.*

'Tis the *Verseus Paræmiacus*, which always comes at the end of a Set of *Anapaestics*: and there the *Trochees* in *ὁρᾶτε* is right and lawfull.

*Soph. Antig. v. 129.*

4. *Ὑπερχθαίρει καὶ σφᾶς εἰσιδῶν.*

This *Cretic* Foot, *εἰσιδῶν*, is an Error of the Copyer, instead of the *Anapaest*, *ἐσιδῶν*.

*Soph. Philoct. in fine.*

5. *Χωρῶμεν νῦν πάντες ἀολλέες*  
*Νόμφραις ἀλίσαισιν ἐπευξάμενοι.*

This *Cretic* too will become a *Spondee* by the easie and slight alteration of *ἀολλέες* into *ἀολλεῖς*, which is the true reading.

*Eurip. Medea, v. 1087.*

6. *Παῦρον δὴ γένος ἐν πολλαῖσιν*  
*Εὐροις ἂν ἴσως ———*

Here's a *Trochee* in the end of a Verse: but if we correct it, *πολλαῖσιν γ'*,<sup>2)</sup> it will then be a *Spondee*, as it ought to be.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Stanley in Not. *Forsan προπομπῶν.* <sup>2)</sup> [*Πολλαῖσιν γ' Heathio dignius quam Bentleio.* Porson ad l. 1.]

*Ibid. v. 1103.*

7. Ἐτι δ' ἐκ τούτων, εἴτ' ἐπὶ φλαύροις,  
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς μοχθοῦσι, τόδε  
Ἔστιν ἄδηλον.

142

The middle Verse here, as it is vulgarly read; is an instance against me: but the measures ought to be alter'd and distinguish'd thus,

Εἴτ' ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς  
Μοχθοῦσι, τόδ' ἔστιν ἄδηλον.

Where the last Verse now is a *Paræmiac*; and the little Verse called the *Anapæstic Basis* commonly comes before it.

*Ibid. v. 1405.*

8. Ζεῦ τάδ' ἀκούεις, ὡς ἀπελαυνόμεσθ'.

This *Cretic* in the close is easily cured, by reading ἀπελαυνόμεθ'.

*Ib. v. 1413.*

9. Οὐδς μὴ ποτ' ἐγὼ φύσας ἄφελον  
Πρὸς σοῦ φθιμένους ἐπιδέσθαι.

Correct it ὕφελον in the first Verse, and then the *Cretic* will be an *Anapæst*, as it should be.

*Eurip. Hippol. v. 257.*

10. Πολλὰ διδάσκει γάρ μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.  
Χρῆν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλήλας,<sup>1)</sup> ἔν.

Here again is a *Cretic* in the first Verse: but the word γάρ there is superfluous, as the very sense evinces. For this Sentence is not given here as a Reason of the other, that precedes it: as it must be, if γάρ be allowed for a true *Lectio*. I correct it therefore,

Πολλὰ διδάσκει μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.

And I do not question, but men of judgment will subscribe to the Emendation.

*Eurip. Troad. v. 781.*

143

11. Λαμβάνειτ' αὐτὸν, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα χρῆ  
Κηρυκεύειν, —

A small change of a word, by reading it, τὰ δὲ τοιάδε χρῆ, will substitute an *Anapæst* in the place of the *Cretic*.

<sup>1)</sup> ἀλλήλους in the editions. — W.

12. *Aristoph. Nub. pag. 106. [918].*  
*Γνωσθήσῃ πότ' Ἀθηναίοισιν,*  
*Ὅσα διδάσκεις τοὺς ἀνοήτους.*

If we add γ' to the end of the first Verse, this little Flaw will be heal'd.<sup>1)</sup>

There, I believe, are all the Verses in the Four Poets of the Greek-Stage, that are Exceptions to my Observation about the measure of *Anapæsts*: or if perhaps I have overlook'd one, I dare engage before-hand, that it may as easily be corrected, as these that I have noted. But if the Examiner thinks fit to *cast his Eye* again to search for more, that he thinks may have escaped me; I would advise him to take care, that his instances be not of the same Stamp with those he has brought already. For it's good to understand a matter first, before we pretend to confute it.

As for *Seneca*; among all the Plays that judicious Persons suppose to be his, I have not once observed a *Tribrachys*, nor a *Cretic* at the end of an *Anapæstic*: Nor have I met with a *Trochee*, without a Pause or Close of the Sense after it, except in these two places.

*Herc. Fur. v. 170.*

*Fluctuque magis mobile vulgus*  
*Aura tumidum tollit inani.*

*Medea, v. 334.*

—— *Spargeret astra*      *Nubesque ipsas* ——

- 144 These two, I believe, are the only Examples: and had I not reason then to say, that *semel atque iterum*, once or twice only, he made use of a *Trochee*? 'Tis true, there may be an instance or two; where a Verse ends in a long Vowel, and the following begins with another Vowel; as,

*Thyest. v. 946.*

*Pingui madidus crinis amomo*  
*Inter subitos stetit horrores.*

But in this case the measure is right and agreeable to our Observation; only the Vowels must be supposed to

---

<sup>1)</sup> Dindorf has it, *καὶ γν. π. Ἀθηναίοις*, but *καὶ* is not in RV. — W:

stand and to be pronounced, without a *Synalæpha*: as they often are in *Virgil*;

*Glauco, & Panopeæ, & Inoo Melicertæ.* [Ge. I 487].

*Nereidum matri, & Neptuno Ægeo.* [Aen. III 74].

Upon the whole then, there is not *one* true and lawful Exception in all the Greek Poets, and but *two* in the genuine Pieces of *Seneca*. But the Writers that came after him, degenerated more from their Greek Masters, and did not so strictly observe the measures, that the Rules of their Art prescribed to them. For in the Tragedy *Agamemnon*<sup>1)</sup> this measure is four times broken; and in *Hercules Oetæus*<sup>2)</sup> six times; and in *Octavia*<sup>3)</sup> no less than eleven. Which may pass for a new Argument, that *Seneca* is not the Author of them.<sup>4)</sup> But if one cast his Eyes upon *Buchanan's* Pieces, or *Scaliger's*, or *Grotius's*, or indeed of any one of the Moderns, (for none were aware of this Observation) he will not find ten Lines together, where this measure is not violated. Which I take for an infallible Demonstration; that it was Design, and not mere Accident, that kept the Ancients from breaking it.

To put an end therefore to this long debate, about <sup>145</sup> the *Thericlean Cups*; If the Examiner's Cavils against *Athenæus* are all fully and seriously answer'd: if his Quirks and Witticisms upon Me are all grafted upon his own mistakes; and by being falsly applied to another, become *true Jests* upon himself: and if *his wandring from his Subject*, to seek an occasion of refuting me, has proved a very unfortunate Excursion, and sent him back with loss and disgrace; if this, I say, be the Issue of this present Section, I conceive, there appears no good reason as yet, why I should repent of my Judgment about *Phalaris's* Epistles.

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Agam. v. 79, 89, 356, 380.*      <sup>2)</sup> *Herc. Oct. v. 181, 594, 1210, 1282, 1876, 1988.*      <sup>3)</sup> *Octav. v. 27, 62, 93, 289, 306, 315, 318, 331, 336, 809, 899.*      <sup>4)</sup> See, against this, *L. Müller de re metr. poet. lat. p. 54. — W.*

## IV.

IN the LXXXV Epistle, he boasts of a great Victory obtained over the *Zancleans*; *Ταυρομενεΐτας καὶ Ζαγκλείους συμμαχήσαντας Δεοντίνοις εἰς τέλος νενίκηχα*. But the very preceding Letter, and the XXI, are directed to the *Messenians*, *Μεσσηνίοις*, and the City is there called *Μεσσήνη*; and in the First Epistle, he speaks of *Πολύχλειτος ὁ Μεσσήνιος*. Here we see we have mention made of *Zancleans* and *Messenians*; as if *Zancle* and *Messana* were two different Towns. Certainly the true *Phalaris* could not write thus; and it is a piece of ignorance inexcusable in our Sophist, not to know that both those names belong'd  
<sup>146</sup> to one and the same City, at different times. *Messana*, says *Strabo*,<sup>1)</sup> which was before called *Zancle*. See also *Herodotus*,<sup>2)</sup> and *Diodorus*,<sup>3)</sup> and others. Perhaps it may be suspected, in behalf of these Epistles, that this change of Name was made, during those XVI years of *Phalaris's* Tyranny; and then supposing the LXXXV Letter to be written before the change, and the other Three after it, this argument will be evaded. But *Thucydides* [VI 4, 5] will not suffer this suspicion to pass, who relates, *That the Zancleans were driven out by the Samians and other Ionians, that fled from the Medes*, (which was, about Olymp. LXX, 4.) and that οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον not long after (perhaps about the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into Greece, Olymp. LXXV, 1.) *Anaxilaus King of Rhegium, drove the Samians themselves out, and called the Town Messana, from the Peloponnesian Messana, the Country of his Ancestors*. The first part of

1) *Lib. vi* [268]. *Μεσσήνη, Ζάγκλη πρότερον καλουμένη.*

2) *Herod. vii* [164]. *Ζάγκλην, τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τοῦνομα.*

3) *Diod. iv* [85]. *Ζάγκλης, νῦν δὲ Μεσσήνης ὀνομαζομένης.*

this account is confirmed by *Herodotus*:<sup>1)</sup> and agreeably to these Narratives, *Diodorus*<sup>2)</sup> sets down the death of this *Anaxilaus*, Olymp. LXXVI, 1. when he had reigned XVIII years. Take now the latest account of *Phalaris*'s death, according to St. *Hierom*; and above LX years intervene between that, and the new naming of *Zancle*. So that unless we dare ascribe to the Tyrant a Spirit of Vaticination, we cannot acquit the Author of the Letters of so manifest a cheat.

But I love to deal ingenuously, and will not conceal one testimony in his favour, which is that of *Pausanias*,<sup>3)</sup> who places this same *Anaxilaus* of *Rhegium* about CLXXX years higher than *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* do; and tells the story very differently; That he assisted the Refugees of *Messana* in *Peloponnesus*, after the second war with the *Spartans*, to take *Zancle* in *Sicily*; which thereupon was called *Messana*, Olymp. XXIX. *These things*,<sup>4)</sup> says he, *were done, at the XXIX Olympiad, when Chionis the Spartan won the Olympic Race the second time, Miltiades being Archon at Athens.* Now if this be true, we must needs put in one word for our Sophist; that *Phalaris* might name the *Messenians*, without pretending to the gift of Prophecy. *Cluverius*<sup>5)</sup> indeed would spoil all again; for he makes it a fault in our Copies of *Pausanias*, and for *εἰκοστῆς* the XXIX Olymp. reads *ἑξήκοστῆς* the LXIX; which is too great a number, to do our Author any service. But we will not take an advantage against him, from a mistake of *Cluverius*; for without question, the true Lektion is *εἰκοστῆς* the XXIX; because the time of

1) *Lib. vi. cap. 23.*

2) *Lib. xi. p. 37 [c. 48].*

3) *Messen. p. 134. [IV 23, 6].*

4) *Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Χίωνις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκη, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἀρχοντος.*

5) *Sicil. Antiq. p. 85.*

the *Messenian* War agrees with that computation, and not with the other: and the ancient Catalogue of the *Stadionicae* puts *Chionis's* Victory at that very year.<sup>1)</sup> So that if *Pausanias's* Credit is able to bear him out, our Author, as to this present point, may still come off with reputation. But alas! what can *Pausanias* do for Him, or for himself, against *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that liv'd so near the time they speak of? against those other unknown Authors that *Diodorus* transcribed? against the whole tenor of History, confirm'd by so many Synchronisms and Concurrences, that even demonstrate *Anaxilaus* to have lived in the days of *Xerxes*, and his Father; when *Theron*, and not *Phalaris*, was *Μούναρχος*,<sup>2)</sup> *Monarch* of *Agrigentum*? Nay, though we should be so obliging, so partial to our Sophist, as for his sake to credit *Pausanias* against so much greater Authority; yet still the botch is incurable; 'tis running in debt with one man, to pay off another. For, how then comes it to pass, that the *Messenians* in another Letter, are in this called *Zancleans*; which, by that reckoning of *Pausanias*, had been an obsolete forgotten word, an hundred years before the date of this pretended Epistle.

THE main Controversie in this Section between the Learned Mr. Boyle and me, is, whether *Pausanias*, who stands alone, or *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and others, are to be followed in the Story of *Anaxilaus* Tyrant of *Rhegium*. Mr. Boyle says,<sup>3)</sup> he has Ubo Emmius, Lydiate,<sup>4)</sup> Scaliger,

1) Euseb. Scalig. p. 39. Ὀλυμπιάς εἰκοστή ἐνάτη· Χίωνις Δάκων στάδιον. Τριακοστή δ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον. 2) He-

rodot. lib. vii. p. 438 [c. 165]. 3) P. 131. 4) Ubo or Ubbo Emmius, a Frisian, born 1547, died 19. Dec. 1625 as Professor at Gröningen. His antiquarian writings are found in the fourth volume of Graevius' *Thesaurus*. — Thomas Lydiate, born 1572 near Banbury in Oxfordshire, rector at Ockerton; he wrote against Scaliger and is the author of various antiquarian treatises. — W.



Petavius and Meursius on his side, (all of them great Names in the Commonwealth of Learning) besides half a dozen more, that he'll throw into the Scale, the next time he and I talk together. Hitherto, as I think, he has had nobody on his side; and yet his Style has been as pert and positive, as if he carried Demonstration in every Sentence. No wonder then, that in this Section, where he is so powerfully back'd, his bold Air and his scornfull Language rise so much the higher. But this I easily neglect and forgive: 'tis my business now to shew my Reasons, which oblige me to dissent from those Great Men, that have follow'd *Pausanias*: and the Examiner's Cavils and Exceptions shall be all consider'd in the Rear.

In the first place therefore, I will prove, that *Pausanias* and the rest do all mean the same Person; the only difference being about the time when he lived, and some circumstances of his story. For *Pausanias's* *Anaxilas* was Tyrant<sup>1)</sup> of Rhegium, and he besieged and took Zancle,<sup>2)</sup> and on that<sup>3)</sup> occasion the name of Zancle was chang'd into Messana. And so the *Anaxilas* of *Thucydides* was Tyrant of Rhegium,<sup>4)</sup> and took Zancle,<sup>5)</sup> and call'd it Messana from the Country of his Ancestors. These circumstances are a plain demonstration, that *Pausanias* and *Thucydides* speak of one and the same man. For it's incredible, that there were two *Anaxilas's* Tyrants of *Rhegium*, and that both of them took *Zancle*; and it's impossible, that both of them should first name the Town *Messana*.<sup>150</sup>

And then the *Anaxilas* of *Herodotus* is the same Person, that *Thucydides* and *Pausanias* speak of. For *Thucydides's* *Anaxilas* took *Zancle*, not long after the *Samians*,<sup>6)</sup> who had fled from the *Medes*, settled there. And *Herodotus's* *Anaxilas* was then Tyrant of *Rhegium*, when the *Samians* fled from the *Medes*,<sup>7)</sup> and was the man that perswaded them to settle at *Zancle*. And He had a Servant and Steward, call'd *Micythus* the Son of *Chœrus*;<sup>8)</sup> but the same man was

<sup>1)</sup> *Paus.* p. 133 [I. 1]. Ἐτυράννει μὲν Πηγίου. p. 175. [V 26,4] Πηγίου τυραννήσαντος. <sup>2)</sup> *P.* 134. <sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>4)</sup> Πηγίων τύραννος, *Thuc.* p. 114. [VI 5]. <sup>5)</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>6)</sup> Οὐ πολλῶ ὅστερον, *Thuc.* *ibid.* <sup>7)</sup> *Herod.* p. 341 [VI 23].

<sup>8)</sup> *Her.* p. 440 [VII 170].

Servant too to the *Anaxilas* of *Pausanias*,<sup>1)</sup> who cites *Herodotus* to witness it. This too is a clear argument, that *Pausanias* in both places means one and the same *Anaxilas*.<sup>2)</sup>

The *Anaxilas* too in *Diodorus* is the very same, that is mention'd by *Herodotus* and *Pausanias*. For he also was *Tyrant of Rhegium and Zancle*; <sup>3)</sup> and had a *Steward* called *Micythus*, the *Guardian of his Children*.

*Macrobius* says, <sup>4)</sup> that *Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium*, who built *Messana* in *Sicily*, made *Micythus* his *Servant*, a  
151 *Trustee for his Sons*, till they were of *Age* to come to the *Government*. So that this too is the same *Person*, that is spoken of by the others.

Among the *Sicilian Tyrants*, says *Justin*,<sup>5)</sup> *Anaxilas* was as eminent for his *Justice*, as the others for their *Cruelty*, and he left his *Sons* in their *Minority* under the *Tutelage* of *Micythus* his *Servant*. Here again is the very same person.

*Stobæus* gives us a saying of *Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium*; That to be never out-done in *Beneficence*,<sup>6)</sup> was a more happy thing, than to wear a *Crown*. This is the same that *Justin* speaks of, as it appears from the *Character* of his *Justice*.

In the *Scholiast of Pindar*, we are told too of one *Anaxilas* <sup>7)</sup> the *Tyrant of Rhegium and Messana*; who must needs be the same with him, that *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus* mention, because the time of the *Tyranny* exactly agrees. There is mention there of a *Son* of his, called *Cleophon*.<sup>8)</sup>

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis* says,<sup>9)</sup> That one *Anaxilas* seized the *Castle of Rhegium*, and so became *Tyrant* there, and left the *Government* to his *Son Leophon*. Which is a clear intimation, that he means the same person, that the *Scholiast of Pindar* does: for *Cleophon* in the *Scholiast* is

<sup>1)</sup> *Paus. p. 175. [V 26, 4].*    <sup>2)</sup> *P. 133, 175.*    <sup>3)</sup> *Diod. 37. δ 'Ρηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραννος, & p. 50. [XI 48, 66].*

<sup>4)</sup> *Macrobius. I. Satur. p. 203. [II p. 250 Bip.]*    <sup>5)</sup> *Justin. iv, 2. Anaxilaus justitia cum cæterorum crudelitate certabat.*

<sup>6)</sup> *Stob. Serm. xlv. [48, 17]. Τυραννίδος μαχαριώτερον, τὸ μηδέποτε εὐεργετοῦντα νικηθῆναι.*    <sup>7)</sup> *Pyth. I. [98] & Pyth. 2. [34]. Ἀναξίλας 'Ρηγίου καὶ Μεσσήνης τύραννος.*

<sup>8)</sup> *Pyth. 2. [34]. Ἀναξίλας καὶ Κλεόφρων ὁ τοῦτου παῖς.*    <sup>9)</sup> *Excerpt. Vales. p. 539. Λεόφρωνι τῷ παιδί.*

the same that is here called *Leophron*. *Justin* too mentions this *Leophron the Tyrant of Rhegium*; <sup>1)</sup> so that it seems, that the name in the Scholiast should be corrected from these two Authors.

*Aristotle* tells us, That the Government of *Rhegium* <sup>152</sup> was once an *Oligarchy*, <sup>2)</sup> and was changed into a *Tyranny* by *Anaxilaus*. And this was the same *Anaxilaus* with Him in *Dionysius*; for He too had not the *Tyranny* from his Father by Succession, but usurp'd it by seizing the Citadel.

And lastly, *Heracides* says, That the *Rhegians* were formerly under an *Aristocracy*, <sup>3)</sup> till *Anaxilas the Messenian* made himself *Tyrant* there. Which shews him to be the person already mention'd by *Dionysius* and *Aristotle*.

Thus, I conceive, I have made it clear and beyond all rational doubt, That all these Authors mean one and the same man, *Anaxilaus the Tyrant of Rhegium and Messana*. For all their Testimonies are here link'd one to another by some certain Circumstance and Characteristic, that specifies and determines him to be the same Person.

In the next place, I procede to enquire about the 2. Age that he lived in: and I am very much in the wrong, if it will not presently appear, that *Anaxilas* was alive, not *Olymp. xxix*, as *Pausanias* says, but near *cc* years after it, in the Reigns of *Darius* and *Xerxes*.

First *Herodotus* gives a particular account; that when *Miletus* was sack'd by the *Persians* in *Darius's* time, <sup>4)</sup> (about *Olymp. lxx*, 3.) the *Zancleans* invited the remainder of the *Milesians* to come and plant themselves in *Sicily* at a place call'd *Calacta*: The *Milesians* accept the offer, and taking the *Samians* to be Partners with them, set sail for *Sicily*; but by the way they touch at *Locri* in *Italy*: where *Anaxilaus Tyrant of Rhegium* hearing of their design, perswades them <sup>153</sup> to quit the thoughts of founding a Town at *Calacta*, and to seize upon *Zancle*, a brave City, ready built to their hands. For it hapned, that at that juncture the *Zancle-*

<sup>1)</sup> *Just. xxi*, 3. *Leophron Reginorum Tyrannus*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Polit. 6*. [VIII 12 Bekk.] Ἐν Πηγίῳ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς Ἀναξίλαδου τυραννίδα. <sup>3)</sup> In *Polit.* [fragm. hist. gr. ed. C. Müller II p. 219]. Ἀριστοκρατικὴν πολιτείαν. <sup>4)</sup> *Herod. vi* 22, 23.

ans were employed abroad in besieging some other Town, and had left their own without defense. The *Samians* and *Milesians* take his advice, and possess the empty City without opposition.

And the substance of this whole Narrative is confirmed by *Thucydides*; who expressly says, *That the Zancleans were dispossessed of their City,*<sup>1)</sup> *by those Samians and other Ionians, that fled from the Medes;* that is, after the Destruction of *Miletus*, Olymp. LXX, 3. The same is intimated too by *Aristotle*;<sup>2)</sup> where he says, *That the Zancleans, permitting the Samians to dwell with them, lost their own City.* But *Thucydides* goes on, and informs us, *That not long*<sup>3)</sup> *after, these Samians themselves were beat out of Zancle by Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium, who planted a new Colony there, a medly of several Nations; and named the City Messana, from Messana in Peloponnesus, whence his Ancestors were derived.* Now this last particular, is not touched upon by *Herodotus*; but only the former, that had hapned not long before it. Neither is there any Inconsistency, as the Examiner imagins, in the accounts of these two Authors.

We have lost those Books of *Diodorus's* Annals, where these Actions ought to be recorded; for what is extant of them commences at the Expedition of *Xerxes* Olymp. LXXV, 1. But however we have enough of him preserved, to demonstrate what side he was of. For he places the  
154 death of this same *Anaxilas*<sup>4)</sup> at Ol. LXXVI, 1. and says that he had reigned XVIII years; that is from Olymp. LXXI, 3. This is positive and full against *Pausanias's* reckoning. 'Tis true, there's a seeming disagreement between *Diodorus* and *Herodotus*: for the latter calls him *Tyrant* at the time of his Congress with the *Samians*, which is supposed to be a year or two before Olymp. LXXI, 3. But if the number in *Diodorus* be not an Error of the Copyer; we may compound the difference thus; That *Herodotus* might call him *Tyrant*, because he knew he was so afterwards: though at that time he was only a leading Man, and had not actually seiz'd the Government.

When *Anaxilas* advised the *Samians* to set upon *Zancle*,

1) *Thuc. vi. p. 414. [c. 4].*

2) *Ὁ δὲ κολλῶν βοτρυον.*

3) *Arist. Polit. v [VIII. 3 Bekk.]*

4) *Diod. p. 37.*

one *Scythes* was at that time Tyrant of the *Zancleans*.<sup>1)</sup> Now the Age of this *Scythes*, and consequently of *Anaxilas*, is well known by his Story. He was kept a Prisoner at *Inycum*,<sup>2)</sup> a *Sicilian* Town; but made his escape into *Persia*, and there lived in the Court of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and having got leave to make a Visit to *Sicily*, upon a promise to return when his affairs were dispatched; he was as good as his word; and was much esteemed afterwards by the King for his Honesty and Veracity. But *Pausanias*'s date is above a hundred years, before this *Darius* was born.

*Anaxilas* married *Cydicpe*,<sup>3)</sup> the Daughter of *Terillus* Tyrant of *Himera*; who was driven out of his Government by *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, and fled for Succour to *Carthage*. And *Anaxilas* endeavouring the Restauration of his Father-in-Law, invites *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* General to make a Descent upon *Sicily*,<sup>4)</sup> and gives him his Sons to be Hostages for his Fidelity. Upon these Invitations *Hamilcar* comes with a mighty Fleet, and having landed them at *Himera*, was entirely routed by *Gelo* the *Syracusan*, at the very same time, that *Xerxes* was beat by the *Greeks*. All Historians are agreed upon the year, when this Action was done; which is almost two whole Centuries after *Olymp. xxxix*. Even *Pausanias*<sup>5)</sup> himself affirms, that this *Gelo* got the Government of *Syracuse*, *Ol. lxxii*, 2. and enjoy'd it at the time of *Xerxes*'s Expedition.

When the *Samians* invaded *Zancle*, a great Agent in that affair was *Hippocrates* Tyrant of *Gela*;<sup>6)</sup> for he betrayed the *Zancleans* his Allies, and shared the Booty with the *Samians*. But we know *Hippocrates*'s time from one certain Circumstance among many others, that the famous *Gelo*, afterwards Monarch of *Syracuse*, whom we have just now spoken of, was Master of his Horse,<sup>7)</sup> and afterwards succeeded him in the Government of *Gela*.

Our *Anaxilas* had war with the *Locrians* of *Italy*, and

1) *Herod. vi*, 23. 2) *Herod. vi*, 24. *Ælian. Var. Hist. viii*, 17. 3) *Herod. [VII 165]*. 4) *Herod. Diod. [XI 22] &c.*

5) *Paus. p. 186. [VI 9, 5] & 272 [VIII 42, 8]*. 6) *Herod. vi*, 23. 7) *Herod. vii*, 154. *Timæus apud Schol. Pindari Nem. 9 [95]*.

was resolved to extirpate them, had not *Hiero* Tyrant of *Syracuse* interposed. This is intimated by *Pindar*, who lived at the very time, in two Odes to *Hiero*: But the *Scholiast*,<sup>1)</sup> who is a very credible Writer, says it expressly; and he adds, that one of *Hiero's* Wives was *Anaxilas's* Daughter, and that *Epicharmus*,<sup>2)</sup> in a Play of his called *The Islands*, relates, how *Anaxilas* had a design to ruin the *Locrians*, and was hinder'd by *Hiero*. What can be said against so clear and convincing a Testimony? *Epicharmus* lived in *Hiero's* Court, he tells a thing done within  
 156 his own Memory, and he might be personally acquainted with *Anaxilas*, whom we are speaking of. Now *Pausanias* himself, as well as other Historians, declares, that *Hiero*<sup>3)</sup> was Contemporary with *Xerxes*: and that *Epicharmus* was Contemporary with *Hiero*,<sup>4)</sup> is as certain, as the other.

*Aristotle*<sup>5)</sup> tells a pleasant Story of *Simonides* the Lyric Poet, that when one, that had got the Prize at *Olympia* with his Chariot of Mules, offer'd him a small Fee to make an Ode upon his Victory; he pretended he would not disgrace his Muse by so mean a Subject as Mules: but when the Person advanc'd a great Price, he could presently call them, not *Mules*, but the *Daughters of Mares*.

*Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατρὲς ἵππων.*<sup>6)</sup>

*Aristotle* indeed does not say who it was that had won the Prize, but his Scholar *Heraclides* does; When *Anaxilas*, says he,<sup>7)</sup> the *Messenian*, the *Tyrant of Rhegium*, had got the Victory with his Mules at *Olympia*, he gave a Treat to the Spectators; and *Simonides* made a Copy of Verses upon his Victory;

*Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατέρες ἵππων.*<sup>8)</sup>

And in Memory of this Prize, as the Antiquaries suppose,<sup>9)</sup> some of the Coins of the *Messanians* have on their Re-

1) *Pind. Schol. ad Pyth. i* [112] & *ii*.

2) Ὅτι δὲ Ἀναξίλαος Λοκροῦς ἐθέλησεν ἀρθὴν ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς Ἰέρωνος, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις. [*Schol. Pind. I* 98].

3) *Paus. p.* 272.

4) *Marm. Arund. &c.*

5) *Arist.*

*Rhet. iii.* 2. [p. 1405 b ed. Berol.].

6) [*Simonid. fr. 7 Bergk*].

7) *Heracl. de Polit.* [l. 1.].

8) See *Holm's History*

of *Sicily I p.* 217. — *W.*

9) *Goltz. Paruta.*

verse an *Ἀπήνη* or Chariot drawn by Mules.<sup>1)</sup> Now the Age of *Simonides* can never agree with *Pausanias's* Date, Olymp. xxix; for he was not born till Olymp. lv, 3. as we have it under his own hand;<sup>2)</sup> but it exactly hits with the other reckoning; for he was in mighty esteem in Greece during the whole Reign of *Anaxilas*, from Olymp. lxxi, 3. to Olymp. lxxvi, 1.

Again, we have another Argument from this Olympian Victory, which will confute the account of *Pausanias*, even from his own words. For the *Ἀπήνη*, the Chariot that was drawn with Mules,<sup>3)</sup> instead of Horses, was not used at the Olympics till Olymp. lxx, as *Pausanias* confesses; and it was cried down again Olymp. lxxxiv. And the first, he says, that won the Prize at this Match, was one *Thersias* a Thes-salian.<sup>4)</sup> So that *Anaxilas's* Victory cannot possibly be dated before Olymp. lxxi. And besides *Pausanias*, we have another very good Authority for the first usage of the *Ἀπήνη*. For *Pindar*, it seems, whether he was less scrupulous, than *Simonides*, or else as well fee'd as he, has left us two Odes<sup>5)</sup> upon Victories by Mules: and the first Victory was gotten Ol. lxxxii;<sup>6)</sup> and there the *Scholiast* informs us, *ὅτι Ἀπήνη ἐστὶν ἄρμα ἐξ ἡμιόνων ζευχθέν· εἰθισμένον δὲ ἵπποις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Ἀσάνδραστος ἐπετῆδευσε καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι· χρόνος δὲ τις οὐ μακρὸς ἀλλὰ δεκαετῆς τοῦτο διέλυσε, διελύθη γὰρ περὶ ὕγδοηχοστην ἐννάτην ὀλυμπιάδα*: That the *ἀπήνη* was a Chariot drawn by Mules:

1) *Pollux* also speaks of *Anaxilas's* Victory with the *Ἀπήνη* (V 12 [75]); and he adds, That at the same time he brought a breed of Hares into Sicily, which before had none of those Animals; and in the Money of the Rhegians he stamp'd an *Ἀπήνη* and a Hare. This *Pollux* tells us out of *Aristotle*; but he seems to have mistaken the Money of the Rhegians, for that of the Messanians. For among the Rhegian Coins, that can now be heard of among Antiquaries, there are none of that Stamp; but of the Messanian Coins, there are VIII in *Paruta*, with an *Ἀπήνη* on one side, and a Hare on the other; II with an *Ἀπήνη* without a Hare; and II with a Hare, and on the Reverse an Olympic Crown. — *Add. p. 542.*

2) See above, p. 41, 42.

3) *Paus.* p. 155 [V 9, 2].

4) *Θερσίας, ibid.*

5) *Olymp. v. & vi.*

6) *Schol. ibid.*

and the old custom at the Olympics being only to use Horses, Asandrastus first introduced there the Chariots with Mules. But they did not continue long, for they were left off in Ten years time about Olymp. LXXXIX. There's a fault, 'tis true, either in one or both of these Numbers; for if *Psaumis's* Victory, which *Pindar* here celebrates, was Olymp. LXXXII; there's above Ten years from that time to Olymp. LXXXIX. Yet however this Passage, even taken with its faults, is sufficient for our purpose; for it implies, that the *Ἀπὴνῃ* could not be in use in the Olympic Games, Ol. XXIX. The great *Scaliger*<sup>1)</sup> has made a great slip here: for by mere  
 158 carelessness, he has placed this passage of the *Scholiast* at Olymp. LXXXIX; which, without doubt, he design'd to set at Olymp. LXXXIX: and this has produced errors upon errors. The Learned *Meursius*, who has confounded several of his own Books by unfortunately mistaking that *Ἀναγραφὴ δλυμπιάδων* for an ancient Piece (though *Scaliger*,<sup>2)</sup> had expressly own'd it to be of his own composing) makes strange work with this passage. If I may venture after such great men, I would correct in the *Scholiast* *δωδεκαετής*, a dozen years, for *δεκαετής* ten years; and instead of *ὀγδοηχοστήν ἐννάτην* the LXXXIX Olymp. I would read *ὀγδ. πέμπτην*, Olymp. the LXXXV. For this latter alteration I have a good Voucher, even the *Scholiast* himself; who says in another place, That the *Ἀπὴνῃ* was put down,<sup>3)</sup> as some say, at Olymp. LXXXIV; as others say, at Olymp. LXXXVI. And this agrees punctually with *Pausanias* quoted above. For if it was cried<sup>4)</sup> by the publick Crier at Olymp. LXXXIV, that thenceforward there should be no more Races with Mules; then the first time, that it was left off was Olymp. LXXXV.<sup>5)</sup> Now if we reckon from Olymp. LXXXII, the date of *Psaumis's* Victory, which was the subject of this Ode of *Pindar's*; there are exactly a Dozen years to Olymp. LXXXV. But who is that same *Ἀσάνδραστος*, that the *Scholiast* says was the Author of these Mule Races? *Scaliger*, I see, and *Meursius* have let the name pass for good; though I verily believe that both of

1) *Scalig. in δλυμπ. Ἀναγρ.* [p. 320]. 2) *P. 431. Not. ad Græca Eusebii.* 3) *Pyth. vi. Κατελύθη δὲ Ἀπὴνῃ, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, πέ δλυμπιάδι, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ πρ'.* 4) *Κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο. Paus. [V 9, 1].* 5) *Διελύθη, Schol.*



them suspected it to be faulty: for it has not the Turn and Composition of a Greek Name, as those that know the Language will readily acknowledge. The words as they lie together, are ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀσάνδρατος ἐπετήδευσε; which I would read, ἀγωνίζεσθαι θέρσανδρός τις ἐπετήδευσε; *One Thersander was the Author of it.* *Θαι*, which in Pronunciation and old Writing was *θε*, stuck to the preceding word: as in that famous passage of *Plutarch*, Ἀρμονίαν καλεῖσθαι μέροπιν, I have shown formerly,<sup>1)</sup> that the true reading is Ἀρμονίαν καλεῖ θεμερῶπιν. And then the Particle *τις* is almost necessary in this place; for being to mention an obscure unknown person, he was obliged to say *One Thersander*. But to confirm and establish the whole Conjecture; This *Thersander* of the *Scholiast* is the very same person with *Pausanias's Thersias*: So that both the Writers are agreed about the first Introducer of Mule Races at *Olympia*. For the Greek Names of this Form are equivalent, and are frequently confounded together, *Θερσίας* and *θέρσανδρος*, as *Νικίας* and *Νικάνδρος*, *Ἡγήσιος* and *Ἡγήσανδρος*, *Ἀλεξίας* and *Ἀλέξανδρος*, *Ἀναξίας* and *Ἀνάξανδρος*, and many more like them.<sup>2)</sup>

Though I persuade myself, that I have already effectually confuted *Pausanias's* date of *Anaxilas*; yet I have one Argument more, that will quite overthrow his opinion, and every part of it shall be taken from his own Book. *Micythus*,<sup>3)</sup> says he, the *Servant and Steward of Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium set up a great many Statues and other Donaries at Olympia. And the workmen, that made them, were Dionysius and Glaucus, Natives of Argos. Who was the Master of these two Statuaries, they give us no account: but we know the Age they lived in, from Micythus that employed them to work for him.*<sup>4)</sup> This Inference is very true, and by consequence the Reverse of it is true too; that we may know the Age of *Micythus*, if we can discover the Age of those Workmen. But *Pausanias* himself acquaints us, that one of them, *Dionysius*,<sup>5)</sup> did a piece of work for

<sup>1)</sup> See Dissert. ad *Johan. Malal.* [p. 76]. <sup>2)</sup> This is contested by Porson; see his Tracts ed. by Kidd p. 315. See also Lobeck, *Path. prolegg.* 506. — W.

<sup>3)</sup> *Paus.* p. 175. [V 28, 2. 3. 4].

<sup>4)</sup> Τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν ὃ τὰ ἔργα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεῖς ἐπέδεικνυσιν ὁ Σμίκυθος [*Μίκυθος*]. <sup>5)</sup> *P.* 176. [27, 1. 2].

Phormis the Syracusan, the General of Gelo and Hiero. And he is positive,<sup>1)</sup> that Gelo and Hiero lived at the Expedition of Xerxes; the very time when I state the Tyranny of Anaxilas. There's no Evasion to be made from this Argument, for that *Micythus* was our *Anaxilas's* Steward, we have, besides *Pausanias*, a whole crowd of good Witnesses, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Macrobius*. And that he gave these Donaries at such a time, not only *Herodotus*,<sup>2)</sup> but the very Inscriptions of them declare; for his own and the Workman's Name were engraven on them before their Dedication; and *Pausanias* read them with his own Eyes.

To return now to our Examiner, who has thus stated the present Question,<sup>3)</sup> That *Anaxilas* chang'd the name of *Zancle* into *Messana* is agreed between Dr. B. and Me; the only Question is about the date of this Change. Now if that was agreed between us, that *Anaxilas* chang'd the name, I presume the Question about the Date of the Change will be at an end. But to take no advantage of this Concession: I'll remit it to him again; and suppose in his favour, that tho' *Pausanias* was mistaken in introducing *Anaxilas* as an Agent with the *Messenians*; yet for all that he may be in the right, that the *Messenians* took *Zancle* and call'd it *Messana* at Ol. xxix. But even in this part of the Story (without bringing in *Anaxilas*) the whole current of History bears against *Pausanias*: for no body besides him, relates, that the *Messenians* went directly to *Zancle*; but they all  
 161 say, to *Rhegium*. And they all call the Town by the name of *Zancle* for *OL* years, after He says, 'twas called *Messana*.<sup>4)</sup> *Hippocrates* besieged the *Zancleans*; *Cadmus* the *Coan* came to the *Samians* at *Zancle*; the *Zancleans* invited the *Milesians* to settle themselves in *Sicily*; *Xenophanes*<sup>5)</sup> the *Colophonian* left his native Country, and dwelt at *Zancle*. The Dates of all these are many Generations below Ol. xxx. Neither is there one single Example of its being called *Messana*, before the Age of *Anaxilas*.

Let us see now the Examiner's Cavils, and dispatch

<sup>1)</sup> P. 272. [VIII 42, 8].      <sup>2)</sup> Herod. p. 440 [VII 170].  
*Ἀνέδραξε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.*      <sup>3)</sup> P. 128.

<sup>4)</sup> Herod. Thucyd.

<sup>5)</sup> Laert. v. Xenoph. [IX 2, 1].

them as briefly as we can. *Thucydides* says, the *Samians*, flying from the *Medes*, possessed *Zancle*. This business of the *Medes*, the Examiner says,<sup>1)</sup> *Dr. B. calls Xerxes's Expedition; as if the Medes had never made an Incursion upon Greece till the time of Xerxes.* Whether he has wilfully or innocently thus misrepresented me, I know not: but if he had compared my words with *Thucydides's*, he might have spared this little Cavil. Not long after, οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον, says *Thucydides*, that the *Samians*, who had fled from the *Medes*, possessed *Zancle*, *Anaxilas* beat them out of it. My own words are, That at the time of *Xerxes's Expedition*, *Anaxilas* took *Zancle*. Now how could Mr. B. infer from hence, that I took the *Samians* affair with the *Medes* to be *Xerxes's Expedition*? On the contrary they must needs be different, for it was at the time of the one, and not long after the first (*Olymp. lxx, 3.*) it was likely to be at or about the latter (*Of lxxv, 1.*) But the Reason our Examiner gives is pretty remarkable, *As if the Medes had never made an Incursion upon GREECE before:* which implies that he took the *Medes* affair with the *Samians* to be an Invasion upon *Greece*; but it was only upon the *Ionians* and the *Asiatic Towns*, when *Miletus* was taken. 162

He says,<sup>2)</sup> *Herodotus contradicts the Story that Thucydides tells; which I have already disproved: That Anaxilas assisted the Samians to take Zancle; which he did not, but only advised them to attempt it: That he will deal ingenuously, and give my Authorities all the force that they will bear:* and yet he quite drops that of *Thucydides*, the most positive and full, of all that I had produced. He has spent two pages in a sort of Declamation,<sup>3)</sup> to dress up and to varnish the Story of *Pausanias*; which he may now be pleased to call home again, for he may have need of such declaiming eloquence to excuse his own errors. He supposes,<sup>4)</sup> that I keep by me in reserve those *Synchronisms* and *Concurrences*, that fix the Age of *Anaxilas*: and now to oblige him, I have produced some of them, but have a few still behind that shall be at his service. And I hope, he'll be so kind in requital<sup>5)</sup> as to throw into the scale those half

1) P. 127.

2) P. 127.

3) P. 129, 130.

4) P. 130.

5) P. 131.

a dozen he speaks of, besides his Scaliger's and Petavius's, that have fallen in with the account of Pausanias. The more he throws into his scale, the greater Complement he will make me; by telling the world; that I have hit upon the Truth, where so many, and such great Men have fail'd before me.

There's another small Controversie upon this Topic between the Examiner and Me; that must be debated before we conclude this Section. I had observ'd, that the pretended *Phalaris* in one Epistle mentions the *Zancleans*, and in another the *Messanians*. Now if Historians say true, that the name of *Zancle* was changed into *Messana*, after Olymp. LXX; the Tyrant *Phalaris*, that died at Olymp. LVII, could not call them *Messanians*: or if *Pausanias* say true, that *Zancle* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX; then the Tyrant that lived above c years after, could not call them *Zancleans*: chuse which way you will therefore, the Epistles are a Cheat. The first part of this Dilemma we have sufficiently establish'd: but to the latter Mr. B. has made an Exception, that shall here be consider'd.

He observes very acutely,<sup>1)</sup> that the Epistles do not expressly say *Zancle, the Town*; but only the people, *Zancleans*: and he conceives, that though *Zancle* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX according to *Pausanias*; yet there were *Zancleans* left still, and might be called so by *Phalaris*, at Olymp. LVII. If the Author of the Letters had named the Town, he would not have justified him; but nothing can be justly inferr'd to his disadvantage from his naming the People.

This is so ingenious a distinction; that I desire to borrow it of him for one moment, and apply it to a passage of his Author *Pausanias*. He has borrow'd several things of me, and I hope he won't take it ill, if I once use the same freedom with him. *Pausanias* among other Donaries at *Olympia*, describes a Statue of *Hercules* fighting with an Amazon. The man that dedicated it was *Evagoras*<sup>2)</sup> a *ZANCLÆAN*, and the Workman one *Aristocles* a *Cydonian*.

<sup>1)</sup> P. 126.      <sup>2)</sup> Paus. 175. [V 25, 11]. *Εὐαγόρας γένος Ζάγκλιος* [Ζαγκλαῖος.]

Now the Age, says he, of this Aristocles cannot be exactly known: but 'tis evident,<sup>1)</sup> that he lived before Zancle was<sup>164</sup> called, as it now is, Messana. Now Mr. B. may tell Pausanias, that his Inference, like mine, is very erroneous; for the Town Zancle not being named here, but only Ζάγκλιος, a ZANCLÆAN; he cannot infer, as he does, about the Age of Aristocles; because Evagoras might be a Zancleean, long after the name of Zancle was chang'd into Messana. What now has Pausanias to say for himself? for it's plain, that he was not aware of the Examiner's distinction. When Pausanias's Friends will condescend to give an answer to so poor a Cavil; the same Apology will serve both for him and my self.

Mr. B. has another passage of the same Pausanias; by which he will make it appear, that there were a people Zancleans,<sup>2)</sup> when there was no City Zancle. Pausanias, says he, where he observes, that during the Messenians absence from Peloponnese, but two of their Nation, Leontiscus and Symmachus, Messenians of Sicily, won the Prize at the Olympics; adds,<sup>3)</sup> That the Sicilians say, these were not Messenians, but descended from the old Zancleans. This implies, says Mr. B. that the Zancleans kept their Families unmix'd with their new Conquerors. But I am sure this Argument implies, that Mr. B. has not read his System of Logic so well as he ought to do. For allow him, that the Families were unmix'd for a while; does that imply, that those Families had still the name of Zancleans? Is it not evident from Pausanias himself, that Leontiscus and Symmachus<sup>4)</sup> registred themselves MESSANIANs at Olympia? but if the old name was still kept up, why did they not style themselves ZANCLÆANS? The Catalogue of the Stadiōnicæ enters this Symmachus at Ol. LXXXVIII. Ὀλυμπ. ὀγδοη<sup>165</sup>κοστῇ ὀγδῶν. Σύμμαχος Μεσσηνίου στάδιον. Here we see he is recorded a Messanian, and not a Zancleean. Nay, I think the passage of Pausanias does more than imply, that

1) Δῆλα δὲ, ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσηνῶν. 2) P. 126.

3) Paus. 179. [VI 2, 10]. Εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελῶνται καὶ τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων, καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους φασί. 4) Λεοντίσκος καὶ Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων.

there were none call'd *Zancleans* in *Symmachus's* time: for he says, *he was descended of the ANCIENT Zancleans*. As if I should say, Mr. *B.* is descended from the *ancient Picts*: would this imply that there is now a Nation call'd *Picts*, or rather the quite contrary?

But pray how does Mr. *B.* prove, that the *Zanclean Families continued unmix'd*? Because the *Sicilians* could know, that *Leontiscus* and *Symmachus* were descended from them? But this is a consequence too nearly related, to some we have lately parted with.<sup>1)</sup> For we have seen already, that *Symmachus's* Age was Olymp. LXXXVIII. And *Leontiscus's* was about the same time, or before it. For his Statue was made by *Pythagoras Rheginus*,<sup>2)</sup> who, as *Pliny* says,<sup>3)</sup> lived Olymp. LXXXVII; but as *Pausanias* says,<sup>4)</sup> made the Statue of *Euthymus*, who got the Prize at the Olympics, Olymp. LXXVII. Now the remotest of these Olympiads is but 1 years from *Anaxilas's* time, who chang'd the name of *Zancle* into *Messana*. So that for ought Mr. *B.* knows, both *Leontiscus's* and *Symmachus's* Parents might be married before the time of that change: and where then is his consequence, that the *Families continued unmixt*? Nay although the Interval had been much longer, yet the *Sicilians* might easily guess, that those two were not descended from the *Messanians* of *Peloponnesus*. Because in truth, there was no such Colony of *Messanians* that had settled  
 166 at *Zancle*, as *Pausanias* believ'd. For though the name was given by *Anaxilas* in memory of his ancient Country; yet the people that he planted there, were a medley of several Countries.<sup>5)</sup>

His next argument to prove that the *Zancleans continued many Ages in a distinct Body, and under the old Name*, after the City was called *Messana*, is taken out of *Diodorus*; who tells us, says Mr. *B.* that in the LXXIX Olympiad,<sup>6)</sup> the *Zancleans* recovered their City out of those Strangers hands, that had possessed it so many years. So many years? Pray how many had they possess'd it, according to *Diodorus*? *Anaxilas*, that changed the name of *Zancle*,

<sup>1)</sup> P. 126.

<sup>2)</sup> Paus. p. 181 [VI 4, 4].

<sup>3)</sup> Plin.

xxxiv, 8 [59 Detlefsen].

<sup>4)</sup> Paus. p. 183 [VI 6, 6].

<sup>5)</sup> Σύμμιχτοι Ἀνδρῶναι, Thucyd. [VI 5].

<sup>6)</sup> P. 126.

died, as he says, at Olymp. LXXVI, 1.<sup>1)</sup> And his children were dispossessed of it at Ol. LXXIX, 4.<sup>2)</sup> Which is but the short Interval of xv years. What does the Examiner mean then by his *so many years*, and *continuing many Ages*? I'll open the Case a little, and shew his mistake; for I am perswaded, he is very innocent in this place, and does not wilfully deceive his Readers. *Diodorus* says, the *Zancleans* recover'd their Liberty at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. This the Examiner took notice of; and at the same time there run in his head the account of *Pausanias*, that the *Zancleans* lost their Liberty Olymp. XXIX, 1. The Gentleman, out of his great circumspection, racks these two accounts together, and argues from them, as if *Diodorus* espoused them both. But I have already shewn, that *Pausanias*'s date differs from *Diodorus*'s, almost two whole Centuries. There is nothing therefore in *Diodorus*, about *possessing it so many years*. That's the Examiner's Commentary upon the Text. His words are onely these, at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. *Πηγῖνοι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων*, *The Rhegians with the Zancleans drove* 167 *out the Sons of Anaxilas, and freed their Countries from their Tyranny*. The *Rhegians* had been under the Tyranny of *Anaxilas* and his Children for the space of xxxii years only; and the *Zancleans* not so long. Which is the true reason, why *Diodorus* here calls them *ZANCLÆANS*, though the Town was then called *Messana*. The *Zancleans*, says he, *delivered their Country*. Because they were really the very same Persons, that were formerly called *Zancleans*. For the same Generation saw both Revolutions; both the conquest of their City by *Anaxilas*, and the recovery of it from his Children. This once therefore he calls them *Zancleans*; but ever after they are *Messenians*, and the Town is *Messana*; as at Ol. xci, 2.<sup>3)</sup> xcii, 4.<sup>4)</sup> xcvi, 1.<sup>5)</sup> So in *Herodotus*'s time, about Olymp. LXXXIII 'twas not *Zancle*, but *Messana*. And when *Thucydides* relates the *Athenian* Invasion of *Sicily*, Ol. xci, 2. he talks all along of *Messana* and the *Messenians*; never naming *Zancle*, but once only, when he was treating of the Antiquities of the Country.

<sup>1)</sup> *Diod.* p. 37 [XI 48].  
p. 136 [XIII 4].  
[XIV 59], 297 [78].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 58 [XI 76].  
<sup>4)</sup> P. 185 [61. 63].

<sup>3)</sup> *Diod.*  
<sup>5)</sup> P. 282

But we are sure, says<sup>1)</sup> Mr. B. the Zancleæans preserved themselves in a separate body even till Pliny's time,<sup>2)</sup> who expressly distinguishes them from the Messanians, and tells us Messana was a Free City, but the Zancleæans were Tributaries. The first Edition of Mr. B's Book has only a reference to the passage of Pliny: but the second thus sets down the words in the Margin: *Messana Civium Romanorum, qui Mamertini vocantur, Latine conditionis, Zancleæi*. Thus, as I say, the words of Pliny are cited in the Margin. But the passage of Pliny is really in this manner: 168 *Intus Latine conditionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani. Stipendiarii, Assorini, Ætnenses*, (and so through the whole Alphabet, to) *Zancleæi Messeniorum in Siculo Freto*. Here I think 'tis as plain as the Sun, that Mr. B. the Writer of the first Edition took *Stipendiarii* in Pliny to signify *Tributaries*, as it truly does: but the Marginal Writer in the second Edition believ'd, that *Latine Conditionis* signified *Tributaries*; and that *Stipendiarii*, like the other words on each side of it, was the name of a People of Sicily. Which I think, without any Aggravation, to be a brace of such monstrous and infamous Blunders, as can hardly be matched again, but by him that made these. But that which troubles me more is this, that the Learned Mr. B. in his Letter from Paris before the second Edition, gives out all those Alterations, of which this is one, to be his own. Now how shall we reconcile these matters together? for the Text, we see, looks one way, and the Margin another. If Mr. B. be a man of Honour and Veracity, as he is, he made this Marginal Note: If he be a Man of Wit and Judgment, as he is too, it's impossible he should make it. Here's a terrible Quarrel between his Honour and his Judgment; and I could wish the matter was fairly ended; I have this expedient to offer towards it, That the Text being writ at London, and the Margin at Paris, may perhaps be a Physical account, why the Sense of them is so wide asunder.

But what do I say to the passage of Pliny? Why, I will give Mr. B. an answer, when he pleases to tell me the meaning of it. *Cluverius*, a man of Learning and other

1) P. 126, 127.

2) Lib. 3. c. 8 [§ 91 Detlefsen].



Abilities not much inferior to Mr. B. knew not what to make of it. *Hinc mira brevitatē*, says he,<sup>1)</sup> & *historiarum* 169 *confusione Plinius, Zancleai Messeniorum in Siculo Freto*. This great Man, it seems, could see nothing in it, but *Darkness and Confusion*. But I have the less reason to be concern'd about it; because I have plainly shew'd, that *Pausanias* is quite out in his reckoning: so that I do not charge it as the Sophist's Error, that he names the *Zancleans* (which *Pliny* is cited for) but that he talks of *Messanians*, who were not heard of in *Sicily* in the days of the true *Phalaris*.

And so much about the *Zancleans*. For I hope this Article is sufficiently settled. And I would make bold to ask my Learned Examiner, *the next time He and I talk together*,<sup>2)</sup> if he still retains his Loyalty to his *Sicilian Prince*.<sup>3)</sup> If he does, much good may it do him: he shall adore his *Perkin Warbeck* as long as he pleases.

# V.

THAT same XCII Letter, which has furnish'd us already with one detection of the Imposture, will, if strictly examin'd, make a second confession, from these words, *δς αὐτοὺς ἐκτρίβω πίτυος δίκην*; 'tis a threat of *Phalaris* to the *Himeræans*, *That he would extirpate them like a Pine-tree*. Now here again am I concerned for our Sophist, that he is thus taken tripping. For the Original of this Saying is thus related by *Herodotus*:<sup>4)</sup> When the *Lampsaceni* in *Asia* had taken captive *Miltiades* the *Athenian*, *Cræsus* King of *Lydia* sent them a Message; That if they 170 did not set him free, he would come and *extirpate them like a Pine*; *σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλες ἐκτρίβειν*. The men of *Lampsacus* understood not the meaning of that expression, *like a Pine*; till one of the eldest of them hit upon it, and told them, *That of all Trees, the Pine, when once it is cut down,*

<sup>1)</sup> *Sicil. Antiq. p. 81.*

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 131.*

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 43.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Lib. vi. c. 37.*

*never grows again, but utterly perishes.* We see the Phrase was then so new and unheard of, that it puzzled a whole City. Now if *Cræsus* was upon that occasion the first Author of this Saying, what becomes of this Epistle? For this, as I observed before, being pretended to be written above a dozen years before *Phalaris's* death, carries date at least half a dozen before *Cræsus* began his reign.

Nay, there is good ground of suspicion, that *Herodotus* himself, who wrote an Hundred Years after *Phalaris* was kill'd, was the first broacher of this expression. For 'tis known, those first Historians make every body's Speeches for them. So that the blunder of our Sophist is so much the more shamefull. The Third Chapter of the VIII Book of *A. Gellius*, which is now lost, carried this Title; *Quod Herodotus parum vere dixerit, unam solamque pinum arborum*  
 171 *omnium cæsam nunquam denuo ex iisdem radicibus pullulare;* »That *Herodotus* is in the wrong, in saying, that of all Trees, a Pine only, if lopt, never »grows again.« I suppose, *Gellius*, in that Chapter told us, out of *Theophrastus*,<sup>1)</sup> of some other Trees, beside the Pine, that perish by lopping; the *Pitch-tree*, the *Fir*, the *Palm*, the *Cedre*, and the *Cypress*. But I would have it observed, that he attributes the Saying, and the Mistake about it; not to *Cræsus*, but to *Herodotus*: after whom, it became a Proverb, which denotes an utter Destruction without any possibility of flourishing again. See *Πεύκης τρόπον* in *Zenobius*, *Diogenianus*, and *Suidas*. And 'tis remarkable, that our Letter-monger has *Herodotus's* very words, *πίτυς* and *ἐκτρίψειν*; when all the other three Writers have *πέυκη* for *πίτυς*, and *κόπτειν* instead of *ἐκτρίβειν*: which shews he had in his eye and memory

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Hist. Pl. lib. iv. c. 19. Caus. Pl. l. v. c. 24. [17]. Pl. l. xvii. c. 24 [§. 235 Detl.]*

this very place of *Herodotus*. A strange piece of stupidity, or else contempt of his Readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of *Phalaris*, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole Century after him.

MR. B. goes on,<sup>1)</sup> and begins his remarks upon this Article with his common-place Eloquence, about the uncertainty of this way of proof from Sentences and Sayings. In his<sup>172</sup> opinion, his *Sicilian Prince* may make use of the very Phrases, not the Thoughts only, but the Expressions too, of *Herodotus*, *Euripides*, and others; and yet come a whole Century or two before them. This, as weak and absurd as it is, shall not pass without an answer, in a place that is more proper for it than this.

He asks,<sup>2)</sup> *How do I prove, that the Expression puzzled the whole City?* and he answers himself, *Plainly! because one of the eldest Citizens hit upon't, and told the meaning of it. This is very nice reasoning.* If he was half as nice in his representing, he would not fill his Papers with such mean and unworthy Frauds, as he would put upon his Readers; if any of whom will but look upon my words, as they stand in the Dissertation; they will see his fair dealing. They are the express words of *Herodotus*, that the whole City was *puzzled* a good while,<sup>3)</sup> even the Old man himself, who at last *with much ado* found out the meaning.<sup>4)</sup>

I had observ'd, *That the first Historians make every bodies Speeches for them.* Mr. B. takes me up;<sup>5)</sup> *For this of Croesus is no Speech, but only a message.* Wonderfull exactness! Pray, Sir, accommodate us out of your new Logic with a Definition of a Message. I thought formerly, that a *Message* was a *Speech sent*: and when *Neptune* rebukes the Winds in *Virgil*:

*Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro,  
Non illi imperium pelagi, &c.*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 134.  
ψακηνών.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 135.  
<sup>4)</sup> Μόγισ κοτὲ μαθών.

<sup>3)</sup> Πλανωμένων δὲ Λαμ-  
<sup>5)</sup> P. 135.

I believ'd it was both a Speech and a Message at once. And surely there are infinite such in Poets and Historians and common Life. Nay *Herodotus's* own Phrase is a sufficient warrant for me; for he says, that *Cræsus* spoke to the Lampsaceni by a Messenger.<sup>1)</sup>

But 'tis probable, said I, that *Herodotus* invented this Phrase himself. Here Mr. B. insults, and briskly asks me these questions;<sup>2)</sup> Does *Herodotus* tell us, that the Lampsacenes were puzzled with an Expression invented by *Herodotus*? Were the men of Lampsacus in *Cræsus's* time at a loss to understand a Phrase, that was not thought of, till *Herodotus* 100 years afterwards coin'd it? 'tis wonderfull to Me, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into a Head, that has Brains in it. Who can deny, but that the Wit of this Expression is as great as the Civility of it? But to let that pass, I am afraid it would not much tend to the Examiner's Reputation, if the World should determine from this very passage, whether his own Head be so very full of Brains, as he and I think it is.

The falseness of his reasoning lies open enough. I argued from a double Supposition: first, If *Herodotus* give us the very words of *Cræsus*, they are six years at least younger than the Epistle pretends to be: or secondly, if *Herodotus*, as his and other Historians custom is, father'd a saying upon *Cræsus*, which he invented himself, then it is a hundred years younger than the Epistle. Now our Examiner, in his wisdom, tacks both these together; and disputes, as if I had maintain'd, that both parts of the Dilemma were true at once; That both *Cræsus* us'd the Expression, and *Herodotus* invented it. Was there ever such a piece of reasoning to be met with in print, till his Examination bless'd the World, and furnish'd it with store of them?

174 To shew Mr. B. a Picture of his reasoning in a Light that is clearer. *Homer* makes *Achilles's* Speeches for him, just as, according to my opinion, *Herodotus* makes *Cræsus's*. And the Learned World has all along consider'd some Passages in those Speeches, as the inventions of *Homer*. Say you so, Gentlemen, starts up our Examiner, does *Homer*

1) Πέμπων προσηγόρευς. [προηγ. edd.].

2) P. 136.

tell us, that Agamemnon was affronted with an Expression invented by Homer? Were the men of Troy frightened with Language, that was not thought of, till Homer five hundred years afterwards coin'd it? 'Tis wonderfull to me, Sirs, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into Heads that have Brains in them. This is a true representation of the Examiner's Argument: and I might tell him in another of his civil Phrases,<sup>1)</sup> *That surely the man that writ this must have been fast asleep, for else he could never have talk'd so wildly.* But I hear of a greater Paradox talk'd of abroad, that not the *wild* only, but the *best* part of the Examiner's Book may possibly have been writ, while He was *fast asleep*.

Mr. B. goes on;<sup>2)</sup> *If Herodotus is to be believ'd, Croesus us'd this Expression: if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing?* Wonderfull again! By the same way of reasoning, he may ruin at one blow the Reputation of *Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Salust,* and almost all the Historians. For their manner is, before their Speeches, to say, *Such a one spoke thus and thus in these very words:* though every body knows, they are the Historian's own Speeches; and it happens not seldom; that into the mouth of the same Person, and on the very same occasion, one Historian puts one Speech, and another a quite different one. Now to <sup>175</sup> argue in our Examiner's words; *If Thucydides be to be believ'd, Pericles us'd such Expressions; if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing?* By the same way he may casheer *Xenophon*, and the rest. And we are in danger of losing the noblest parts of ancient History, if Mr. B. be not mercifull, and put his Syllogism into its Sheath again.

But would Croesus,<sup>3)</sup> *who expected his Message should immediately be obey'd, put it into such a Phrase, as they were not likely to apprehend?* If this Argument had any force in it, it would fall upon *Herodotus* himself; who expressly says, that the Message was sent, and yet was *hardly* understood. The *Lampsacenes* understood in general the import of the Message: *Miltiades* was to be set free; or else they were to be extirpated. The word *ἐκτρίβειν* alone implied

1) P. 137.

2) P. 137.

3) P. 137.

some terrible threat; for to be cut down like any Tree whatsoever, was a vengeance severe enough. But the Metaphor *πέντος δίκην* was not plain to them at first; why a *Pine* rather than any other Tree. However this would not have defeated the design of the Message, had the *Lampsacenes* never found the reason of that Metaphor: but we see, they did hit upon't, after they had cast about for't; which is a full justification of *Herodotus* from this Cavil of the Examiner.

The Command, we see, was clear enough, that they should release *Miltiades*; but the Threat had something of dark in it. And this is censur'd by Mr. B. as a piece of absurd management. But see the difference among great Wits. For *Demetrius*, in his elegant Book of Rhetoric,<sup>1)</sup> extolls the Conduct of *Dionysius* of *Syracuse* in a case  
 176 exactly like this. He sent a Message to the *Locrians*, That they should do such a thing, or else their *Cicadæ* should sing upon the ground.<sup>2)</sup> A Command plain and express; but a Threat new and obscure: and perhaps, as the facetious Examiner has it,<sup>3)</sup> it might puzzle the Mayor and Aldermen, nay, and the Recorder too of *Locri*. Now there's something great in Allegory, says *Demetrius*, especially when it's used in Threatnings: as when *Dionysius* said, That their *Cicadæ* should sing upon the Ground. For if he had said plainly, That he would ravage their Country, and destroy their Wood; he had appear'd more angry and less terrible. But he used the Allegory, as it were a Covering to his Threat. For a Threat, that has a hidden meaning, is so much the more dreadful; one man apprehending one thing, and another another. *Aristotle* attributes this saying to *Stesichorus*;<sup>4)</sup> but that difference is not material. 'Tis enough, that he agrees with *Demetrius* in his character of it, that it is no less ingenious, than ænigmatical.<sup>5)</sup> And has not Mr. B. then a particular tast about good Sense and Decorum?

*Gellius*, as I remark'd, ascribes that saying to *Herodotus* himself, and not to *Cræsus*: Mr. B's answer is, That

<sup>1)</sup> *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*. [III 315, 6 Spengel]. <sup>2)</sup> *Τέττιγες*, which sing upon the tops of Trees, not our *English* Grasshoppers.

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 135.*

<sup>4)</sup> *De Rhet. lib. ii.* [I 101, 4] & iii [I 142, 22].

<sup>5)</sup> *Ἀστέιον, αἰνγματικόν.*

*Gellius* might not speak accurately, nor *nicely examin* what he was about: which is an excuse fitter for the crude Pieces of one that I know, than so exact a Writer's as *Gellius*. But besides him, *Eustathius* says, »That ἐχγερευκὲς in *Homer* signifies *deadly*; <sup>1)</sup> because πεύκη the »Pitch-tree, when once it is cut down, grows no more. »We must take notice therefore, says he, of that *Saying of Herodotus*; <sup>2)</sup> That a *Pine*, of all Trees, will not grow again »after the felling. For if the Pitch-tree, and Cypress-live »no more, after they are cut down; how comes *Herodotus* <sup>177</sup> »to say this of the Pine-tree alone?« Here's another Author, we see, that was no *nicer* than *Gellius*: and Mr. *B.* perhaps will be no *nicer* towards them, but roundly tell them, as his plain manner is, that both their Heads had no *Brains* in them.

But before he quits his hold, he will have one fling at my Translation of *Gellius*, *Pinum cœsam*, in my Language, a *Pine-tree lopt*. <sup>3)</sup> This, says he, is *falsly rendred*, instead of cut down. For that a *Pine-tree perishes by lopping* is *News to the Naturalists*. To such *Naturalists* as I have to deal with, I believe it may be *News*; but not to those that have read either *Pliny* or *Theophrastus*: *Lopping*, says *Pliny*, <sup>4)</sup> is fatal to the *Cypress*, the *Pitch-tree*, and the *Cedre*. For these die, if the top be lopt off, or burnt with Fire. The other says, <sup>5)</sup> That the *Beech*, the *Pitch-tree*, the *Pine*, the *Palm*, and as some say, the *Cedre* and *Cypress* die with *Lopping* κατὰ τὴν ἐπικύσην. And that is term'd ἐπικύση (Lopping) when the side branches are stript, and the top is cut off. This it seems is *News* to the Examiner; I hope therefore I shall have his Thanks for it, for I have a great deal more to tell him, before I take my leave of him.

One of the main things that I here pointed at, as a plain detection of the Sophist, was his using the very expression of *Herodotus*, πίτυος δίκην ἐκτρίβειν; when some others, that mention'd the Proverb, yet differ'd a little in the Phrase, having it πεύκης τρόπον κόπτειν. This I observ'd as a plain token, that he had *Herodotus's* passage

<sup>1)</sup> *Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 32* [ed. Bas. = 42, 33 Rom.].

<sup>2)</sup> Τὸ τοῦ Ἡροδότου,

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 136.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Plin. xvii, 24.*

[§ 236 *Detlefsen*] *Decacuminatio.* <sup>5)</sup> *Theoph. de Caus. v. 24* [17].

in his Eye; as *Eustathius*,<sup>1)</sup> when he brings that saying, expressly cites him for it. And so *Ælian* appears to have  
 178 had him in his Thoughts, when he says, τὸ δαυμόνιον πα-  
 ραχρῶμα ἐκτρίβον τυράννους πέντος δίχην.<sup>2)</sup> Now the Exa-  
 miner, that he might do one discreet thing in this Chapter,  
 has dropt this, and taken no notice of it. And he was  
 tempted, he says,<sup>3)</sup> to leave this whole part of my Dissertation  
*unexamined*. An innocent Temptation indeed! How much  
 better had he yielded to it, than have made such miserable  
 work both with Logic and Critic.

## VI.

IN the LXXXV Epistle, we have already taken notice  
 of our Mock-Tyrant's triumph; *ὅτι Ταυρομενεΐτας καὶ*  
*Ζαγκλείους εἰς τέλος νενίκηκε*, *That he had utterly*  
*routed the Tauromenites and the Zancleans*. But  
 there's an old and true Saying, *Πολλὰ καὶνὰ τοῦ πο-*  
*λέμου*, *Many new and strange things happen in War*.  
 For we have just now seen those same routed *Zan-*  
*cleans* rise up again, after a Thousand Years, to give  
 him a worse defeat. And now the others too are  
 taking their turn to revenge their old losses. For  
 these, though they are called *Tauromenites*, both  
 here, and in the xv, xxxi and xxxiii Epistles, make  
 protestation against the name; and declare they were  
 called *Naxians*, in the days of the true *Phalaris*.  
*Taurominium, quæ antea Naxos*, says *Pliny*,<sup>4)</sup> *Tau-*  
 179 *rominium, quam prisci Naxon vocabant*, says *Solinus*.<sup>5)</sup>  
 Whence it is, that *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, be-  
 cause they writ before the change of the name, never  
 speak of *Taurominium*, but of *Naxos*, and the *Na-*  
*xians*. A full account of the time, and the reason,  
 and the manner of the change, is thus given by *Dio-*  
*dorus*.<sup>6)</sup> Some *Sicilians* planted themselves *Olymp*.

1) *P. 32.*2) *Var. Hist. vi, 13.*3) *P. 134.*4) *Plin. iii, 8. [§ 88 Detl.].*5) *Solin. c. xi.*6) *Lib. xiv. p. 282 [c. 69].*



xcvi, 1. upon a Hill called *Taurus*, near the ruins of *Naxos*, and built a new Town there, which they called *Tauromenion*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῦρος καὶ μένειν, from their settlement upon *Taurus*. About Forty Years after this, Olymp. cv. 3.<sup>1)</sup> one *Andromachus* a *Tauromenite* gathered all the remnant of the old *Naxians* that were dispersed through *Sicily*, and persuaded them to fix there. This is such a plain and punctual testimony, that neither the power and stratagems of the Tyrant, nor the Rhetoric of the Sophist, are able to evade it. Where are those then, that cry up *Phalaris* for the florid Author of the Letters? who was burnt in his own Bull, above cl Years before *Taurominium* was ever thought on.

But I shall not omit one thing in defense of the Epistles; which though it will not do the work, let it go, however, as far as it can. We have allowed, that *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Phalaris*; and yet in the History of that Philosopher, we are told of his conversation and exploits at *Taurominium*.<sup>180</sup> *Porphyry* says, *He deliver'd Croton and Himera, and Taurominium,*<sup>2)</sup> *from Tyrants: and That in one and the same day he was at Metapontium in Italy,*<sup>3)</sup> *and Taurominium in Sicily.* The same story is told by *Jamblichus*;<sup>4)</sup> who supplies us too with another, *That a young man of Taurominium being drunk,*<sup>5)</sup> *Pythagoras played him sober by a few Tunes of grave Spondees.* *Conon* also tells a story,<sup>6)</sup> *How a certain Milesian left his Country in the time of Cyrus, and went to Taurominium in Sicily.* These several passages seem to concur with, and confirm the credit of the Letters, that *Taurominium* had a Name and

<sup>1)</sup> Lib. xv. p. 411 [c. 7].      <sup>2)</sup> Vita Pythag. p. 169 [§ 21]. καὶ Ταυρομένιον.      <sup>3)</sup> P. 192 [27] & 193 [29].      <sup>4)</sup> Jamb. p. 128 [§ 34. 133].      <sup>5)</sup> P. 109 [112. 195] Ταυρομενσίτου μετράσιον.      <sup>6)</sup> Conon Narrat. 38. Εἰς τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ταυρομένιον.

Being in the time of *Pythagoras* and *Phalaris*. All this would be very plausible, and our Sophist might come off with a whole skin, but for a cross figure in his own Art, *Rhetoric*, called *Prolepsis* or *Anticipation*; viz. when Poets or Historians call any place by a name, which was not yet known in the times they write of. As when *Virgil* says of *Æneas*,

----- *Lavinæque venit Littora*;  
and of *Dædalus*,

181 *Chalcidicæque levis tandem superadstitit arce*:<sup>1)</sup> he is excused by *Prolepsis*; though those places were not yet called so in the times of *Dædalus* and *Æneas*. The same Excuse we may make for *Ovid*, when he tells us, that *Taurominium*, and *Himera*, and *Argentum* were as old as the Rape of *Proserpin*;

*Himeraque & Didymen Acragantaque Tauromenenque*.<sup>2)</sup>

So when *Porphyrus* and *Jamblichus* name *Taurominium* in the story of *Pythagoras*, and *Conon* in the story of his *Milesian*, meaning *Naxos*, which was afterwards called so; the same figure acquits Them. For 'tis no more, than when I say, *Julius Cæsar conquered France, and made an expedition into England*: though I know that *Gaul* and *Britain* were the names in that age. But when *Phalaris* mentions *Taurominium* so many generations before it was heard of, he cannot have the benefit of that same *Prolepsis*. For this is not a Poetical, but a Prophetical Anticipation. And he must either have had the Præscience and Divination of the *Sibyls*, or his *Epistles* are as false and commentitious as our *Sibylline Oracles*.

<sup>1)</sup> [Aen. VI 17].

<sup>2)</sup> VI. *Fast.* v. 475.

MR. B. is pleased to object,<sup>1)</sup> *That Diodorus is in two Stories, about the founding of Tauromenium. In one place he says, the Sicilians first called it Tauromenium, Olymp. xcvi, 1. in another, that Andromachus named it so, about xl years* <sup>182</sup> *after. Either of these accounts, he confesses, would serve my purpose; but since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on. That's hard indeed. What, neither of them to be depended on? Not so much as This to be concluded from them, That at least the City was not built above cl years before the earlier date of the two? This is just such a strain of Reasoning, as he treated us with in the last Section. The best refutation of such Arguments is not to answer them, but to use them: for by a short trial, they shew their bad metal, and quickly lose their Edge. Let us make therefore an Experiment or two. There are different accounts about the year of our Saviour's Nativity; and since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on: so that we cannot justly infer from them, That he was not as old as the Macchabees. Some say Alaxa in Sicily was built by Archonides,<sup>2)</sup> Olymp. xciv, 2. but others say, by the Carthaginians, Olymp. xciii, 4. These Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: Therefore the Town may be as old as Troy. One man told me in Company, that the Examiner was xxiv years old; and another said xxv. Now these two Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: we are at liberty therefore to believe him a Person of about L years of Age.*

As for the two Stories of *Diodorus*, I believ'd the former was the true one; and therefore I represented the latter, so as to make it consistent with it. *Cluverius* indeed prefers the latter account; but I cannot yet be of his opinion, because *Diodorus* calls the place *Taurominium* at Olymp. xcvi, 1.<sup>3)</sup> and xcvi, 3.<sup>4)</sup> and xcvi, 1.<sup>5)</sup> three several <sup>183</sup> times, before *Andromachus* is mention'd.

*But there were People of old,<sup>6)</sup> that inhabited the hilly*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 132.  
p. 282 [XIV 59].

<sup>6)</sup> P. 132.

<sup>2)</sup> *Diod.* p. 246. [XIV 16].

<sup>4)</sup> 305 [87].

<sup>3)</sup> *Diod.*

<sup>5)</sup> 309, 310 [96].

parts about Naxos, where Taurominium stood. Right again; and therefore *Taurominium* was built long before *Diodorus's* Date of it. I'll make bold to use this Argument too, and that will serve for an Answer. *Arrian*, in his History of *Alexander*,<sup>1)</sup> has the face to tell the world, that that Prince built *Alexandria* at Mount *Caucasus*. But there were people of old, that inhabited those hilly parts, as that writer himself confesses; *Ἐπωκεῖτο πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις*,<sup>2)</sup> *The Mountain*, says he, had many Inhabitants. 'Tis plain then, that there was an *Alexandria* at *Caucasus*, before ever the *Macedonian* set foot there. Is not *Arrian* cut down now with this mighty Argument? And which of the Historians may not be in the same condition, when a fit of disputing takes the Examiner?

Ay, but the People might be called *Tauromenites*,<sup>3)</sup> before the City was built, and 'tis observable, that *Phalaris* names the People, but not the City; nor uses any such expression, as implies they were form'd into a politic Body, or belong'd to any City. I remember, Mr. B. says somewhere, that there's a Quaintness of Pedantry in some Observations. He might have observed too, if he had pleased, that *Phalaris* mentions the *Syracusians*, but never names the place *Syracuse*: must the *Syracusians* therefore belong to no City? If so small an observation can raze Cities at this rate; the Tyrant, by Mr. B's Conduct, will be more terrible now, than when he was alive.

The reason, why he mention'd not the place *Taurominium*, but only the People, is no secret at all. For he  
184 neither took the Town, nor besieged it, nor carried his Bull thither for a Raree Show, nor had any other concerns there, and why then should he mention it? The people indeed he had some Transactions with; for he says,<sup>4)</sup> *They began an unjust War with him; they redeemed heir Captives by a price in common, and he remitted to them that price in common at the request of Stesichorus*. And surely this is a hint broad enough, that they were form'd into a politic body, and belonged to a City. Unless Mr. B. will have no-

<sup>1)</sup> *Lib. 3. p. 230* [ed. *Blancardus* = III 28, 4].  
p. 231 [6].

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 133.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Ep. 3. 33.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Ib.*

thing less, than the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Recorder to be nam'd, for a proof that it was a City.

Mr. B. adds a passage of *Vibius Sequester*; That Taurominium had its name from the River Taurominius, that runs by it. And he inferrs, That there might be a People Tauromenites,<sup>1)</sup> as well as a River Taurominius, before there was a City Taurominium. The Gentleman loves to surprize us with a Consequence: A River Taurominius; Ergo, a People Tauromenites. Now if the *Tauromenites* were a sort of Fish, this Argument drawn from the River would be of great force. But with Submission to Mr. B's better judgment, I humbly conceive, the *Tauromenites* were Flesh and Blood like the rest of the *Sicilians*.

But the Examiner's expression deserves our remarking,<sup>2)</sup> If *Vibius Sequester* be to be credited. I doubt not, but he tacitly answered himself, that he is not to be credited. For Mr. B. appears to have had this notice of *Vibius* from *Cluverius* in his *Sicily*;<sup>3)</sup> but with great Candor and Integrity he suppresses what *Cluverius* proves there; That *Vibius* is quite mistaken: for the River had that name 185 from the Town, and not the Town from the River; which was called, not Taurominius, but Onabala, till after the time of Augustus, that is, till cccc years after the date of *Taurominium*.

The words of *Vibius Sequester* are these.<sup>4)</sup> *Taurominius, inter Syracusas & Messanam, à quo oppidum Taurominium; quod oppidum aliter Euseboneora dicitur.* It had become Mr. B's great Learning to have cited this passage at large, and have given the world an emendation of it. The fault, I suppose, is manifest enough; for who ever heard of *Euseboneora*? *Cluverius* endeavours to correct it, *Eusebio Naxos*. I will give no character of that learned man's correction, but only propose another of my own, which is, *Eusebon Cora*. The Author meant *Εὐσεβῶν Χώρα*, *Regio Piorum*; a place so called in the Neighbourhood of *Taurominium* and *Catana* from the famous Story of the two Pious Brothers: who, upon an Eruption of *Ætna*, when the liquid fiery Mass ran down towards their dwelling,

1) P. 133.

2) P. 133.

3) *Cluv. Sicil. p. 90, 91.*

4) *Vib. Sequester de Fluviis.*

took their aged Parents in their Arms and escaped with them, neglecting all their own Goods and Treasure. *Conon* gives us a Narrative of it, which he closes with this,<sup>1)</sup> *That the Sicilians from that occasion called ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΑ*, the Place of the Pious *Lycurgus* the Orator tells the same story, and adds,<sup>2)</sup> *That from thence the place was yet called ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΣ*. *Aristotle*,<sup>3)</sup> *Strabo*,<sup>4)</sup> and *Pausanias* call those Brothers,<sup>5)</sup> *ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ*; and *Claudian*,<sup>6)</sup> *PII FRATRES*; and *Solinus* names the place,<sup>7)</sup> *CAMPUS*  
 186 *PIORUM*. *Ælian* says,<sup>8)</sup> this Eruption happen'd at Olymp. LXXXI; but I suspect there's a mistake in the number.

To return now to the subject under debate; we have other evidence unquestionable, that confirms the Narrative of *Diodorus* about the origin of *Taurominium*. For *Pliny*, and *Solinus* say expresly, *That Taurominium was the City which was formerly called Naxos*. *Taurominium* therefore cannot be older than the Destruction of *Naxos*. But we are certain, that that City was destroyed by *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, at Olymp. xciv, 2.<sup>9)</sup> And seven years after, says *Diodorus*, *Taurominium* was founded, Ol. xcvi, 1. The whole account is clear, and every part of it is consistent with and confirmed by the rest. And agreeably to this, *Herodotus*<sup>10)</sup> calls the City, *Naxos*, and the Inhabitants, *Naxians*, about Olymp. lxx; and so does *Thucydides*, at Olymp. xci, 2.<sup>11)</sup> Nay the very Medals of the *Tauromenites* are an infallible proof, that they came from the *Naxians*: there are five several Pieces in *Paruta*, that have on one side *ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ*; on the Reverse *Apollo's* Head with an Inscription *ΑΡΧΑΙΕΤΑ*. Now *Apollo Αρχαγέτας* was the Tutelar God of the *Naxians*. The *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*, says *Thucydides*,<sup>12)</sup> founded *Naxos*, and built an Altar to *Apollo Archagetas*, which is yet standing, on the out-side of the Town. And we have *Appian's* Testimony,<sup>13)</sup> that the *Tauromenites* were under the Patronage

1) *Conon Nar. 43. Διὰ ταῦτα οἱ Σικελῶται τὸν χώρον ἐκείνον Εὐσεβῶν χώραν ἐκάλεσαν.* 2) *Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 60 [§. 96].* 3) *Arist. Θauμ. [154, Westerm. Παπαδ. p. 56].*

4) *Strabo. vi [269].* 5) *Pausan. Phoc. [X 28, 4].* 6) *Claud. Epig. 35 [id VII].* 7) *Solin. c. 5.* 8) *Æl. apud Stob. Serm. 77 [79, 38].*

9) *Diod. p. 246 [XIV 15].* 10) *Lib. vii [154].* 11) *Lib. vi. [50, 98].* 12) *Lib. vi [3].*

13) *De Civil. B. v. p. 1162 [109 extr.].*

of the same *Archagetas*; the very same that had an *Altar and Status built by the Naxians*. But the original Money of the *Tauromenites* is a surer evidence of it; and 'tis allow'd by all Antiquaries, that the Inscription is in Memory of their *Naxian* Ancestors.

Our Examiner hinted at this Objection against the 187 Epistles, from the date of *Taurominium*, in his Preface to *Phalaris*. And 'tis an unusual piece of Moderation in him, that he has not charg'd me with stealing it from him. He had as good pretense to do so, as when he accuses me of pillaging his poor Notes, and robbing *Vizzanius* and *Nevelett*, of which hereafter. But I'll give the Reader the Secret, why he dropt this opportunity of calling me a Plagiary. Both in his Preface and his Index,<sup>1)</sup> he says, *Naxos was destroyed by Dionysius the YOUNGER, as Diodorus relates it*. Now if a man dips only into *Diodorus*, or casts his Eye on him, as Mr. B. says, he may possibly mistake so: because the story is touched upon in the Annals of *Dionysius the Younger*.<sup>2)</sup> But the truth is, that *Naxos* was razed by *Dionysius the ELDER*<sup>3)</sup> at Ol. xciv, 2. which is xxxv years before the other came to the Crown. Now some kind Assistant, I suppose, had inform'd Mr. B. of this shamefull Flaw in his Preface;<sup>4)</sup> and so the consciousness of his own Guilt made him slip this fair occasion of traducing me. But if the Reader pleases to see, how each of us have manag'd this Topic; I'll ask no other justification.

But he asks me, *Where do I find that Phalaris was burnt in his Bull?*<sup>5)</sup> I find it in *Ovid's Ibis*.

*Utque ferox Phalaris, lingua prius ense resecta,*

*More bovis, Paphio clausus in ære, gemas.*

and in the old Scholiast upon the place; *Phalaris ipsemet resecta lingua in taurum æneum conjectus est*. But do you

1) *Post Nazum à Dionysio juniore dirutam.*  
p. 411 [XVI 7].

3) *Diod. 246 [XIV 15].*

2) *Diod.*

4) I was mistaken here, when I thought the Examiner had discover'd his own mistake: for he continues the Blunder about *Dionysius Junior*, p. 183 of his *Examination*: and is still so little sensible of it that he tells me I borrow'd the Argument from him, without making the least Improvement. — Add. p. 542.

5) P. 133.

take up, says Mr. B. with the trifling Author of the Verses upon Ibis? A little while ago Ovid was one of the greatest Wits of the Ancients;<sup>1)</sup> and as much above Manilius, as  
 188 Nireus was handgamer than Thersites. But now the Wind is changed again, and he's a trifling Author. Mr. B. I see, will let no body else contradict him, but reserves that for a Complement, which he'll pay to himself. But why, I pray, so severe upon Ovid? Why must he have no credit in a matter of History? Will Mr. B. stigmatize him for a Ly-maker by Profession;<sup>2)</sup> such as he obligingly declares all Poets are a-kin to? Of all the various Histories that are touch'd on in Ovid's Ibis, there's not one in forty, but what we have at this day other good vouchers for, besides the Poet himself. And without question he had Authors for the rest, though they are not now extant. But Mr. B. requires<sup>3)</sup> some grave Writer's Testimony, and not a trifling Poet's. I had quoted a very grave and learned Writer for it, Heraclides Ponticus; but he tells me, I cite him falsely;<sup>4)</sup> or else I use some Copy of Heraclides, that he has not seen. What Mr. B. has, or has not seen, his Assistant knows better than I do. But in all the Copies of Heraclides, 'tis I think sufficiently hinted, that Phalaris was burnt in his Bull: I mean the Greek Copies; for the Latin Translation, which is sometimes easier seen than the Original, does not express it. Phalaris, says Heraclides, burnt several Persons in his Brazen Bull; but the People took vengeance on him, and they burnt his Mother too, and his Friends.<sup>5)</sup> If they burnt his Mother too, then surely, that implies, that Phalaris himself was burnt. And indeed how could the Agrigentines forget to burn him? The Revenge was so proper and natural, and the Thought so very obvious and uppermost; that 'tis hardly credible, they should not burn him in his  
 189 Bull, if they had him alive in their power. Tully says, That the whole Multitude of the Agrigentines fell upon him.<sup>6)</sup> This is consistent enough with Ovid's account of him; for they fell upon him, and siezed him, and so haled him to

<sup>1)</sup> P. 28.<sup>2)</sup> P. 164.<sup>3)</sup> P. 133.<sup>4)</sup> P. 133, 117.<sup>5)</sup> Herac. in Polit. [fragm. hist. gr. II p. 223]. Ἐνέπρησεν δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα. <sup>6)</sup> De Offic. II, 7 [26.] *Universa Agrig. multitudo impetum fecit.*



the Bull. As for *Valerius Maximus*, who says, *He was stoned to death at the Instigation of Zeno Eleates*:<sup>1)</sup> 'tis plain, he mistakes *Phalaris* for *Nearchus*; <sup>2)</sup> who was Tyrant of *Velia* in *Italy* a hundred years after *Phalaris*. *Jo. Tzetzes* says, *He was starved to death in a Coat of Lead*; <sup>3)</sup> but He scarce deserves our consideration: or if he did, yet here are three Authors for his *burning*, and he alone for his *starving*.

But to take leave of this Topic; let us see how the Balance stands here between the Examiner and me. In the one Scale there are *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and the Original Medals of *Taurominium*: In the Examiner's Scale, there are two false Surmises, two vicious Consequences and one *refreshing Quibble*; <sup>4)</sup> for the Quibble's his own, by the old Rule, *Qui capit, ille facit*.

## VII.

THE xxxv Letter to *Polygnotus* presents us with a Sentence of Moral, *ὅτι λόγος ἔργου σκιά παρὰ τοῖς σωφρανεστέροις πεπίστευται*, *That wise men take Words for the shadow of Things*; that is, as the Shadow is not alone without the presence of the Body, so Words are accompanied with the Action. 'Tis a very notable Saying, and we are obliged to the Author <sup>190</sup> of it; and if *Phalaris* had not modestly hinted, that others had said it before him, we might have taken it for his own. But then there was either a strange jumping of good Wits, or *Democritus* was a sorry Plagiary; for He laid claim to the first Invention of it, as *Diogenes Laertius* says, <sup>5)</sup> *Τούτου ἔστι καὶ τὸ λόγος ἔργου σκίη*: and *Plutarch*, <sup>6)</sup> *Λόγος γὰρ ἔργου σκίη κατὰ Δημόκριτον*. What shall we say to this matter? *Democritus* had the character of a man of Probity and Wit; who had neither inclination nor need to filch the Sayings of others. Besides, here

<sup>1)</sup> *Val. Max.* iii. 3.    <sup>2)</sup> See *Laert.* in *Zen. Eleate.* [IX 5, 5].

<sup>3)</sup> *Chil.* p. 95 [V 966].

<sup>4)</sup> *P.* 133.

<sup>5)</sup> *Vita Democriti.*

[IX 7, 5].

<sup>6)</sup> *De Educat. Puer.* [c. 34 p. 9 F.].

are *Plutarch* and *Diogenes*, two witnesses that would scorn to flatter, and to ascribe it to *Democritus*, had they ever read it in others before him. This bears hard indeed upon the Author of the Letters: but how can we help it? He should have minded his hits better, when he was minded to act the Tyrant. For *Democritus*, the first Author of the Sentence, was too young to know even *Pythagoras*: τὰ τῶν χρόνων μάχεται, says *Diogenes*; <sup>1)</sup> and yet *Pythagoras* survived *Phalaris*, nay, deposed him, if we will believe his Scholars. We may allow Forty Years space for *Democritus*'s writing; from the LXXXIV Olymp. to the XCIV, in which he died. Now the earliest of this is above an Hundred Years after the last period of *Phalaris*.

I am sensible that *Michael Psellus* <sup>2)</sup> refers this Saying to *Simonides*; and *Isidorus Peleus*. <sup>3)</sup> to the *Lacedæmonians*. But these two are of little authority, in a case of this nature, against *Plutarch* and *Diogenes*. Neither would the matter be mended, should we accept of their testimony. For *Simonides* was but Seven Years old, when *Phalaris* was kill'd. And were it a *Lacedæmonian* Apophthegm, though the date be undetermined, it might fairly be presumed to be more recent than He.

MR. B. animadvert<sup>s</sup>, <sup>4)</sup> that among the several Pretenders to this Sentence, λόγος ἔργου οὐκ ἔστιν, I decide in favour of *Democritus* for a very good reason; because otherwise it would be of no use to me in the present Debate. One half of which words are a misrepresentation, and the other half a mistake.

I decided in favour of *Democritus*, not to serve a present turn; but for just and perpetual reasons. There are

<sup>1)</sup> *Vita Democ.* [6]..

<sup>2)</sup> *De Dæm.* [See de operatione daem. etc. ed. Boissonade, p. 2 and 192].

& 259.

<sup>4)</sup> *P.* 138.

<sup>3)</sup> *Epist.* 252,

Two, that ascribe it to *Democritus*; and but One to each of the others. Nay I will now add a third in *Democritus*'s behalf, Πένταθλος,<sup>1)</sup> ὁ Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀβδηρῆτης, &c. Τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ, [Λόγος ἔργου αἰκλή: which, according to the present reading, is *Oratio Mercurii flagellum*, as *Wolfius* and *Portus* translate it: but it ought to be corrected, Λόγος ἔργου σκῆ. And besides the number, even the quality of *Democritus*'s Witnesses is greater than the other's, in a case of this nature. For *Isidorus*, a Christian Writer, was not versed so well in Heathen Authors, as *Plutarch*, and *Laertius*; and *Psellus*, I suppose, is too Modern, to be set in Competition with them; being a thousand years younger than *Plutarch*, and nine hundred than *Laertius*. In this part therefore Mr. B. has misrepresented me.

The other, as I said, is a mistake; where he says,<sup>2)</sup> *otherwise it would be of no use to me, and, if any of them have it, except Democritus, Phalaris might have used it after them.* What will not a man say, that can say such things with equal regard to Truth and Honour? If we attribute it to *Simonides*, could *Phalaris* use it after him? Though it be evident beyond all question, that *Simonides* was a very Child<sup>3)</sup> at the latest Period of *Phalaris*'s Life? I had observed this in my Dissertation; Mr. B. has not one word in refutation of it, and yet could suffer these crude Assertions to drop from his Pen. Nay further, if we allow *Isidorus*'s account, and give the Saying to the *Lacedæmonians*; yet it's very great odds, that it's younger than *Phalaris*. For if we examin the *Laconic Sentences* collected by *Plutarch*, we shall find four parts of five there to be later than *Phalaris*'s time.

But Mr. B. adds, that the words of *Plutarch*, κατὰ Δημόκριτον, do not imply,<sup>4)</sup> *That he thought Democritus to be the Author of the Saying, but only that he had met with it in Democritus's Works.* I am weary of dealing with such poor Objections, that have no Sap nor Spirit in them. In another place the same Author says, that according to *Simonides*,<sup>5)</sup>

ἄθλος ἔπρω πῶλος ὥς ἅμα τρέχειν.

<sup>1)</sup> *Suid.* in v. Πέντ.  
p. 42, 43.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 138.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 139.

<sup>5)</sup> Κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην.

<sup>3)</sup> See here

And according to Plato,<sup>1)</sup> Λόγου κουφοτάτου πράγματος βαρυτάτη ζημία. Does not *Plutarch* here intimate, that *Simonides* and *Plato* were the first Authors of these Sayings? There is nothing more common in him and others, than κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλον, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, κατὰ τὸν Μέλανδρον, &c. Now if we allow of Mr. B's exception, That these may not be the Authors of the Passages there attributed to them, but may have pillaged them from others; we shall have as many Plagiaries, as Writers.

He insists further,<sup>2)</sup> That *Laertius* tells us, *Solon* used to say, Λόγον εἰδῶλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων; so that he does not make *Democritus* the Author of the Sentence we speak of. But with the Examiner's leave, there is a difference between Λόγος εἰδῶλον τῶν ἔργων, and Λόγος ἔργου σκιά: and if *Laertius* had not thought so, he would not have named them both. If the words in *Phalaris's* Epistle had been Λόγος εἰδῶλον τῶν ἔργων; I had never made an Objection from them, against the Epistles: because *Solon* was as old as the true *Phalaris*. But since the words are, Λόγος ἔργου σκιά; which, as *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and *Suidas* assure us, was the peculiar Phrase and Turn that *Democritus* gave to that Thought, 'tis an Objection unanswerable.

But by virtue of an old Saying, as he calls it, *Nihil est dictum, quod non dictum prius*; he believes, that Λόγος ἔργου σκιά might be lit upon a hundred times, before *Democritus* made it famous.<sup>3)</sup> I perceive the Gentleman understands not the old Saying he speaks of. The first that used it, was *Terence* in the Prologue to *Eunuchus*: where  
 194 he excuses himself for borrowing some Characters from *Menander*, in these elegant Verses,

*Quod si Personis iisdem uti aliis non licet;  
 Qui magis licet currentes servos scribere,  
 Bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,  
 Parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,  
 Puerum supponi, falli per servum senem,  
 Amare, odisse, suspicari? denique  
 Nullum est JAM dictum, quod non dictum sit prius.*

His excuse is this, That all Characters were already exhausted

<sup>1)</sup> κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 138.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 137, 139.

by the numbers of Poets, that had gon before; (there being at that time above 2000 Greek Comedies extant, besides the Latin ones,) so that nothing could now be said, that was not said already. NOW, he says, that is, in his own time, in the Rear of so many Poets: but it had been very absurd in *Epicharmus's* Mouth, or any other of the first Writers of Comedy. And 'tis as absurd in our Examiner, to infer from this *Saying*, that a *Saying* could not be first lit upon by *Democritus*, who comes so early in the Chronology of Learning. Surely every *Saying* had some Beginning; unless Mr. B. will suppose, that the World and Humane Race have been eternally as they are now. But he himself affords a full Refutation of his *Nihil est dictum*: for there are many such *Nostrum's* in his Book, such proper and peculiar Mistakes, as were never thought on, nor said by any Man before him.

## VIII.

195

IN the LI Epistle to *Eteonicus*, there is another Moral Sentence: *Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασι τινες, οὐ προσήκει; Mortal Men ought not to entertain Immortal Anger.* But I am afraid, he will have no better success with this, than the former. For *Aristotle*, in his *Rhetoric*,<sup>1)</sup> among some other sententious Verses, cites this Iambic, as commonly known;

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὤν.

This, though the Author of it be not named, was, probably, like most of those Proverbial *Gnomæ*, borrow'd from the Stage; and consequently, must be later than *Phalaris*, let it belong to what Poet you please, Tragic or Comic.

But because it may be suspected, that the Poet himself might take the Thought from common usage, and only give it the turn and measure of a Verse; let us see, if we can discover some plainer footsteps of Imitation, and detect the lurking Sophist under

<sup>1)</sup> *Lib. ii. cap. 21* [p. 91, 20 ed. min. Bekk.]

the mask of the Tyrant. *Stobæus*<sup>1)</sup> gives us these Verses out of *Euripides's Philoctetes*:

196 "Ὡσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφου,  
ὀβτώ προσήκει μηδὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν  
'Αθάνατον, ὅστις σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.<sup>2)</sup>

Now to him that compares these with the words of the Epistle, 'twill be evident, that the Author had this very passage before his Pen; there is ἔχειν and προσήκει; not only a sameness of sense, but even of words, and those not necessary to the Sentence: which could not fall out by accident.<sup>3)</sup> And where has he now a Friend at a pinch, to support his sinking credit? for *Euripides* was not born in *Phalaris's* time. Nay, to come nearer to our mark; from *Aristophanes*<sup>4)</sup> the famous Grammarian, (who, after *Aristotle*, *Callimachus*, and others, writ the *Διδουοχαλται*, *A Catalogue and Chronology of all the Plays of the Poets*; a Work, were it now extant, most usefull to ancient History), we know that this very Fable, *Philoctetes*, was written Olymp. LXXXVII; which is cxx Years after the Tyrant's Destruction.

I Had said, that the *Iambic* Verse quoted by *Aristotle*,

'Αθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὤν,

197 was probably borrowed from the Stage. This does not please the Examiner; for he comes upon me with this gravelling Question, *Why more probably borrow'd from the Stage, than from Archilochus's Iambics? the Fragments of which are full of those Proverbial Sentences.* I'll tell you, Sir, why more probably from the Stage than from *Archilochus*. First, because in *Aristotle's* time there were a thousand *Iambics* of the Stage for one of *Archilochus's*. The Plays of the old Comedy were CCCLXV;<sup>5)</sup> of the middle Comedy DCXVII: nay

<sup>1)</sup> *Tü. xx* [17]. *Περὶ Ὀργῆς.*

<sup>2)</sup> [Eur. fr. 796 Dind.]

<sup>3)</sup> [See Porson ad Eur. Med. 139sq.]

<sup>4)</sup> *Argument.*

*Medæ Eur.* <sup>5)</sup> *Prolog. ad Arist.* [III p. XIV 16. XV 62 Düb.]

*Athenæus* says,<sup>1)</sup> That he himself had read above 1000 Plays of the middle Comedy. Add to these all the Tragedies, which in all probability were more than the others; and it will be reasonable to suppose, that there were as many whole Plays in *Aristotle's* days, as there were single Iambic Verses in all *Archilochus's* Poems. And secondly, Because *Aristotle* in the very same place, where he cites this Sentence, brings several others: all of which, except one, we are sure are fetched from the Stage, out of *Euripides* and *Epicharmus*: and even that One is very likely to be taken from the same place. And now I would beg leave, in my turn, to ask the Examiner a question: What he means, when he says, *The Fragments of Archilochus's Iambics are full of those Proverbial Sentences?* For I believe, there are not ten Iambics of *Archilochus's* now extant; and but two of them are Proverbial Sentences. He tells me in another place,<sup>2)</sup> *That collecting Greek Fragments is a fit Employment for me, and I have succeeded well in it.* But when he pleases to produce those Iambics of *Archilochus's* full of such sententious Sayings, I'll acknowledge his Talent at that Employment to be better than mine.

My Inference was, that if this Iambic came from the Stage; it must be later than *Phalaris*; let it belong to what<sup>198</sup> *Poet* soever, *Tragic* or *Comic*. This Consequence, says *Mr. B.*<sup>3)</sup> *I can never allow; because I am very well satisfied, that there were both Tragic and Comic Poets before the days of Phalaris.* The Age of *Tragedy* he reserves for another Section; but for *Comedy* he produces *Susarion*, who is said to have invented it before the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

'Tis the Examiner's good fortune, to be never more in the wrong, than when he talks most superciliously, and with the greatest assurance. He can never allow my inference, and he is very well satisfied. But I must tell him, to his further satisfaction, That though we suppose Plays were acted a little before or in *Phalaris's* time; yet it does not presently follow as a Consequence, That *Phalaris* could cite that Verse out of a Poet, whether *Tragic* or *Comic*.

First, Because it is an *Iambic Verse*; and it was a

<sup>1)</sup> *Athen. p. 366 [D].*

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 285.*

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 140.*

good while after the invention of Comedy and Tragedy, before that Measure was used in them. *Aristotle* assures us of this, as far as it concerns Tragedy; *The measure*, says<sup>1)</sup> he, in *Tragedy was changed from Tetrametres to Iambics. For at first they used Tetrametres, because the Trochaic foot is more proper for dancing.* And the same reason will hold for Comedy too: because that, as well as Tragedy, was at first *nothing but a Song perform'd by a Chorus dancing to a Pipe.*<sup>2)</sup> It stands to reason therefore that there also the *Tetrametre* was used, rather than the *Iambic*; which, as the same *Aristotle* observes,<sup>3)</sup> was fit for *Business* rather than *Dancing*, and for *Discourse* rather than *Singing*.

199 And secondly, Because both Comedy and Tragedy in their first beginnings at *Athens* were nothing but *extemporal Diversions*,<sup>4)</sup> not just and regular Poems; they were neither publish'd, nor preserv'd, nor written; but like the *Entertainments* of our *Merry-Andrews* on the *Stages* of *Mountebanks*, were bestow'd only upon the present Assembly, and so forgotten. *Aristotle* declares this expressly; *Both Tragedy and Comedy*, says he,<sup>5)</sup> *were at first made EX TEMPORE*: and another very good Writer, *Maximus Tyrius*<sup>6)</sup> tells us, *That the ancient Plays at Athens were nothing but Chorus's of Boys and Men, the Husbandmen in their several Parishes, after the labours of Seed-time and Harvest, singing EXTEMPORAL Songs.* *Donatus*, or whoever is the Author of that *Discourse* about Comedy, says, *Thespis was the first that writ his Plays, and by that means made them public.*<sup>7)</sup> But He was younger than the *Tyrant's* time, as it will appear more manifestly anon. So that *Phalaris*, as I conceive, could not meet with this Verse in those days, when the Plays were not written; unless *Mr. B.* will bring him

<sup>1)</sup> *Poet. c. iv. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο.* So also in *Rhet. iii. 1.* <sup>2)</sup> *Donatus [Euanth. de tr. et com., Ter. ed. Westerh. I 55] Comædia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim*

*Tragœdia, simplex carmen fuit, quod Chorus cum Tibicine concinebat.* <sup>3)</sup> *Poet. c. xxiv, & iv.* <sup>4)</sup> This is contested by *Meineke, hist. crit. 24. — W.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Poet. c. iv. Γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Αἴτοσχεδίαστική, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία.*

<sup>6)</sup> *Dissert. xxi. Ἀσφατα ἄδοντες Αἴτοσχεδία.* <sup>7)</sup> *Thespis autem primus hæc scripta in omnium notitiam protulit.*



over the Sea *incognito* to the Merriments in the Attic Villages.

And This perhaps may be the true reason; why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of Comedy, make no mention of *Susarion* or his Contemporaries; but ascribe the invention of it to *Epicharmus*. For as it seems, nothing of that kind was *written* and transmitted to Posterity before the time of that *Sicilian*. *Theocritus* therefore is express and positive, *That Epicharmus INVENTED Comedy.*<sup>1)</sup>

Ἄτε φωνὰ Δώριος, χῶνῃρ ὁ τὰν Κωμωδίας  
Εὐρὼν Ἐπίχαρμος.

*Comedy*, says *Themistius*,<sup>2)</sup> *BEGAN of old in Sicily; for Epicharmus and Phormus were of that Country. Epicharmus, says Suidas,*<sup>3)</sup> *together with Phormus, INVENTED Comedy at Syracuse. And Solinus*<sup>4)</sup> *in his description of Sicily, Here, says he, was Comedy FIRST INVENTED. Some are of opinion, says Diomedes,*<sup>5)</sup> *That Epicharmus FIRST made Comedy. Aristotle makes some small intimation of Susarion's Pretenses; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of Epicharmus. I'll give the Reader his own words: The Pretenders, says he,*<sup>6)</sup> *to the invention of comedy are the Megarenses, both those Here (he means the Megarenses near Attica) and those in Sicily: for Epicharmus was of that place, who is much older than Chionides and Magnes. When he says, The Megarenses that are Here, he may hint perhaps at Susarion, who was born at that Megara: but he plainly signifies, that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the Author of some extempore Farces, that may be called the first Rudiments of Comedy; and that's all that with justice can be granted him. And with this opinion all those fall in, who assert that Comedy is more recent than Tragedy: for the same persons suppose Thespis to be the inventor of Tragedy, who lived about Olymp. LXL. Horace, after he had given an account of the rise of Tragedy and Satyr; AFTER these, says he,*<sup>7)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *Theoc. Epig. 17.*    <sup>2)</sup> *Them. Orat. xix. [XXVII p. 406 Dind.]*    <sup>3)</sup> *Suid. Ἐπίχ.*    <sup>4)</sup> *Solin. [c. 5] Hic primum inventa Comædia.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Diom. p. 486.*    <sup>6)</sup> *Arist. Poet. c. 3.*

<sup>7)</sup> *Art. Poet. v. 281.*

came the old Comedy: *Successit vetus his Comœdia. His*, says the ancient Scholiast, *scil. Satyris & Tragediæ. And Donatus* is very positive,<sup>1)</sup> *That Tragedy is senior to Comedy, both in the Subject of it, and the time of its Invention.*

201 Well then; if *Epicharmus* was the first Writer of Comedy, it will soon appear, that the true *Phalaris* could not borrow an Iambic from the Stage. For it's well known, that *Epicharmus* lived with *Hiero.* of *Syracuse*:<sup>2)</sup> and the Author of the *Arundel Marble* places them both at Olymp. LXXVII, 1. when *Chares* was Archon at *Athens*: which is LXXVIII years after *Phalaris*'s death. 'Tis true, *Epicharmus* lived to a very great age, to xc years, as *Laertius* says,<sup>3)</sup> or to xcvi, as *Lucian*.<sup>4)</sup> Now allow the greater of these numbers for the true term of his Life; and suppose too that he died that very year, when he is mention'd in the *Marble* (though it cannot fairly be presumed so) yet he would but be xviii years old in the last year of *Phalaris*'s Reign: which perhaps will be thought too young an age to set up for an Inventor; for all great Wits are not so very early and forward, as a *Young Writer*<sup>5)</sup> that I have heard of.

Or again, if *Phormus*, who is join'd with *Epicharmus*, be supposed the first Poet of the Stage; the matter will not be at all mended: for even He too is too young to do the *Epistles* any service. His name is written different ways, *Atheneus* and *Suidas* call him *Phormus*;<sup>6)</sup> but *Aristotle*,<sup>7)</sup> *Phormis*.<sup>8)</sup> In *Themistius* 'tis written *Amorphus*,<sup>9)</sup> which is an evident Depravation. Some learned men would write it *Phormus* too in *Aristotle*: but if that be true, which *Suidas* relates of him, that he was an *Acquaintance* of *Gelo* the *Syracusan's*,<sup>10)</sup> and *Tutor* to his *Children*; the true reading must be *Phormis*. For he is the same *Phormis* that, as *Pausanias* tells at large,<sup>11)</sup> came to great honour in the service of *Gelo*, and of *Hiero* after him: and that I think

1) *De Com.* 2) *Plut.* [Mor. 68 A = vol. 1 p. 154 Hercher].  
Schol. *Pind. &c.* [Pyth. I 98]. 3) *Laert. Epich.* [VIII 3].

4) *Luc. in Macrob.* [25].

5) *Præf.* p. 3.

6) *Φόρμος.*

7) *Φόρμος. Poet. c. v.*

8) [See Lobeck, *Pathol. proll.* 502.

— R.] 9) *Ἀμορφος.* [In Dindorf's edition, p. 406, it is *Φόρμος* from Petavius' emendation]. 10) *Suid. in Φόρμ.*

11) *Eliac.* 1. [V 27].

is a proof sufficient, that he did not invent Comedy as 202 early as the time of *Phalaris*.

Upon the whole matter, I suppose, from what has been said, these Four things will be allow'd; That the Authorities for *Epicharmus* are more and greater than those for *Susarion*; That if *Epicharmus* was the first Comedian, *Phalaris* could not cite a passage out of Comedy: That allowing *Susarion* to have contributed something towards the invention of Comedy, yet his Plays were extemporal, and never publish'd in writing, and consequently unknown to *Phalaris*: and lastly, That if they were publish'd, 'tis more likely they were in *Tetrametres* and other Chorical Measures, fit for Dances and Songs, than in Iambics. So far is it from being a just Consequence, *If Comedy was but heard of at Athens, Phalaris might quote Iambics out of it*; though it gave such great satisfaction to the learned Examiner.

'Tis true, there are five Iambics extant, that are father'd upon *Susarion*, and perhaps may really be his:

Ἀκούετε λεώς· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε,  
Υἱὸς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος·  
Κακὸν γυναικες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ δημόται,  
Ὅκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἀνευ κακοῦ.  
Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

The first four of these are produced by *Diomedes Scholasticus* in his Commentary on *Dionysius Thrax*, a MS now in the Royal Library;<sup>1)</sup> the last with three others by *Stobæus*;<sup>2)</sup> the first, third, and fourth by *Diomedes* the Latin Grammarian;<sup>3)</sup> and the third and fourth by *Suidas*.<sup>4)</sup> The Emendation of the second Verse is owing to the excellent Bishop *Pearson*;<sup>5)</sup> for it's very faulty in the MS. 203 But the first Verse, as he has publish'd it,

Ἀκούετε λέξεως, Σουσαρίων τάδε λέγει,

has two errors in it against the measures of Iambics. So that to heal that flaw in the Verse, for *λέξεως* its written *λέξιν* in the Latin *Diomedes*. But the true reading is

1) [Bekkeri Anecd. Gr. II 748]. 2) *Stob. Tit. lxxvii* [69, 2].

3) *Lib. 3. p. 486.*

4) *Suid. v. οὔτε σύν.*

5) *Vind.*

*Ignat. ii, 11.*

Ἀκούετε λεῶς, as it's extant in *Stobæus*; that is, *Hear, O People*. 'Tis the form that Criers used, and means the same thing with our *O Yes* or *Oyes*<sup>1</sup>). *Plutarch*<sup>2</sup>) tells us, *That in the Parish of the Pallenians of Attica 'twas unlawful for the Crier to use that common Form, Ἀκούετε λεῶς: because a certain Crier, called Leos, had formerly betrayed their Ancestors. Stratonîcus the Musician made a Quibble about it; for as he once was in Mylasa,*<sup>3</sup>) a City that had few Inhabitants, but a great many Temples; he comes into the market place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of Ἀκούετε λαοί, as the Form used to be, he said Ἀκούετε ναοί. In *Lucian's Sale of Philosophers*,<sup>4</sup>) the Form that *Mercury* the Crier uses, is Ἀκουε, σίγα. And so much by way of digression, to supply the emendation of the incomparable *Pearson*.

If I would imitate somebody's artifice in suppressing and smothering what he thinks makes against him; I might easily conceal a passage of this yet unpublisch'd MS, which carries in it a specious objection against something I have said. *Diomedes* introduces those Verses of *Susarion* with these words: *One Susarion, says he,*<sup>5</sup>) *was the beginner of Comedy in Verse: whose Plays were all lost in oblivion, but there are two or three Iambics of a PLAY of his still re-*  
204 *membred*. Here's an express testimony, that *Susarion* used Iambics in his *Plays*: though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable, that in the first infancy of Comedy, the Iambic was not used there; as we are certain from *Aristotle* that it was not in Tragedy. But I have one or two Exceptions against *Diomedes's* evidence. First, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing that he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a

<sup>1</sup>) The Attic Idiom has it Ἀκούετε, λεῶ. *Arist. Acharn.* p. 300 [v. 964 Bekk.]: Ἀκούετε, λεῶ. κατὰ τὰ πατρία τὰς χοὰς etc. And again: Ἀκούετε λεῶ. Τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀπιέναι etc. [Pax v. 551]. — *Add.* p. 544. <sup>2</sup>) *Plut. in Thees.* [13].

<sup>3</sup>) *Athen.* p. 348 [d].

<sup>4</sup>) [Rather *Deor. conc.* l. — R.]

<sup>5</sup>) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Σουσαρίων τις τῆς ἐμμέτρου Κωμῳδίας ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο, οὗ τὰ μὲν δράματα λήθη κατενεμήθησαν· δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἱαμβοὶ τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ μνήμῃ φέρονται. [Bekk. *Anecd.* II 748].

Conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five Iambics are spoken in the person of *Susarion*; which will go a great way towards a proof, that they are no part of a *Play*. For when the Poet in his own name would speak to the Spectators, he makes use of the *Chorus* to that purpose, and it is called a *Παράβασις*; <sup>1)</sup> of which sort there are several now extant in *Aristophanes*. But the measures that the *Chorus* uses at that time, are never Iambics, but always Anapæsts or Tetrametres. And I believe there is not one instance, that the *Chorus* speaks at all to the Pit in Iambics; to the Actor it sometimes does. And lastly, if these Verses of *Susarion*'s had been known to be borrowed from a *Play*, it could not have been such a secret to *Aristotle*. For it's plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any *Play* of *Susarion*'s: if he had, he would never attribute the invention of Comedy to the *Sicilians* so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable; if we remember, what an universal Scholar that Philosopher was: and that he had particularly applied himself to know the History of the Stage; having writ a Treatise of the *Διδασκαλίαι*, An Account of the Names, and the Times, and <sup>205</sup> the Authors of all the Plays that ever were acted. If the Verses therefore are truly *Susarion*'s; 'tis probable, they were made upon some other occasion, and not for the Stage.

To return now to our Examiner; let us see a little how he manages his *Susarion*; for it's a wonder, if besides a general fault in producing a weak Argument, he do not add several incidental ones, which a more skillfull Manager might have avoided. And to justify my suspicion of him, his very first Sentence has two or three errors in it. The *Chronicon Marmoreum*, says he, <sup>2)</sup> informs us, that Comedy was brought INTO ATHENS by *Susarion*, or rather that a STAGE was by him first erected in Athens. And from the word STAGE he would draw an inference, That *Susarion* was not the Inventor, but an Improver only of Comedy. <sup>3)</sup> Now I affirm, that the Marble *Chronicon* says nothing here about ATHENS, or a STAGE. I will set down the whole Paragraph,

<sup>1)</sup> Schol. *Aristoph.* [Ran. 686. Pax. 733]. *Hephæst.* [134 Gaisf.]. *Pollux.* [IV 111].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 140.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 141.

as it was publish'd from the Original by Mr. Selden and Mr. Young.

Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ....αῖς κωμω....ρ....εθῆ...σανι....των  
 Ἰκαριέων ὑρόντος Σουσαρίωνος καὶ δολον...τεθ...ππω τον  
 ἰσα....δ....αρχο.....νοινου...ερ...ος.....

In this worn and broken condition the passage was printed by Mr. Selden; and the Supplements that have been made to it since, are only learned mens Conjectures; and may lawfully be laid aside, if we have better to put in their places. The first word of it, ἐν ἀθ....αῖς, Mr. Selden guess'd to be ἐν ἀθήναις in Athens: wherein he is follow'd by Palmerius, Pearson, Marsham, and every body since. But, with humble submission to those great names, I am per-  
 206 swaded it should not be so corrected. For the Author of the Marble, when he would say, In Athens, always uses Ἀθήνησιν, and never ἐν Ἀθήναις. So in Line the 5th Ἀφ' οὗ δίκη Ἀθήνησι, and 33. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθήνησι, and 61. . . ἐν Ἀθήνησι, and 70. Ἐνέκησεν Ἀθήνησι διδάσκων, so in 79, 81, 83, 85: besides what comes almost in every Epoch of it, Ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν. 'Tis not credible therefore, that in this single passage he should say, ἐν Ἀθήναις. Besides that it is not true in fact, that Susarion found Comedy at Athens: for it was at Icarus, a Country Parish in Attica, as Athenæus informs us<sup>1</sup>); which is the reason, that Clem. Alex.<sup>2</sup>) calls Susarion an Icarian. And the Marble it self in this very place names the Icarians, τῶν Ἰκαριέων. But surely the same person could not act first both at Icarus and Athens, in Country and City at once. 'Tis observable therefore, that in another Epoch, where the Marble says, That Tragedy was first acted by Thespis, who was an Icarian too<sup>3</sup>); there's nothing said of Athens. Our Examiner therefore is quite out, when he quotes it as the words of the Marble, That Susarion brought Comedy into ATHENS.

His next mistake is, when he tells us, as out of the Marble, That Susarion set up bis STAGE at Athens<sup>4</sup>). The whole foundation of this imaginary Stage is that fragment of a word ....σανι.... which the very ingenious and

<sup>1</sup>) P. 40.

<sup>2</sup>) Σουσαρίων Ἰκαριεύς. Strom. I. [365 P.]

<sup>3</sup>) Suid. θεσ.

<sup>4</sup>) P. 140, 141.

learned *Palmerius*<sup>1)</sup> fancied ought to be, ἐπὶ σανίσι, acted upon Boards; and his Conjecture is approv'd by the great *Pearson*<sup>2)</sup>. This, in the Edition of the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, was, I know not why, chang'd into, ἐν σανίσι, in Boards. And the Examiner, who without question, understands how Comedies may be put into Boards (though the Groaning Board of famous memory<sup>3)</sup> might rather belong to some 207 Tragedy) judiciously follows this casual<sup>4)</sup> oversight, in that elegant Edition.

I desired my worthy Friend Dr. *Mill*, to examin with his own Eyes this passage in the Marble, which is now at *Oxford*, and makes part of the Glory of that noble University. And he informs me, that those Letters, which Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Young* took to be ΣΑΝΙ, are now wholly invisible, not the least footstep being left of them: and as for ΕΝΑΘ .. the two last letters are so defac'd, that one cannot be certain they were ΑΘ, but only something like 'em. I am of opinion therefore, that the entire writing in the Marble was not ἐν Ἀθήναις, but ἐν ἀπήναις, In *Plaustris*: and that ΣΑΝΙ has no relation to Σανίδες, Boards; but is the last Syllable of a Verb. So that I would fill up the whole passage thus: ΑΦ Ου ΕΝ ΑΠΗΝΑΙΣ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΡΡΟΕΘΗΣΑΝ Υπο ΤΩΝ ΙΚΑΡΙΕΩΝ ΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΟΥΣΑ- ΠΙΩΝΟΣ: that is, Since Comedies were carried in Carts by the Icarians, Susarion being the Inventor. That in the beginning the Plays were carried about the Villages in Carts, we have a witness beyond exception:<sup>5)</sup>

*Ignotum Tragicae genus invenisse Camenae*

*Dicitur, & PLAUSTRIS VEXISSE poemata Thespis.*

And so the old Scholiast upon the place; *Thespis primus Tragedias invenit, ad quas recitandas circa vicos PLAV-STRO quoque vehebatur ante inventionem scenae.* And I suppose, it's sufficiently known, that Ἀπήνη is the same with *PLAUSTRUM*. *Hesychius* and *Suidas*; Ἀπήνη, ἄμαξα. *Eustathius* twice; Ἀμαξάν μὲν καὶ Ἀπήνην εἰπεῖν ταυτὸν ἐστίν. 208 *Glossarium Philoxeni*; *Plaustrum*, ἄμαξα. *Plostrum*, ἄμαξα.

<sup>1)</sup> *Exercit. p. 702.*

allusion is not clear. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> *Vind. Ignat. ii, 11.*

<sup>3)</sup> The

<sup>4)</sup> See the Notes there, p. 203,

204.

<sup>5)</sup> *Horat. in Art. Poet. [275].*

If this Conjecture of mine may seem probable,<sup>1)</sup> the next I dare pass my word, will amount even to certainty. The words in the Marble, as Mr. Selden publish'd them, are these; *Καὶ δολον̄ . . τεθ̄ . . πωτωνισχα . . . . δ . . . . αρσιχο . . . . . νοινου . . . . . ερ . . . . . ος . . . . .* Out of which broken pieces the ingenious *Palmerius*<sup>2)</sup> endeavour'd to make this Sentence, *καὶ Δόλωνος τεθρηπῶ, τὸν ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχον, πύθον οἶνου*: that is, *Dolon* (together with *Susarion*) was inventor of Comedy; the prize of which was a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; which were carried home by the Victor in a Chariot with four Horses. But he ingenuously confesses, that he never read any thing of this *Dolon* a Comic Poet, nor of such Prizes as a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; nor that they were convey'd home in a Chariot. However this emendation of his is approved and follow'd by the learned Publisher<sup>3)</sup> of *Marmora Oxoniensia*.

I was lead by the very Sense of the place to suspect, that Mr. Selden or Mr. Young had copied the Inscription wrong; and that instead of *ΔΟΛΟΝ . . ΤΕΘ . . ΠΠΩΤΟΝ*, they ought to have read it, *ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ*: for the difference in these Letters is very small, and such as might escape even a curious Eye in so dim an Inscription. I communicated by Letter this suspicion of mine to the Reverend Dr. Mill; who will bear me witness that I sent this Correction to him, before he had look'd upon the Stone: and I ask'd the favour of him, that he would consult the Marble it self; and he return'd me this answer, That  
 209 the writing in the Marble is fair and legible enough in this very manner, *ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ . . ΑΡΣΙΧΟ . . ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ*. I conceive therefore, this whole passage should thus be restor'd: *καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον, ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχος, καὶ οἶνου ἀμφορεὺς*, that is, *And the Prize was first proposed, a Basket of Figs, and a small Vessel of Wine*. *Dolon*, we see, and his *Coach and Four* are vanish'd already: and as for the Prizes for the Victory, which *Pal-*

<sup>1)</sup> It is altogether set aside by Böckh, C. I. II 301 Ep. 39, who justly censures Bentley for admitting the barbarism ἐφορέθησαν. — W. <sup>2)</sup> Palmer. Ibid. <sup>3)</sup> i. e. Editor, as we should say now. — W.



*merius* owns he knew nothing of, I think I can fairly account for them out of a passage in *Plutarch*:<sup>1)</sup> *Anciently*, says he, *the Feast of Bacchus was transacted Country-like and merrily: first there was carried (Ἀμφορεύς οἶνου) A VESSEL OF WINE and a Branch of a Vine; then follow'd one, that led A GOAT (τράγον) after him; another carried (λοχάδων ἄρρεγον) A BASKET OF FIGS; and last of all came the Phallus (ὁ Φάλλος).* Now as both Tragedy and Comedy had their first rise from this Feast of *Bacchus*; the one being, invented by those that sung the *Dithyramb*,<sup>2)</sup> and the latter by those that sung the *Phallic*: so the Prizes and Rewards for those that perform'd best, were ready upon the spot, and made part of the Procession; *The Vessel of Wine, and the Basket of Figs* were the *Premium* for Comedy, and the *Goat* for Tragedy. Both the one and the other are expressed in these Verses of *Dioscorides*'s, never yet publish'd; which shall further be consider'd in the XI Section, about the *Age of Tragedy*:

Βάχχος ὅτε τριπτόν κατάγοι χορὸν, ᾧ ΤΡΑΓΟΣ ἄθλον,  
Χῶ' ἑτικὸς ἦν ΣΥΚΩΝ ΑΡΡΙΧΟΣ ἄθλος ἔτι.

Now I would ask the Examiner one question, If he can really think *Susario* made regular and finish'd Comedies with the Solemnity of a *Stage*; when the Prize, we see, that he contended for, was the cheap purchase of a Cask of Wine and a parcel of dried Figs? These sorry Prizes were laid aside, when Comedy grew up to maturity; and to carry the day from the rival Poets, was an honour not much inferiour to a Victory at *Olympia*.

I'll forgive Mr. *B.* his double mistake of xxx years, when he says,<sup>3)</sup> *Susarion must fall in between the 610th and 589th*<sup>4)</sup> *years before Christ.* For I find, some other person has already reprehended him for't. And I am well pleased with his judgment of Bishop *Pearson*'s<sup>5)</sup> performance, *That he has proved BEYOND ALL CONTROVERSY, that Susarion is a distinct Poet from Sannyrion.*<sup>6)</sup> I see the Gentleman, if

<sup>1)</sup> *Plut. Περὶ φιλοπλουτ.* [8].

<sup>2)</sup> *Arist. Poet. c. iv.*

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 141.*

<sup>4)</sup> In both eds. of Boyle's work »489th« — a mistake of the printer, as is observed in *A View of the Dissert. &c.* 1698. p. 61 by Milner, who is the »some other person« mentioned above. — D.

<sup>5)</sup> *Vind. Ignat.* ii, 11.

<sup>6)</sup> *P. 141.*

he be free and distinterested, can pass a true censure. *Casaubon* and *Selden*, as famous men in their Generations, as Mr. *B.* is in this, thought both those names belong'd to the same person: but Bishop *Pearson* by one single Chronological Argument has refuted them, says Mr. *B. beyond all controversie.* I may say, without breach of modesty, I have refuted *Phalaris's* Epistles by a dozen Chronological proofs, each of them as certain as that One of the Bishop's; besides my Arguments from other Topics: and yet (to see what it is to be out of favour with Mr. *B.*) *I have proved nothing at all.* Mr. *B.* no doubt has good Motives for his giving such different characters: but I would ask him, why he says,<sup>1)</sup> *Mr. Selden's opinion would bring Susarion down to Aristophanes's time?* It would just do the contrary, and carry *Sannyrion* up above *Pisistratus's* time.<sup>2)</sup> For the Epoch in the Marble was not doubted by Mr. *Selden.*

<sup>211</sup> *The Bishop*, says Mr. *B. has proved that Sannyrio must live in Aristophanes's time.* This is true; but it still leaves his Age undetermined, within the wideness of xxxx years; for, so long *Aristophanes* was an Author. If Mr. *B.* had been cut out for improving any thing; he might easily have brought *Sannyrio's* time to a narrower compass. For *Sannyrio*, in his Play call'd *Danae*, burlesqu'd a Verse of *Euripides's Orestes.*<sup>3)</sup> But *Orestes* was acted at Olymp. xcii, 4. when *Diocles*<sup>4)</sup> was Archon at *Athens.* *Danae* therefore must have come soon after it, or else the Jest would have been too cold. The *Frogs* of *Aristophanes*, where the same Verse is ridicul'd, were acted the third years after,<sup>5)</sup> Olymp. xciii, 3. So that we may fairly place the date of *Sannyrio's Danae* between Olymp. xcii, 4. and Ol. xciv.

We are come now to the Second part of my Argument from this passage in *Phalaris's* Epistle, *θνητὸς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς πασί τις, οὐ προσήκει;* *Mortal men, as some say, ought not to bear immortal Anger.* The Thought, as I observ'd, was to be met with in two several

<sup>1)</sup> P. 141.    <sup>2)</sup> Cf. Meineke, hist. crit. 25. — R.    <sup>3)</sup> Schol. ad *Ranas Aristoph.* p. 142. Schol. *Orest.* v. 279.    <sup>4)</sup> Id. v. 371, 770.    <sup>5)</sup> Argum. *Ranar.*

places; in a Poet cited by *Aristotle* and in *Euripides's Philoctetes*. Allow then *first*, that the Writer of the Epistle borrow'd it from the Former of these: then, as I have hitherto endeavour'd to prove, and as I think, with success, he could not be as ancient as the true *Phalaris* of *Sicily*. But the Reader, I hope, will take notice, that all this was *ex abundanti*; for there are plain and visible footsteps, that he has stole it, not from *Aristotle's* Poet, but out of *Philoctetes*, which was not made till sixscore years after *Phalaris's* death. So that let the dispute about *Comedy* and *Susarion* fall as it will (though I think that to be no hazard;) yet he will still be convicted of a Cheat, upon this second Indictment.

The words of the pretended *Phalaris* are, *θνητὸς ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργήν ἔχειν οὐ προσήκει*. The words of *Euripides* are,

Ὅπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφω,  
οὕτω προσήκει μὴδὲ τὴν ὀργήν ἔχειν  
Ἀθάνατον ———

In the comparing of which, I remark'd, that besides the words *θνητὸς* and *Ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, there are other words also, that are found in both passages, *ὀργήν ἔχειν* and *προσήκει*. As for *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, they are necessary to this Sentence, and the Thought cannot be express'd without them; for one cannot express this opposition of Mortal and Immortal, upon which the whole Thought turns, in other Greek words than *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος*. It might be said therefore in *Phalaris's* behalf, That if two or more persons should hit upon this Thought, (which is far from impossible) there is no avoiding but they must needs fall into the very same expressions of *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*; and yet none of them might steal them from any of the rest: as we see all the three words are found in that other Verse quoted by *Aristotle*,

Ἀθάνατον ὀργήν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὦν.

To occur then to this plausible pretense; I observ'd, there were Other words in both passages alike; *ὀργήν ἔχειν* and *προσήκει*; and that here there was no room for this specious objection. For *ἔχειν* and *προσήκει* are not necessary to the Thought, as *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος* are; because

there are several others words, that signifie the same things: so that the Sentence, as to this part of it, might be varied several ways; as one may say, ὀργὴν φυλάττειν, as well as ἔχειν (and so the Poet in *Aristotle* has it) or ὀργὴν <sup>213</sup> τηρεῖν, or ὀργὴν τρέφειν &c. And so instead of προσήκει, one may say, οὐ δεῖ, οὐ πρόκειται, οὐ πρόπον ἐστίν, οὐ προσήκον ἐστίν; or οὐ τηρητέον, οὐ φυλακτέον, and many other ways; which by being intermix'd would produce a great number of changes. So that upon the whole, since the Writer of the Epistle has the very numerical words of *Euripides*, in a case where it's so much odds, that he would not have lit upon them by chance; I look'd upon it, as I still do, to be a plain instance of Imitation, and consequently a plain proof of an Imposture.

Well, what says our severe Examiner to this? why truly, with a pretended Jest, but at the bottom in sober earnest,<sup>1)</sup> *He lets Phalaris shift for himself, and is resolved not to answer this argument.* I will not say, how ungenerous a design this is, to leave his *Sicilian Prince* in the lurch. But I fear, it's too late now to shake him off with Honour: his *Phalaris* will stick close to him longer than he will wish him. However, instead of an answer to Me, he desires me to answer Him, *Whether it was prudent in me to accuse Phalaris of a Theft, by a pair of Quotations pillaged from his poor Notes on this Epistle?*<sup>2)</sup> Poor Notes! he may be free with them, because he claims them, as his own;<sup>3)</sup> and yet as poor as he calls them; if common fame may be believed, somebody run in debt for them. But he desires my answer, and I will give it him; for the accusation is a very high one. To pillage his poor Notes would be as barbarous, as to rob the Naked; and I dare add, to as little purpose. My defense is, That these two passages which I have quoted, are in *Aristotle* and *Stobæus*: and I believe I may truly say, that I had read them in those <sup>214</sup> two Authors, before Mr. B. knew the names of them. In other places, he confesses, and makes it part of my character, that I have applied my self with success to the collection of Greek Fragments:<sup>4)</sup> why might I not have these Two then out of the original Authors? Are these Sentences vanish'd out of *Aristotle* and *Stobæus*, since the memorable

1) P. 143.

2) P. 143.

3) P. 35.

4) P. 285.

date of Mr. B's Edition of *Phalaris*? If ever they were used since, or shall be used hereafter, must they needs be pillaged from Him? Alas! one may safely predict, without setting up for a Prophet, that these Sentences will still be quoted, when his *poor Notes*, and his *poor Examination* too, will have the happiness to be forgotten. If Mr. B. had made the same Inference that I do from these Sentences, there had been some colour for his accusation of Theft, but he barely cites them in his Notes; and it's another great instance of the Sagacity of our Examiner, that when he even stumbled upon Arguments, yet he could not make use of them.

I had taken notice from the Scholiast on *Euripides*, That *Philoctetes* was acted Ol. LXXXVII. But an unknown Author,<sup>1)</sup> that has mixed himself in this Controversie, has been pleased to object, That some others say, the *Phœnissæ* was acted then; so *Scaliger's* Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ, and *Aristophanes's* Scholiast. But here are several mistakes committed in this short objection. First, the Author seems not to have known, that there were four plays of *Euripides's* acted in one year: there's no consequence therefore in this argument; for *Phœnissæ* and *Philoctetes* might both of them be acted at Ol. LXXXVII. Then, both here and in other places, he argues from the Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ, as if it was an ancient piece. But *Scaliger* himself confesses, it's his own work; and in this passage, that Great man mistook himself either by hast, or by trusting to his memory: for instead of Φόινισσαι, he design'd to have writ Μήδεια, out of the Scholiast on *Euripides*; and such oversights are not unfrequent in that Collection of his.<sup>2)</sup> Again, the Author is very much out in quoting the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*: which I suppose he might copy from the learned Mr. Barnes's Life of *Euripides*.<sup>3)</sup> But so far is that Scholiast from affirming, that the *Phœnissæ* was acted Olymp. LXXXVII, that I will prove from him, it was acted after Olymp. xci, 2. For he twice declares,<sup>4)</sup> that the

<sup>1)</sup> [Milner's] View of Dissert. p. 19. <sup>2)</sup> See here, p. 157, 158. [D. refers to Clinton's Introd. to *Fasts Hell.*, from LV to CXXXIV. Ol. p. XXVI]. <sup>3)</sup> Sect. xxvi. <sup>4)</sup> P. 382. 585. Ed. Basil. [Av. 348. 424].

*Phænissæ* was not then acted, when *Aristophanes* brought his *Aves* upon the Stage; which was at Olymp. xci, 2. when *Chabrias* was Archon.<sup>1)</sup> And again, he gives an account,<sup>2)</sup> why *Aristophanes* in his *Ranæ* rather chose to ridicule the *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, which was then viii years old, than *Hypsipyle* or *PHOENISSÆ*, or *Antiope*, all which had been acted a little while before.<sup>3)</sup> But the *Ranæ* was acted Olymp. xciii, 3. when *Callias* was Archon.<sup>4)</sup> It is plain therefore, that the *Phænissæ* must have been acted between Olymp. xci, 2. and xciii, 3. I dare so far rely upon this unknown Author's Candour, as to believe he will be satisfied with this reply. And I think there are no more of his Animadversions, that concern Me or these Dissertations, that require a particular answer.

I have nothing more to say at present upon this Article of Comedy: but that I may not break it off abruptly without taking leave of the Examiner, I would desire one piece of Justice at his hands; That the next time he burlesques some knotty Paragraph of mine or any of his future Antagonists, he would not add to it of his own, Four marks of Parentheses,<sup>5)</sup> ( ) ( ) like Knots upon a string, to make it look the more knottily. 'Twould be a very dear bargain, to purchase a much better Jest than that, at the expense of Truth and Integrity.

## IX.

THE XII Epistle exhibits *Phalaris* making this complement to his Friends; Ὡν εὐτυχούντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρῳ συμπλαῶ δαίμονι, ἡσθεὶς οὐδὲν ἥττον εὐτυχεῖν δόξω; That while they continued in prosperity; his joy for That, though himself should fall under misfortunes, would still make him happy. But methinks those words, Ἐτέρῳ Δαίμονι, the Other God or Genius, that is, the Bad one, have a quaintness in them something Poetical, and I am mistaken, if they be

<sup>1)</sup> *Ibid.* 368 [Av. Argum.].

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.* 132 [Ran. 53].

<sup>3)</sup> Πρὸ ἀλγίου διδαχθέντων.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128 [Ran. argum.]

<sup>5)</sup> P. 142.

not borrowed from some Retainer to the Muses. And now I call it to mind, they are *Pindar's*,<sup>1)</sup>

Δαίμων δ' ἕτερος

Ἐς χακὸν τρέψαις ἐδαμάσατό νιν.

or *Callimachus's*; for this *Scazon* of his is there cited by the Scholiast,

Οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὗς ἔσχευεν ἄτερος Δαίμων.<sup>2)</sup>

Whether of these our Author made bold with, I cannot determin. *Pindar* I should incline to guess, but that I find him familiar with *Callimachus* upon another occasion; Epist. cxxii. speaking of *Perillus's* <sup>217</sup> invention of the Brazen Bull; Ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τὸν ὀλεθρον εὔρε κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀγθρότατον. Where he has taken that expression, τὸν ὀλεθρον εὔρε, from these Verses of *Callimachus*<sup>3)</sup> that concern the same business;

Πρῶτος ἐπεὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίνισεν, δς τὸν ὀλεθρον  
Εὔρε, τὸν ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ πυρὶ γινόμενον.

But be it either of them as you will, I suppose the Ages of both those Poets are well enough known; so that without any computation of Years, one may pronounce these fine Epistles not to belong to *Phalaris* himself, but to his Secretary, the Sophist.

THE Examiner, after a long Prologue of Banter and *Grimace*, which he thinks he has a great Talent at, comes at last to that little Reasoning, that he can spare upon this Article. He will not allow ἕτερος δαίμων to be a Poetical Expression;<sup>4)</sup> for which, says he, of the words is poetical, ἕτερος or δαίμων? Ἐτερος here signifies neither more nor less than Another; and δαίμων is taken for τύχη Fortune; and so they are used in Prose Authors. Was there ever such an admirable Touchstone found out, to try Poetical ex-

<sup>1)</sup> *Pyth.* 3 [34].

<sup>2)</sup> [fr. Call. 91, vol. 2 p. 255 Schneider.]

<sup>3)</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. I.* [182. fr. Call. 119, vol. 2 p. 387 Schn.]

<sup>4)</sup> *P.* 144.

pressions by? If the several words taken asunder have nothing Poetical in them; then to be sure, the whole can have nothing Poetical. Will he please to lend it me a little, to make an essay upon a Verse or too; as,

*Luna, dies, & nox, & noctis signa severa:*<sup>1)</sup>

- <sup>218</sup> The men of Letters have believ'd hitherto, that the latter part of this Verse was in the Poetical stile, and that the Prose of it was *sidera*. But by the Touchstone, I discover that *nox* signifies neither more nor less than night; and *signa* nothing but signs, and *severa* nothing but severe; which are the common meanings of those words. There's nothing therefore of an *Air of Poetry* there, but it's all plain vulgar Language.

*Cum Proteus consueta petens è fluctibus antra  
Ibat: eum vasti circum gens humida ponti  
Exultans, rorem late dispergit amarum.*<sup>2)</sup>

I believe the Author of these Verses thought himself above the pitch of common Prose, when he call'd the Fish *Humida gens Ponti*, and the Sea-water *Rorem amarum*: but Mr. B can prove he was mistaken, for he can shew him in Varro's Prose, which was writ before the *Georgics*, *Gens a Nation*, and *humida moist*, and all the rest, if you take them single, in the very same sense that *Virgil* uses them. If the Examiner by this time be out of love with his Touchstone, I will then make bold to tell him, That 'tis not the separate words *ἔτερος*, *δαίμων*; but the particular sense that is put upon them, when they are joyn'd together, that gives them a Poetical Air. That *ἔτερος δαίμων*, the *Other Genius*, should, without reference to the opposit one, signifie absolutely the *Evil Genius*, is truly a quaintness something poetical. So the Scholiast on *Pindar* thought it, a Writer of very good esteem, if we may put His judgment in the Scale against Mr. B's; for he explains it, *ἔτερος, ὁ κακοποιός*; and adds the passage of *Callimachus* to justify *Pindar* in the use of the Phrase: which certainly he needed not have done, were it as familiar and prosaical, as our Censurer would make it.

- <sup>219</sup> His next exception, of the very same features and

<sup>1)</sup> *Lucret.* V [1190].

<sup>2)</sup> *Virgil.* *Georg.* IV. [429].



complexion with the former, is about Ὀλεθρον εὔρε; which I had charged upon the Sophist, as a Phrase borrowed from *Callimachus*. The Latin, he says,<sup>1)</sup> of this Greek, invenere Tormentum, is in Horace; and he'll engage at a venture to find these two words together in a Prose-writer. Here's your man of resolution, he'll engage at a venture; and indeed his whole Book seems to be writ so. But I'll excuse him that trouble; and since it will so much oblige him, I will shew him those two Greek words (which will serve his turn much better than his Latin ones) as close together as can be, in a Verse of *Hermesianax's*,<sup>2)</sup>

Εἰσόκε τοι δαίμων, Εὐριπίδη, ΕΥΡΕΝ ΟΛΕΘΡΟΝ  
Ἀμφὶ βίου στυγῶν ἀντιάσαντι κυνῶν.

But I hope, in return, he'll be pleased to remember, that I did not lay the stress of the argument upon this, That the two words Ὀλεθρον εὔρε came together in *Callimachus*; but, That they concern'd the same business; for both the Sophist and the Poet were speaking of *Perillus* and his Bull. And if Mr. B. with his *Index-hunting*, will engage to find the same words in another Author, and upon the very same occasion; I'll engage too, without any venture, to shew that this other Author too had been trading with *Callimachus*.

Mr. B. will not pass even the shortest Section without giving us a cast of his Learning, though it be quite besides the subject. *Callimachus*, he says, *Dorizes*, in saying ἄτερος for ἕτερος.<sup>3)</sup> If the Examiner here had not catch'd<sup>4)</sup> at a Jest, he might have sav'd a mistake in earnest. For under favour, this ἄτερος is not the *Doric* Idiom, but the *Ionic* and the *Attic*. *Herodotus* uses it, Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄτερος λόγος;<sup>5)</sup> and *Sophocles* in his *Ajax*, [1109] Εἶδ' ἄτερος στρα-<sup>220</sup>τηγός; and some other Writers in those Dialects: but if Mr. B. has some second hand Writers, which tell him 'tis *Doric* too, he will find them mistaken.

He concludes this Article with telling the World, That I have lately reprinted these two Criticisms with my Fragments

1) P. 145.

2) *Athen.* p. 598.

3) P. 143.

4) 'Caught' instead of 'caught' is provincial and vulgar nowadays; see, however, *Mätzner* I p. 337. — W.

5) *Herod.* iv, 11.

of Callimachus.<sup>1)</sup> And yet the world very well knows, that those Fragments of *Callimachus* were printed a good while before the Dissertation; and I will tell him further, that the Fragments were *printed*, before one single Line of the Dissertation was *writ*. This it is to *engage at a venture*; but he ventures on still, and *if he guesses right*, 'tis the only part of the Dissertation that I ever will put into Latin. Now I seriously protest, that out of kindness to Him, besides other reasons, I have no design, nor desire to have it in Latin: yet when I consider what an awkward *Guesser* he is, and perpetually in the wrong; 'tis a kind of a Presage to me, that he now *guesses* no better.

## X.

THE XXIII Epistle is directed to *Pythagoras*; and there he gives to his Doctrine and Institution the name of *Philosophy*; Ἡ Φαλάριδος τυραννὶς τῆς Πυθαγόρου ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ πλεῖστον ὅσον δοκεῖ χεχωρισθαι. And so again in the LVI. he gives him the title of *Philosopher*, Πυθαγόρα τῷ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩ. I could shew now, from a whole crowd of Authors, that *Pythagoras* was the first man that invented that word; <sup>221</sup> but I shall content my self with two, *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Cicero*. The former says,<sup>2)</sup> Φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας, καὶ ἑαυτὸν Φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυνῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι, τῷ Σικυνώνων τυράννῃ, ἢ Φλιασέων; *Pythagoras first named Philosophy, and called himself Philosopher, in conversation with Leon the Tyrant of Sicyon, or, as some say, of Phlius*. The latter tells us,<sup>3)</sup> *That when Pythagoras had discoursed before Leon; the Tyrant much taken with his wit and eloquence, asked him what Art or Trade he profest. Art, says Pythagoras, I profess none, but I am a PHILOSOPHER. Leon, in admiration at the newness of the name, enquires what those Philo-*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 145.<sup>2)</sup> P. 3 [Pr. 12]. & 26 [IV 1, 8].<sup>3)</sup> *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. v [3, 8].

sophers were, and wherein they differed from other men.<sup>1)</sup> What a difference is here between the two Tyrants? The one knows not what *Philosopher* means; the other seems to account it as threadbare a word, as the name of *Wise Men of Greece*; and that too, before ever he had spoken with *Pythagoras*. We cannot tell, at this distance of time, which Conversation was first, that with *Phalaris*, or that with *Leon*. If *Phalaris*'s was the first; the Epistles must be a cheat. But allowing *Leon*'s to be the first, yet it could not be long before the other. And 'tis very hard to believe, that the fame of so small a business could so soon reach *Phalaris*'s ear in his Castle, 222 through his Guard of Blue-coats,<sup>2)</sup> and the loud bellowings of his Bull. Nay, could we suppose him to have heard of it; yet surely when he had written to *Pythagoras*, he would have usher'd the Word in with some kind of introduction, *That Science which you call Philosophy*; and not speak of it as familiarly, as if it had been the language of his Nurse.

---

1) *Quinam essent Philosophi, et quid inter eos et reliquos interesset.*

2) This is not said at random; for I find the Agrigentines forbade their citizens to wear blue clothes, because blue was *Phalaris*'s livery. So says Hadr. Junius de Comâ, cap. VI. SALTER, note on ed. 1777. — The meaning of Bentley's joke, as well as odd coincidence in the Agrigentine regulation, are now obsolete. It must be remembered, therefore, that all the menial retainers of English noblemen, from a very early period of our history — and from this passage it seems that the practice still subsisted in Bentley's time — received at stated intervals an ample blue coat. This was the generic distinction of their order; the special one was the badge or cognisance appropriated to the particular family under which they took service; and from the periodical deliveries of these characteristic articles of servile costume, came our word *livery*. DE QUINCEY, Works, vol. VI p. 150. — In support of the old custom of wearing blue liveries, Dyce quotes Gifford's edition of Ben Jonson, vol. I p. 52, and his own edition of Webster's works, vol. III p. 156. — W.

THE summ of my Argument from the word φιλόσοφος, is this; That it was invented in *Pythagoras's* time, and by himself; and perhaps not till after his Conversation with *Phalaris*; or if before, yet it's very improbable that *Phalaris* should have heard of the word, before he had ever seen the man; nay though he had heard of it, he would not have used it so vulgarly and familiarly; but have signified by some short Preamble, that the word was new and *Pythagoras's* own.

Let us see now, how the candid Mr. *B.* represents it. *He finds fault, says he,*<sup>1)</sup> *with Phalaris, for calling Pythagoras Philosopher: why? because Pythagoras himself invented that word.* Now this is so far from being the whole Argument, that it's no part of it at all. For I do not blame his *Phalaris* for using the word φιλόσοφος, because *Pythagoras* invented it; but because he could not have then heard of it, or if he had, he should have prefaced it with something, to signify its newness, and that *Pythagoras* was its Author. Is not this a most proper and honourable way of giving the world an account of my performance?<sup>2)</sup> But however  
 223 he harangues upon this mock argument of his own; Could *Phalaris* therefore, says he, pay *Pythagoras* a greater complement, than by using the word? Queen *Elizabeth* first coin'd the word *Fæminilis* in a Speech of hers to one of the Universities: could that Body have show'd her a handsomer piece of respect, than by using that very word to her afterwards as freely, as if it had been one of the best age of Latin? All this, as I have plainly shown, does not at all concern Me or my Argument: yet I mention it; that the Reader may see, what a rare Judge of Decency and good Sense the Examiner is. For I dare appeal to all persons truly of that Character; if that wise Princess would not have despised such a piece of mean pedantic Flattery; and rather have commended the manly freedom of Him, that told a greater Person than herself, upon his coining a barbarous word, *Hominibus, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes, Verbis non potes:*<sup>3)</sup> Your Majesty may naturalize Men, but you cannot

1) *P.* 160.2) *Præf.*3) [*Suet. de ill. gramm.* 22].

*naturalize Words.* And what a clamour does Mr. B. make, because I first used, as he thinks,<sup>1)</sup> the word *Commentitious*? yet the same man here, in his great wisdom, would have a Learned University make Barbarisms a purpose,<sup>2)</sup> because a Lady chancs to do so. But 'tis to be hoped, that Reverend Body is not under the same *Direction* with Mr. B.

I had ask'd the Question, *How came the fame of so small a business, as Pythagoras's Discourse with Leon, to reach the ear of Phalaris, who was so difficult of access; being intrench'd commonly within his Castle, and encompass'd with his Guard of Executioners? The Examiner, who is puzzled at nothing, can very easily account for this:*<sup>3)</sup> *for one may as well ask, he says, how he came to hear his name was Pythagoras? Fame, that told him the one, must tell him the other too.* An extraordinary acuteness indeed! if he hear of any man's Name, he can give an account with the same facility, of all his Conversation. A man that had got this admirable faculty, would have had mighty Preferment in *Phalaris's Court*. A certain Gossip of old, as the story goes, would needs tell her Comrades, what *Jupiter* once whisper'd to *Juno* in her ear.<sup>4)</sup> The Company was inquisitive, how She could know it then: but Mr. B. would have answer'd for her, *That they might as well ask her, how she came to know his name was Jupiter; Fame that told her the one, must tell her the other too.*

These are all the Animadversions, that Mr. B. could afford upon this Topic, except a small puny Cavil against an expression of mine, *The first Inventor*; which shall be answered, when I come to examin his Exceptions to my Stile. But on the next head, *The original of Tragedy*, he resolves to overflow all banks with a Spring-tide of Learning: let the Reader therefore prepare, that he be not carried away with the Flood.

---

1) P. 287.      2) Generally 'on purpose' as we have it below p. 266: but see Abbott, Shakesp. Grammar § 140. I have often heard the expression 'a-purpose' used by careless speakers in Yorkshire. — W.      3) P. 161.      4) An allusion to Plaut. Trin. 208, where see my note. — W.

## XI.

IN the LXIII Epistle, he is in great wrath with one *Aristolochus*, a Tragic Poet that no body ever heard of, for writing *Tragedies against him*, κατ' ἐμοῦ γράφειν Τραγωδίας: and in the xcvi, he threatens *Lysinus*, another Poet of the same stamp with the former, for writing against him both *Tragedies and*  
 225 *Hexameters*, ἀλλ' ἔπη καὶ τραγωδίας εἰς ἐμὲ γράφεις. Now to forgive him that silly expression, of writing *Tragedies against Him*, for He could not be the Argument of Tragedy, while he was living; I must take the boldness to tell him, who am out of his reach, that he lays a false crime to their charge. For there was no such Thing nor Word as *Tragedy*, while he tyranniz'd at *Agrigentum*. That we may slight that obscure story about *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian*, *Thespis*, we know, was the first Inventor of it according to *Horace*. Neither was the Name of *Tragedy* more ancient than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion; but both were born together: the Name being taken from *Τράγος*, the *Goat* that was the Prize to the best Poet and Actor. But the first performance of *Thespis's* was about the LXI Olymp.<sup>1)</sup> which is more than twelve Years after *Phalaris's* death.

I Had made this short reflection upon the Epistles, *That Aristolochus and Lysinus, two Tragic Poets mention'd there, were never heard of any where else*. This is arraigned by Mr. B. with great form and solemnity: but before he begins, he is inclin'd to guess from *Aristolochus's name*,<sup>2)</sup> that he

1) *Marm. Arund. Suidas in Θέσπεις.*

2) P. 163.

was a Gyant Tragedian, rather than a Fairy one.<sup>1)</sup> But his Consequences are all of a piece, both when he jests, and when he's serious. For if he argue from the Etymology of his name, *Aristolochus* denotes a person that was good<sup>2)</sup> at *lurking and ambuscade*, which surely is not the proper character of a *Gyant*. If he argue from the Bigness of his name; he might have remembred, that *Borborocates* and *Meridarpaz*, the names of two Heroes in *Batrachomyomachia*, make a more terrible sound, than *Achilles* and *Hector*. And we have instances in our own time, that a man may be called by a great Name, and yet be no *Gyant* in any thing.

Well, now he begins his Remarks; and he finds the footsteps of this *Aristolochus* in a nameless piece usually printed with *Censorinus*:<sup>3)</sup> *For there is Numerus Aristolochius; which must come from Aristolochus a Poet, as Aristophanius there comes from Aristophanes.*<sup>4)</sup> Upon which he further enlarges: and 'tis a difficult Problem, whether he shews more Learning here in the Margin, or more Judgment in the Text. The passage which he cites, is thus.

*Numerus Saturnius:*

*Magnum numerum triumphat | hostibus devictis.*

*Sunt qui hunc Archebolion vocant.* That is, *Some call the Saturnian Verse Archebolion.* *Ludovicus Carrio* makes this note upon it, *That the common Editions, before his, had it ARISTOLOCHUM; but the MSS. Aristodolium.* Now to which Reading of the three must we stand? to *Archebolion*, or *Aristolochium*, or *Aristodolium*? *Mr. B.* who will never be guilty of improving any place, leaves his Reader here at large, to take which of them he pleases: only he puts in for his Thirds; because *Aristolochium* has a chance to be the right, as well as either of the others. But what if I shall prove, that all three are wrong, and the true Lection is *ARCHILOCHUM*? then his *Aristolochus* must vanish into<sup>227</sup> *Fairy-land* again.

<sup>1)</sup> Bentley had used the expression 'Phalaris's two jarry tragedians,' while treating *Of Euripides's Epistles*, — a portion of his first *Dissertation* which he did not reprint, but which is added to the present edition. — D. <sup>2)</sup> Λόγος. <sup>3)</sup> See Tenffel, *röm. Lit.* §. 375, 7 sec. ed. — W. <sup>4)</sup> P. 163.

The first that used the *Saturnian Verse* among the *Latins* was *Nævius*, an old Poet before *Ennius's* time: The Measures of the Verse will be best known by Examples. The two first are out of *Nævius*:<sup>1)</sup>

*Novem Jovis concordēs | filiæ sorores.*

*Ferunt pulchras pateras | aureas lepidas.*

The latter of which has two false measures in it, and ought to be corrected thus out of *Plotius*,<sup>2)</sup> and *Nonius Marcellus*:<sup>3)</sup>

*Ferunt pulchras creterras | aureas lepidas,*

The following was made by the *Metelli*, *Nævius's* Enemies:

*Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio Poetæ.*<sup>4)</sup>

Now it's observ'd by *Terentianus Maurus*,<sup>5)</sup> a most elegant Writer; that the *Latins* were much mistaken, in supposing the *Saturnian Verse* to be an invention of their Countrymen; for the original of it was from the *Greeks*. *Fortunatianus* says the same; and he adds, that it was to be met with in *Euripides*, and *Callimachus*, and *ARCHILOCHUS*. The instance that he brings is this, and he calls it *ARCHILOCHIUM*:

*Quem non rationis egentem | vicit Archimedes.*

And so *Servius*<sup>6)</sup> brings another *ARCHILOCHIUM*:

*Remeavit ab arce tyrannus | hostibus devictis.*<sup>7)</sup>

These two Verses indeed are not really *Archilochus's*, but made by those Grammarians conformably to his measures: but I can give you some that are truly his own:<sup>8)</sup>

*Ἐρασμονίδῃ Χαρίλαε | χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον.*

*Ἄστων δ' οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν | ἦσαν οἱ δὲ πολλοί.*

*Ἐρέω πολὺ φίλταδ' ἑταίρων | τέρψαι δ' ἀκούων.*

*Φιλέειν στυγνὸν περ ἔοντα | μῆδ' ἐπαλέγεσθαι.*

228 And *Hephæstion* assures us, That *Archilochus* was the first that used this sort of Verse.<sup>9)</sup> Now I suppose, I scarce need

1) *Atilius Fortun.* p. 2679.

2) *Plot.* p. 2650.

3) *C. de Vasis* [p. 547].

4) *Atilius ibid.*

5) *Terent.*

p. 2439 [v. 2503].

6) *Centim.* p. 1825.

7) *Putsch* and *Keil*

read *vultibus cruentis*. — *W.*

8) *Hephæst.* p. 48, 50 [88. 92

ed. alt. *Gaisf.*].

9) *Πρῶτος τούτοις Ἀρχίλοχος κέχρηται.*



to observe, that these ARCHILOCHIAN Verses are the same with the SATURNIAN; the Measures themselves sufficiently shew that; for there's no difference at all, but only a Dactyl for a Spondee or Trochee, which was a common Variation even in the Latin *Saturnians*; as in these two that follow, out of the *Tabulae Triumphales*:<sup>1)</sup>

*Fundit, fugat, prosternit | maximas legiones.*

*Duello magno dirimendo | regibus subigendis.*

I have distinguish'd the middle Pause of every Verse by this mark |, that the Reader; though perhaps unacquainted with this part of Learning, may have a perception of the Measure. And I suppose, he may be pretty well satisfied, that the true reading in Mr. B's Author is not *Aristolochium*, but *Archilochium*. As for the two other names, *Aristodolium* and *Archebolion*; the former is a manifest Corruption; the latter (as it seems) was in no MS. nor Print, but a bare conjecture of Carrio's, and a very erroneous one: for the *Archebulion* (as he ought to have call'd it) had quite different measures, as will appear by these instances:

*Ἀγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δέχα τῶνδ' αἰδέειν.*<sup>2)</sup>

*Tibi nascitur omne pecus, tibi crescit herba.*<sup>3)</sup>

The Reader will excuse this Digression, because I have given a clear emendation, where the great Mr. B. attempted it in vain; which would be an Honour much more valuable, if I had it not so very often.

»But suppose, says Mr. B.<sup>4)</sup> that no body heard of »these Tragedians but in *Phalaris*; what then? Will the »Doctor discard all Poets that are but once mention'd in 229 »old Authors? what at this rate will become of *Xenocles* and »*Pythagelus*; whom (at least the *first* of them) the Doctor »will be hard put to't to find mention'd by any body, but »once by *Aristophanes*? « Very hard put to't indeed! to find an Author that is mention'd in so common a Book, as *Ælian's Various History*:<sup>5)</sup> where we have both the Name of this *Xenocles*, and his Age too, and the Titles of Four of his Plays, *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchæ*, and *Athamas*; with

1) *Atilius Fort. ibid.*

3) *Atil. p. 1673 [2673].*

2) *Hephæst. p. 27 [54].*

4) *P. 164.*

5) *Ælian ii, 8.*

which he got the Prize from his Antagonist *Euripides*, Olymp. xci, 1. 'Tis true, *Ælian* is in indignation at it; and, 'Tis ridiculous, says he, that this little *Xenocles* should carry the Prize from *Euripides*; especially, when those Plays of *Euripides* were some of the best, that he ever made. The Judges were either senseless and unlearned, or else they were bribed. This is the just Verdict and Censure of impartial Posterity; and *Euripides*, could he have foreseen it, would not have chang'd this posthumous Honour for the Applauses that *Xenocles* won from him. And by the way therefore,<sup>1)</sup> I would advise Mr. B. (if I may return him his own words) not to be too vain upon his Performance; when he hears it cried up by those that are not competent Judges. *Bavius* and *Mævius* (whom Mr. B. mentions here) had many Admirers, while they lived; or else they had been below the notice of *Virgil* and *Horace*. But Posterity gave them their due; for that will flatter no man's Quality; nor follow the Clamour of a Party. But to return to *Xenocles*; there's a Fifth Play of his, *Licymnius*, mention'd by the Scholiast<sup>2)</sup> on *Aristophanes*; and two Fragments of it are produc'd<sup>3)</sup> by *Aristophanes* himself. Mr. B. says, he is but once mention'd by that Poet; but besides the Passage of *Ranæ*,<sup>4)</sup> which Mr. B. meant, there are three others,<sup>5)</sup> where he is spoken of, under the title of the Son of *Carcinus*. He is mention'd too in a Fragment of *Plato* the Comedian's:

——— *Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος*<sup>5)</sup>  
*Ὁ Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ θαλαττίου.* ———

He was ridicul'd also by *Pherecrates*,<sup>6)</sup> another Comic Poet. And we may hear of him in *Suidas*,<sup>7)</sup> in more places than one. What does the Examiner mean then, by his putting me hard to't? I'll do much harder matters than this, to do Him any service. But I am persuaded he was encouraged to write thus at a venture; because *Vossius* says nothing of *Xenocles*, in his Book *de Poetis Græcis*.

If the Examiner had not had the ambitious vanity to

<sup>1)</sup> P. 163.      <sup>2)</sup> Schol. Arist. p. 120 [Nub. 1264].

<sup>3)</sup> P. 133 [Ran. 86].

<sup>4)</sup> P. 120, 364, 464 [Vesp. 1510].

Nub. 1261. Thesm. 441].

<sup>5)</sup> Ib. 465 [Pax 790].

<sup>6)</sup> Ib. 364 [Vesp. 1502].

<sup>7)</sup> Suid. in Καρκίνος, & Ξενοκλῆς.

shew, as he thought, his great Reading and Critic, he might fairly have escaped these two Blunders about *Aristolochus* and *Xenocles*. For what is it that he is driving at? or who is it, that he disputes with? Did I make That my Argument against *Phalaris*, That his two pretended Tragedians were no where else to be heard of? No surely, but because he names two Tragedians in an age of the world, when Tragedy it self was not yet heard of.

This therefore is the main point, which Mr. B. and I must now contend for, *The first Date and Origin of Tragedy*. In my Dissertation, I espoused the opinion of those Authors, that make *Thespis* the Inventor of it, professing in express words, That I slighted the obscure story of *Epigenes the Sicyonian*. This, I think, is a sufficient proof, that I knew there were some weak Pretenses made to <sup>231</sup> Tragedy before *Thespis's* time, but I believed them over-balanced by better Authorities. And yet what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B's from p. 165 to 180; but the bringing with ostentation and grimace, those very obscure Pretenses, which I declar'd I had slighted; and every bit of it (except his own Faults as usual) scraped together at second hand from the commonest Authors? In opposition to which tedious Declamation, I shall first vindicate *Thespis's* title to the *Invention* of Tragedy; and in the next place enquire into his *Age*; and in the last examin Mr. B's Performance in the same order as he has presented it.

The famous Chronological Inscription in the *Arundel Marble*, which was made Olymp. cxxix, in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, above cclx years before Christ, declares that *Thespis* was the first that gave being to Tragedy;<sup>1)</sup> Ἄφ' οὗ θεός τις ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕ . . . . The word *πρῶτος* is not in the printed Editions: but my Learned Friend Dr. Mill, whom I consulted on this occasion, assures me, 'tis plainly so in the Marble it self, which is now at *Oxford*. I shall give a further account of this by and by: but allowing even the common Reading, as it's publish'd by Mr. *Selden*; yet it's

1) *Lin.* 58.

evident and agreed by all, that the Author of this Inscription delivers this as the First *Æra* of Tragedy. Besides him, the Epigrammatist *Dioscorides* gives the Invention of it to *Thespis*:

232 θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο, τὰδ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἀν' ὕλαν  
Παίρνια, καὶ κώμους, τοὺςδε τελειότερους  
Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε, νοήσιμα ἔτα χαράξας  
Γράμματα, χειμάρῳ δ' οἷα καταρδόμενα.  
Καὶ τὰ κατὰ σκηνὴν μετεκαίνισεν· ὦ στόμα πάντων  
Δεξιὼν, ἀρχαίων ἥσθ' αἱ τις ἡμιθέων.

Thus the Epigram is publish'd by the very learned Mr. *Stanley*, before his noble Edition of *Æschylus*: and I have not now leisure to seek, if it was printed any-where before.<sup>1)</sup> In the third Verse, which is manifestly corrupted, Mr. *Stanley* corrected it *ὀνήσιμα* for *νοήσιμα*, as appears by his Translation, *utile*; the other word he leaves untouch'd. The Epigram it self is extant in the MS *Anthologia Epigram. Græc.* a Copy of which I have by me, by the kindness of my Excellent Friend the late Dr. *Edward Bernard*: and there the third Verse is thus:

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε νοήσιμα εὐτα χαράξας.

Out of which disjointed words, I have extracted, as I humbly conceive, this genuine Lection:

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε, νεοσμίλευτα χαράξας  
Γράμματα —

A, the last Letter of *νοήσιμα*, was mistaken for Α. *Ἐξύψωσεν*, he raised and exalted the stile of Tragedy by *νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα*, his new made and new carved words: which is the very thing, that *Aristophanes* ascribes to him:

Ἄλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά.<sup>2)</sup>  
and the Writer of his Life;<sup>3)</sup> *Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἀδρὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ONOMATOΠΟΙΙΑΙΣ καὶ ἐπιθέτοις χρώμενος.* But our Epigrammatist, though he gives *Æschylus* the honour of improving Tragedy, is as positive, that *εὔρεμα* the Invention of it belongs to *Thespis*: which will further appear from

1) See now Anth. Gr. ed. Jacobs I 248. Anth. Pal. I 428.  
— D. 2) *Arist. Ran. p. 169* [v. 1004]. 3) *Anon. in vita Æsch. [p. 118, 25 West.]*.

another Epigram by the same hand, made upon *Thespis* himself, and never yet publish'd; but it's extant in the 233 same Manuscript Anthology:<sup>1)</sup>

Διοσχοριδίου εἰς Θέσπιν τραγῳδόν.  
Θέσπις ὕδρ, Τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος δοιδὴν,  
Κωμήταις νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,  
Βάχχος ὅτε τρίτον κατάγοι χορὸν ᾧ τράγος ἄθλον,  
Χ' ὥτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ἄθλος ἔτι.  
Οἱ δέ με πλάσσουσι νεοί, τὰ δὲ μύριος αἰῶν,  
Πολλὰ πρό σευ, φήσει, χᾶτερα· τᾶλλα δ' ἐμά.

The second Distich, which in the MS is faulty and unintelligible is thus perhaps to be corrected:

Βάχχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορὸν, ᾧ τράγος ἄθλον,  
Χ' ὥτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος, ὕθλος ἔτι.

*Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum; i. e. cui Hircus,  
Et cui Attica ficum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est.*

By the three Chorus's of *Bacchus* he means the *Trina Dionysia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus*; the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Αἰμναις*, the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστν*, and the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς*; at which times, that answer to *March*, *April* and *January*, both Tragedies and Comedies were acted. Afterwards indeed they added these Diversions to the *Παναθήναια*,<sup>2)</sup> which fell out in the Month of *August*; but because This last was an Innovation after *Thespis*'s time, the Poet here takes no notice of them. But to dismiss this; the substance of the Epigram imports, That *Thespis* was the FIRST contriver of Tragedy, which was then a NEW Entertainment. After *Dioscorides*, we have *Horace*'s Testimony<sup>3)</sup> in *Thespis*'s favour:

*Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænae  
Dicitur, & plaustis vexasse poemata Thespis,  
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti facibus ora.*

And I think, this Poet's opinion is not only well explain'd,<sup>234</sup> but confirm'd too by the old Scholiast;<sup>4)</sup> who tells us, *Thespis*

<sup>1)</sup> Anth. Gr. ed. Jacobs I 248. Anth. Pal. I 427. — D.

<sup>2)</sup> This is an error; see K. Fr. Hermann, *Gottesd. Alterth.* 273. 304. — R.] <sup>3)</sup> *Hor. in Arte Poet.* [275. Subsequently Bentley wrote *qui* instead of *quæ* in his edition of Horace].

<sup>4)</sup> *Schol. in edit. Cruquii.* [p. 631 ed. 1611].

was the FIRST INVENTOR of Tragedy. To all these we may add *Plutarch*,<sup>1)</sup> whose expression implies something further, That *Thespis* gave the rise and beginning to the very Rudiments of Tragedy; and *Clemens of Alexandria*, who makes *Thespis*, *The Contriver of Tragedy*,<sup>2)</sup> as *Susarion* was of Comedy. And without doubt, *Atheneus*<sup>3)</sup> was of the same judgment; when he said, Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out at *Icarius*, a place in Attica: for our *Thespis* was born there. And in another place<sup>4)</sup> he says, The ancient Poets, *Thespis*, *Pratinas*, *Cratinus*, and *Phrynichus*, were called ὀρχηστικοὶ Dancers; because they used Dancing so much in their Chorus's. Now if we compare this with what *Aristotle*<sup>5)</sup> says, That Tragedy in its infancy was ὀρχηστικώτερά, more taken up with Dances, than afterwards; it will be plain, that *Atheneus* knew no ancienter Tragedian than *Thespis*: for if he had, it had been to his purpose to name him. But there's a fault in that passage, which by the way I will correct; for, *Κρατῖνος*, *Cratinus*, who is named there, was a Comedian, and does not suit with the rest. The true reading I take to be *Καρκίνος*, *Carcinus*, who was an ancient Tragic Poet, and is burlesqu'd once or twice by *Aristophanes*<sup>6)</sup> for this very dancing humour, that *Atheneus* speaks of. He had three Sons, that he brought up to dance in his Chorus's; who, upon that account are called there among many other Nick-names, ὀρχησταί, Dancers. To go on now about *Thespis*; *Suidas* acquaints us, That *Phrynichus* was Scholar to *Thespis*, who first introduced Tragedy; and *Donatus* passes his word, That if we search into Antiquity, we shall find that *Thespis* was the first that INVENTED it.<sup>7)</sup> But what need we any particular witnesses? when we have *Plato*<sup>8)</sup> telling us at once, That it was the universal opinion in his time, that Tragedy began with *Thespis* or *Phrynichus*: and though he himself was of a different sentiment, yet he proposes it as a Pa-

1) *Plut. Solon*. [29]. Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν Τραγῳδίαν χεῖν.

2) *Clem. Strom. I* [p. 365 P.] ἐπενόησε Τραγῳδίαν.

3) *Athen. p. 40.*

4) *Id. p. 22.*

5) *Arist. Poet. v.*

6) *Arist. p. 364, 464.* [Vesp. 1498, Pax 782]. *Suid. in Καρκ.*

7) *Retro prisca volentibus reperitur Thespis Tragediæ primus inventor.*

8) *Plat. in Min.* [321 A].

ὡς οἶονται, ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος.

radox: and we may see what little credit his Paradox had; when every one of those I have cited, came after him, and yet for that matter begg'd his pardon.

The Pretenses that are made *against Thespis*, besides some general Talk (which shall be consider'd, when I examine Mr. B's advances upon this Topic) are for one *Epigenes* a *Sicyonian*. This is the only person, mention'd by name, that can contest the matter with *Thespis*. And who is there that appears in behalf of this *Epigenes*? But one single Witness; and he too does but tell us a Hear-say, which himself seems not to believe. *Thespis*, says *Suidas*,<sup>1)</sup> *is reckon'd the xvth Tragic Poet after Epigenes a Sicyonian: but some say, Thespis was the second after him; and others, the very First of all.* And again, where he explains the Proverb, *Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*; *It was occasion'd, he says,*<sup>2)</sup> *by a Tragedy of Epigenes a Sicyonian: but he adds, That others give a different and better account of it.* Now if this be all, that's said for *Epigenes's* Plea; nay, if it be all that's said of him upon any account (for I think no body mentions him besides *Suidas*)<sup>3)</sup> I suppose this ill supported Pretense to Tragedy will soon be over-ruled: unless perhaps the very Weakness of it may invite Mr. B. to espouse the cause. For I observe that His Judgment, like other mens Valour, has commonly the generosity to favour the weaker side. 'Tis true, there are too very great men, *Lilius Gyraldus*,<sup>4)</sup> and *Gerard Vossius*,<sup>5)</sup> besides others, who affirm, that this same *Epigenes* is cited, and some of his Tragedies named, by *Athenæus*. If this be so, it will quite alter the case; and the Trial must be call'd over again. But with Mr. B's leave, I will once more take the boldness to contradict great Names: for I affirm, that the *Epigenes* in *Athenæus* was a Comic Poet, and many Generations younger than his pretended Names-sake the Tragedian. *Suidas*<sup>6)</sup> himself is my Voucher; *Epigenes*, says he, a Comic Poet; some of his Plays are *Ἠραϊνῇ*, and *Μνη-*

1) *Suid. in Θεσπ.* 2) *In Οὐδὲν πρ. δύν.* 3) Bentley was wrong in this statement. See G. Hermann ad Arist. Poet. p. 104, and the article on *Epigenes* in Pauly's *Encycl.* III p. 186. — W. 4) *Gyrald. de Poetis* [p. 720 ed. Basil. 1545]. 5) *Vossius de Poetica.* 6) *Suid. Ἐπγ.*

μάτιον, and Βαρχεῖα,<sup>1)</sup> as Athenæus says in his Deipnosophists. Gyraldus indeed would draw this Testimony over to his own side; and for Κωμικός, he corrects it Τραγικός. But Athenæus himself interposes, and forbids this alteration: Epigenes, says he,<sup>2)</sup> the Comic Poet says thus in his Bacchæ; Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ὥπερ χῆν' ἔτρεφέ με λαβὼν σιτευτόν. The Verses are to be distinguished thus:

Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ὥπερ χῆνά μ' ἔτρεφεν λαβὼν  
Σιτευτόν ———

The words themselves shew they belong to Comedy, when they tell us of *fatted Geese*. And indeed the very subjects of all his Fragments do plainly evince it: the next tells us of *Figs at a Supper*:<sup>3)</sup>

Εἰτ' ἔρχεται χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλγόν  
Σκληρῶν ἄδρὸς πινακίσκος ———

Correct it,

——— Εἰτ' ἔρχεται  
Χελιδονείων μετ' ὀλγόν σκληρῶν ἄδρὸς  
Πινακίσκος ———

237 And another out of the same Play,<sup>4)</sup> and three out of *Μνημάτιον*, and two out of *Ἡρώνη*, are all about *Cups*: the last of which will inform us a little about the Poets Age,

Τὴν θηρίκλειον δεῦρο καὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακά<sup>5)</sup>  
Κόμισον ———

*Fetch hither the Thericlean, and the Rhodian Cups*: For by his naming the THERICLEAN Cup,<sup>6)</sup> we may be sure, he was no older than Aristophanes's time: nay that he was considerably younger, Julius Pollux will assure us;<sup>7)</sup> where he calls him one of the Writers of *New Comedy*: Τῶν δὲ νέων<sup>8)</sup> τις Κωμικῶν Ἐπιγένης ἐν Ποντικῷ. Τρεῖς μόνους σκώληκας ἔτι, τοῦτους δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν. The measures of the Verses are thus:

1) [See Meineke, Com. III 537. hist. crit. 355]. 2) *Athen.* p. 384. Ἐπιγένης ὁ Κωμωδοποιὸς ἐν Βάχαις. 3) *P.* 75. Ἐπιγένης ἐν Βραγχίᾳ. [Βαρχεῖα or Βαρχία]. 4) *P.* 498. Ἐπιγ. ἐν Βαρχίᾳ. 5) *Athen.* p. 502 [E]. 6) See here p. 109, &c. 7) *Poll.* vii, 10 [29]. 8) [μέσων *Mein.* hist. crit. 355, cf. Pauly's *Encycl.* III p. 187].



— Τρεῖς μόνους  
 Σκώληκας ἔτι· τούτους δέ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.

Well, I hope, I have fully shewn, without offending their Ashes, that *Gyraldus* and *Vossius* were mistaken about *Epigenes*. I would only add; that we ought to correct in *Suidas*, Ἡρώδη for Ἡραῖνη; and *Βαρχεία* for *Βαρχεῖα*: and I take the three words in *Athenæus*, Βάρχαις, Βραρχία, and Βαρχία, to be so many depravations of one and the same Title of a Play.

The Reader will please to take notice of *Phalaris's* expression, *That Aristolochus*<sup>1)</sup> wrote *Tragedies against him*: and to remember too, what I have shew'd before, that both Comedies and Tragedies for some time were unpremeditated and extemporal; neither publish'd nor written. Allowing then, that this *Epigenes*, or any other *Sicyonian*, started Tragedy before *Thespis*; still it will not bring *Phalaris* off; unless his Advocate can shew, that Tragedy was written before *Thespis's* time. But there's no ground nor colour for such an assertion; none of the Ancients<sup>238</sup> countenance it; no Tragedy is ever cited older than *He. Donatus* says expressly, he was the first that writ: and it's incredible, that the belief of his first inventing Tragedy should so universally obtain, as we have shewn it did; if any Tragedies of an older Author had been extant in the World. Nay, I will go a step further, and freely own my opinion, *That even Thespis himself publish'd nothing in writing*: and if this be made out, the present argument against the Epistles will still be the stronger. Though even without it it's unanswerable; if *Thespis* be younger than the true *Phalaris*, which I will prove by and by. But I expect now to hear a Clamour against *Paradoxes*, and opposing great Authors upon slight or no grounds; for the *Arundel Marble* mentions the Ἀλκxστικός of *Thespis*, and *Julius Pollux* his Πενθεύς, and *Suidas* four or five more; and *Plutarch*, with *Clemens Alexand.* produce some of his Verses. No question, but these are strong Prejudices against my new Assertion or rather Suspicion: but the sagacious Reader will better judge of it, when he has seen the Reasons I go upon.

This I lay down, as the Foundation of what I shall

1) Ep. 63. ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ τραγωδίας.

say on this subject, That the famous *Heracledes* of *Pontus* set out his own Tragedies in *Thespi's* name. *Aristoxenus the Musician* says (they are the words of *Diogenes Laert*).<sup>1)</sup> That *Heracledes* made Tragedies, and put the name of *Thespi* to them. This *Heracledes* was a Scholar of *Aristotle's*; and so was *Aristoxenus* too, and even a greater man than the other: so that I conceive, one may build upon this piece of History, as a thing undeniable.

239 Now before the date of this Forgery of *Heracledes's*, we have no mention at all of any of *Thespi's* Remains. *Aristotle* in his Poetry speaks of the Origin and Progress and Perfection of Tragedy; he reads a Lecture of Critic upon the Fables of the first Writers: yet he has not one Syllable about any piece of *Thespi's*. This will seem no small indication, that nothing of his was preserved; but there's a passage in *Plato*, that more manifestly implies it. *Tragedy*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> is an ancient thing, and did not commence, 'as people think, from *Thespi*, nor from *Phrynichus*. Now from hence I infer; if several persons in *Plato's* time believ'd Tragedy was invented by *Phrynichus*, they must never have seen nor heard of any Tragedies of *Thespi*. For if they had, there could have been no Controversie, which of the two was the inventor; for the one was a whole Generation younger than the other. But *Thespi's* Tragedies being lost, and *Phrynichus's* being the ancientest that were preserv'd, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first Author.

'Tis true indeed, that after the time of *Heracledes*, we have a few Fragments of *Thespi's* quoted, and the names of some of his Plays: but I will now shew, that every one of those passages are cited from *Heracledes's* counterfeit Tragedies, and not the works of the true *Thespi*.

As for the Author of the *Arundel* Marble, who was but a little younger than *Heracledes*, and *Aristoxenus*, and might possibly know them both; he is commonly indeed supposed to mention *Thespi's* Ἀλχηστis; for Mr. *Selden*

<sup>1)</sup> *Laert. Herac.* [V 6, 92]. Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Μουσικὸς καὶ Τραγωδίας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐκγράψειν.

<sup>2)</sup> *Plato in Minoe.* [321 A].

from the broken pieces of the Inscription concluded That to be the true reading; and his Conjecture has been embrac'd by all that have come after him. I my self too <sup>240</sup> was formerly of the same opinion: but being now more concern'd to examin narrowly into it, I am fully satisfied, that we were all mistaken. The words of the Marble are these, as Mr. Selden copied them. *Αφ ου θεσπις ο Ποητης* . . . . . *αχι . . . ος εδιδαξεν αλ . . . σιν . . . . . τεθρο . . παγος . . .*<sup>1)</sup> But the Reverend Dr. Mill assures me, that at present there's nothing of *ΑΑ . . . ΣΤΙΝ* to be seen; and if any thing can be made of the first Letter, it seems to be O rather than A. I suppose, it's plain enough already from the Epoch about *Susarion*,<sup>2)</sup> that Mr. Selden was not over accurate in copying the Inscription; and this very place before us is another proof of it; for instead of *ΑΧΙ . . . ΟΣ* as he publish'd it, I am inform'd by the same very good hand, that it's yet legibly and plainly *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ*. But besides the uncertainty of this *Αλ . . . σιν*, which is now wholly defac'd in the Marble: the very Inscription it self evinces, that it ought not to be read *ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΝ*. For the Author of it never sets down the name of any *Play*; not when he gives the date of *Æschylus's* first Victory;<sup>3)</sup> not when he speaks of *Sophocles's*;<sup>4)</sup> not where he mentions *Euripides's*;<sup>5)</sup> nor upon any other occasion. And 'tis utterly improbable, that he would do it in one single place, and omit it in so many others that equally deserv'd it. Add to all this, the express Testimony of *Suidas*, That *Phrynichus*<sup>6)</sup> was the First, that made *Women the Subject of Tragedy*, his Master *Thespis* having introduced no body but Men. There could be no Play therefore of *Thespis's* with the Title of *Alceſtis*.

I shall now consider the passage in *Clemens Alexandri-* <sup>241</sup>  
*nus*: *Thespis the Tragic poet*,<sup>7)</sup> says that very excellent Author, writes thus:

1) Böckh C. I. Gr. II 317 *Αφ' ου θεσπις ο ποιητης (εφάνη,) πρώτος δς εδίδαξε (δρ)α(μα εν δ)σ(τει και ε)τέθρο ο (τ)ράγος (αθλον)*. For the words *εν δστει* see Welcker, *Nachtr.* 254sq. — R.

2) See above, p. 206.

3) *Lin.* 65.

4) *Lin.* 72.

5) *Lin.* 76.

6) *Suid. in Φρύν. Πρώτος*

*γυναικειον πρόσωπον εισήγαγεν.*

7) *Clem. Strom.* v [675 P.]

*θεσπις ο τραγικός ὡδὲ πως γράφων.*

Ἴδε σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΕΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,

Ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλάφας κνακῶν.

Ἴδε σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ τυρὸν μίξας

Ἐρυθρῷ μέλῃτι, κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πὰν

Διχέρως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἀγίων.

Ἴδε σοι Βρομίου αἶδοπα ΦΑΕΓΜΟΝ Δεῖξω —

This supposed fragment of *Thespis*, as *Clemens* himself explains it, and as I have further proved out of *Porphry*,<sup>1)</sup> relates to those four artificial words, *Κναξζβι*, *Χθόπτης*, *Φλεγμῷ*, *Δρούφ*, which comprehend exactly the whole *xxiv* Letters of the Greek Alphabet. Now I say, If these *xxiv* Letters were not all invented in *Thespis*'s time; this cannot be a genuine fragment of His. The Consequence I think is so very plain, that even Mr. *B.* with his new System of Logic cannot give us a better. We must know then, that it was a long time after the use of Greek Writing, nay of writing Books too, before the Greek Alphabet was perfected, as it now is, and has been for 2000 Years. 'Tis true, there were then the very same Sounds in pronunciation (for the Language was not alter'd<sup>2)</sup>) but they did not express them the same way in Writing. *E* serv'd in those days for both *E* and *H*; as one English *E* serves now for two distinct Sounds in *THEM* and *THESE*. So *O* stood for both *O* and *Ω*: and the sound of *Z* was expressed by *ΔΣ*, of *Ξ* by *ΚΣ*, of *Ψ* by *ΠΣ*: and the three aspirates were written thus, *ΤΗ*,<sup>3)</sup> *ΠΗ*, *ΚΗ*, which were afterwards *Θ*, *Φ*, *Χ*. At that time we must imagin the first Verse of *Homer* to have been written thus: *MENIN*  
 242 *AEIAE THEA IEAEIAΔEO AKHIAEOΣ*: And the same manner of Writing was in *Thespis*'s time: because the Alphabet was not completed till after his Death. For it's universally agreed, that either *Simonides*, or *Epicharmus*, or both, invented some of the Letters. *Pliny* says, *That Z H Ψ Ω*<sup>4)</sup> are reported to be *Simonides*'s: and that *Aristotle*

<sup>1)</sup> See my Dissert upon *Malal.* p. 47, 48, 49 [ed. 1691].

<sup>2)</sup> Rather a rash and inconsiderate statement. — *W.*

<sup>3)</sup> Böckh, Trans. of the Berlin Ac. 1836 p. 60. 67 says that there is not a single instance of *TH* = *Θ*, and in fact *Θ* appears to have already existed in the Phoenician alphabet. — *R.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Plin.* vii. 56. *Simonidem Melicum Z H Ψ Ω. Aristoteles xviii*

says, *There were XVIII old Letters; and believes that Θ and X were added by Epicharmus, rather than Palamedes. Marius Victorinus* says,<sup>1)</sup> *Simonides invented Θ Ψ X. Simonides added Four, says Hyginus,*<sup>2)</sup> *and Epicharmus Two: but Jo. Tzetzes*<sup>3)</sup> *says, Epicharmus added Three, and Simonides Two. But these little differences are of no consequence in our present Argument: for the whole XXIV are mentioned in this pretended fragment of Thespis's. 'Tis sufficient then for our purpose, if any of them were invented either by Epicharmus, or Simonides. For Epicharmus, could not be above XXVII years old, and very probably was much younger, at Olymp. LXI, which is the latest period of Thespis: And Simonides*<sup>4)</sup> *at the same time was but XVI, as we have it upon his own word. Now to wave the authority of the rest; even Aristotle alone, who could know the Truth of what he said from so many Inscriptions, written before Epicharmus's time, and still extant in his own, is a Witness infallible. This Passage therefore ascribed to Thespis is certainly a Cheat; and in all probability it's taken from one of the spurious Plays, that Heraclides father'd upon him.*<sup>5)</sup>

In the next place, I will shew that all the other Passages quoted from *Thespis*, are belonging to the same Imposture. *Zenobius*<sup>6)</sup> informs us, *That at first the Chorus's* <sup>243</sup> *used to sing a Dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus: but in time the Poets left that off, and made the Giants and Centaurs the Subject of their Plays. Upon which the Spectators mock'd them and said, That was nothing to Bacchus. The Poets therefore sometimes introduced the Satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the God of the Festival. To the same purpose we are told by Suidas,*<sup>7)</sup> *That at first the Subject of all the Plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of Satyrs; upon which account those Plays were called Σατυρικά: but afterwards as Tragedies came in fashion, the Poets went*

*priscas fuisse, & duas ab Epicharmo additas Θ X, quam à Palamede mavult.*

<sup>1)</sup> *Mar. Victorinus, p. 2459.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Hygin. Fab. 277.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Tzet. Chil. xii, 398 [p. 441 v. 48 ed. Kiessl.].*

<sup>4)</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>5)</sup> [Nauck Trag. p. 647].

<sup>6)</sup> *Zenob. v, 40.*

*ἄλλαντας καὶ Κενταύρους λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν.* Perhaps the true reading is *Ἰφάντας.*

<sup>7)</sup> *Suid. in Ὀδῶν πρὸς Δίον.*

off to *Fables and Histories*,<sup>1)</sup> which gave occasion to that saying, This is nothing to *Bacchus*. And he adds, That *Chamæleon* says the same thing in his *Book about Thespis*.<sup>2)</sup> This *Chamæleon* was a very learned man, and a Scholar of *Aristotle's*. And we may gather from the very name of this Treatise of his, that *Thespis* was some way concerned in this alteration of Tragedy: either he was the last man, that used all Satyrical Plays, or the first man that left them off. But whether of the two it was, we could not determin; unless *Plutarch* had help'd us out in't;<sup>3)</sup> When *Phrynichus* and *Æschylus*, says he, turned the Subject of Tragedy to *Fables and dolefull Stories*, the People said, What's this to *Bacchus*? For it's evident from this passage of *Plutarch* compared with the others before, that the true *Thespis's* Plays were all Satyrical, (that is, the Plot of them was the story of *Bacchus*, the Chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the Argument was merry) and that *Phrynichus* and *Æschylus* were the first Introducers of the new and dolefull Tragedy. Even after the time of *Thespis*, the serious Tragedy came on so slowly, that of fifty Plays of *Pratinas*,<sup>4)</sup> who was in the next Generation after *Thespis*, two and thirty are said to have been Satyrical.

But let us apply now this Observation to the Fragments ascribed to *Thespis*; one of which is thus quoted by *Plutarch*:<sup>5)</sup>

Ὅρᾳς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,  
Ὅν ψεῦδος οὐδὲ κόμπων, οὐ μωρὸν γέλων  
Ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ' ἤδ' οὐ μῶνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

What differs this, says *Plutarch*, from that saying of *Plato*, That the Deity was situated remote from all Pleasure and Pain?<sup>6)</sup> Why truly it differs not at all; and I think there needs no other proof, that it could not belong to a Satyrical ludicrous Play, such as all *Thespis's* were. For surely this is not the Language of *Bacchus* and his Satyrs:

1) Εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐπράτησαν. 2) Χαμαιλέον ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσπίδος. 3) *Plut. Symp.* l. 1. c. 1. [c. 5]. Φρυνίχου καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὴν τραγωδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πᾶσιν προαγόντων. 4) *Suid. in Πρατ.* 5) *Plut. de aud. Post.* [vol. I p. 84 Hercher]. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Θεσπίδος ταυτί. 6) Πόρρω ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ἔδρται τὸ θεῖον.

nay, I might say, it's too high and Philosophical a strain even for *Thespis* himself. But suppose the Author could have reach'd so elevated a Thought; yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous God, or his wanton Attendants. Even *Æschylus*, the grave reformer of the Stage, would rarely or never bring in his Heroes talking Sentences and Philosophy, believing that to be against the Genius and Constitution of Tragedy:<sup>1)</sup> much less then would *Thespis* have done so, whose Tragedies were nothing but Droll. 'Tis incredible therefore, that this Fragment should be genuine; and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded us by *Plutarch*, though he was not aware of it. For the Thought, as he has shewn us, was *Plato's*; and to whom then should the Fragment belong, but to *Heraclides* the counterfeit *Thespis*, who was at first a Scholar of *Plato's*,<sup>2)</sup> and might borrow the notion from his old Master?

Another Verse is quoted by *Julius Pollux*<sup>3)</sup> out of *Thespis's Pentheus*:

Ἔργῳ νόμῳ τε νευρίδας ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

Where for *νευρίδας ἔχειν*, we may correct it *νεβρίδ' ἔχειν*.<sup>4)</sup> Now the very Titles of this Play *Πενθεὺς*, and of the others mention'd by *Suidas*, *Ἀθλα Πελλίου ἢ Φόρβας*, and *Ἰερεῖς*, and *Ἡθιοί*, do sufficiently shew, that they cannot be Satyrical Plays, and consequently not *Thespis's*, who made none but of that sort. The learned *Casaubon*<sup>5)</sup>, after he has taught us from the Ancients, that *Thespis* was the Inventor of Satyrical Plays; Yet among the Plays, says he, that are ascribed to *Thespis*, there's not one that appears to have been Satyrical. *Πενθεὺς* indeed seems to promise the fairest to be so; but we have observed that the old Poets never

1) Τὸ γνωμολογικὸν ἀλλότριον τῆς Τραγωδίας ἡγούμενος. *Vita Æsch.* [p. 119, 32 West.].

2) *Laert. Heracl.* [V 6].

3) *Poll.* vii. 13 [45]. *Θέσις ἐν τῷ Πενθεῖ.* 4) *νεβρίδ' ἔχειν* is one of the few plausible alterations submitted by Dr. Edward Bernard in one of his letters to R. B., p. 186 [ed. *Burn.*] on which R. B. observes, *Idem profecto mihi in mentem venerat, merito vero repudiavi. Quis enim sensus et sententia?* p. 156. *Addenda to Porson's Tracts, &c. by Kidd.* p. 379. — D.

5) *Casaub. de Sat.* p. 157, & 30.

brought the *Satyrs* into the story of Pentheus. I have willingly used the words of *Casaubon*, though I do not owe the observation to him; because his Judgment must needs appear free and unbiass'd; since he had no view nor suspicion of the consequence I now make from it. For the result of the whole is this; That there was nothing publish'd by *Thespis* himself; and that *Heraclydes's* Forgeries imposed upon *Clemens*, and *Plutarch*, and *Pollux*, and others. Which by the way would be some excuse for Mr. *B.* if his obstinate persisting in his first mistake, did not too widely distinguish his case from theirs.

The next thing, that I am to debate with Mr. *B.* is the Age of the true *Thespis*. And the Witness, that upon  
 246 all accounts deserves to be first heard, is the Author of the *Arundel Marble*: for he's the ancientest Writer now extant, that speaks of his Age; he is the most accurate in his whole Performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the History of Poetry and the Stage; as appears from the numerous *Æra's* there, belonging to the several Poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the Original Stone still among us; so that his Numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine; and not liable, as written Books are, to be alter'd and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of Transcribers. The remaining Letters of *Thespis's* Epoch are these; Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν . . . . τέθνη ὁ . . . πάρος: which imply almost as manifestly, as if the whole was intire, That *Thespis* first invented Tragedy, and the Goat was made the Prize for it. The very year indeed, when this was done, cannot now be known from the Marble; for the Numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach as near to it, as the present argument requires. For we are sure, it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following Epochs; because the whole Inscription proceeds in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding Epoch is, *Cyrus's Victory over Croesus*<sup>1)</sup> and the taking of *Sardes*; which, as all the best Chronologers, *Scaliger*, *Ly-*

---

1) *Lin.* 57.



*diale, Petavius, &c.* agree, was Olymp. LIX, 1. or at lowest, at Olymp. LVIII. 2. The following is, *The beginning of Darius's Reign*, Olymp. LXV, 1.<sup>1)</sup> But if Tragedy was invented by *Thespis* between the Olympiads LIX, 1. and LXV, 1. how could *Phalaris* have intelligence of it, who was put to death before, at Olymp. LVII, 3.

This Account in the Marble establishes and is mutually establish'd by the Testimony of *Suidas*; who informs us, *That Thespis*<sup>2)</sup> made (the first) *Play at Olymp. LXI*, which period falls in between the two Epochs, that go before and after *Thespis*. And Mr. *Selden*, who first publish'd the Inscription, and view'd and measured the Stone, supplies the numbers there from this passage of *Suidas*, and the *Space*<sup>3)</sup>, he says, *where the Letters are defac'd, agrees with that Supplement*. Mr. *Selden* has been follow'd by every body\* since; and *Suidas's* Date is confirmed by another Date about *Phrynichus*, *Thespis's* Scholar. For *Phrynichus*<sup>4)</sup> taught at Olymp. LXVII, which is xxiv years after *Thespis*, and is a competent distance of age between the Scholar and the Master. But if Mr. *B.* will still protest against this Supplement of the Marble; let him do here, as he did before in the Epoch of *Susarion*<sup>5)</sup>; take fairly the middle of the account between the two Epochs before and after it. And what will he get by it? The former Epoch is Olymp. LIX, 1. The latter LXV, 1. The middle of these two is Olymp. LXII, 1, which is iv years later, than *Suidas* himself places him.

But let us see Mr. *B's* noble attempt to invalidate this Testimony of the *Arundel Marble*: for like a young *Phaeton*, he mounts the Chariot, and boldly offers to drive through the loftiest Region of Critic,<sup>6)</sup> but he is tumbled down headlong in a most miserable manner. The thing he enterprizes is this;<sup>7)</sup> He charges the *Graver* of the Marble with an omission of a whole Line; or perhaps of several, for this he does not determin. The Original Pa-

1) *Lin. 59.*  
 ξ' ὀλυμπιάδος.

Φρύνιχος.  
 cism. — W.

2) *Suid. in Θέσπις ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ τῆς α' καὶ*  
 3) *Spatio lacunæ annuente.*

4) *P. 141.*

5) *P. 168.*

6) We should now say Criti-

per, which the Graver was to copy, he supposes to have been thus;

248 Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Ἀφ' οὗ Φρύνιχος ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . ἀχι . . . ος ἐδίδαξεν  
 αλ . . . στιν . . . . . τέθῃ ὁ . . . ράγος . . . .

The space between *Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς* and *Ἀφ' οὗ Φρύνιχος*, which is now omitted by the *negligence of the Graver*, contain'd, as he imagins, the *Epoch* belonging to *Thespis*, that is, the Name and the Date of his Play, and of the *Athenian Archon*. But when the Graver had cut the first Line, as far as *Ποιητὴς*; he unluckily throws his Eye upon the lower Line, and finding the word *Ποιητὴς* there in the same situation, he thinks himself right, and goes on with the rest that followed it;<sup>1)</sup> and so tacks the *Epoch* to *Thespis* which really and in the Original belong'd to *Phrynichus*. This wonderfull Atchievement our Examiner seems mightily pleased with; he inculcates<sup>2)</sup> it once and twice, and applauds his own Sagacity in it: but perhaps he will be a warning hereafter to all young and unfledg'd Writers, to learn to go, before they pretend to fly.

The Pretenses for this charge upon the *Marble-Graver* are so very weak and precarious, so improper and useless to Mr. B's own design; that I confess I should be wholly astonish'd at his management, if I was not now a little acquainted with this odd Work of his, as himself calls it.<sup>3)</sup> His first Pretense is,<sup>4)</sup> That *Ἀλχηστis*, which the Graver has made to be *Thespis's Play*, was the name of a Play of *Phrynichus*; but is no-where reckon'd among *Thespis's*, but here. But I have already shewn, that *Ἀλχηστιν* was only a Supplement of Mr. Selden's,<sup>5)</sup> and a very false Conjecture, from the dim Letters *ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ*; which now  
 249 are quite vanish'd: and that really neither *Ἀλχηστis* nor any other title of a Play are mention'd in the Marble. But suppose it was *Ἀλχηστis* there; pray where is the consequence, that Mr. B. would infer from it? Did *Thespis* make no Tragedies, but what<sup>6)</sup> are mention'd by *Suidas*?

<sup>1)</sup> P. 168.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 169.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 68.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 168.

<sup>5)</sup> See here, p. 240.

<sup>6)</sup> Instead of *such as*, a solecism I have frequently heard in Yorkshire. — W.

Does not *Suidas* himself expressly say, *That those were the names of some of his Plays,*<sup>1)</sup> not ALL that he ever made? And what an admirable argument is it; *Alcestis was a Play of Phrynichus's, therefore none of Thespis's had the same Title?* As if the same Story and the same Persons were not introduc'd over and over again by different hands? Among the few Tragedies that are yet extant, we have an *Ἠλεκτρα* of *Sophocles*, and another *Ἠλεκτρα* too of *Euripides*. Nay besides this very *Ἀλκυστις* of *Phrynichus*, and another called *Φοίνισσαι*, there was an *Ἀλκυστις* and *Φοίνισσαι* of *Euripides* too, both which are still in being. Why then might not *Phrynichus* write one Tragedy after *Thespis*, as well as *Euripides* write<sup>2)</sup> two after Him?

The next Pretense for accusing the *Marble-Graver* of an Omission of some Lines is,<sup>3)</sup> *Because it's a case that is known often to have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts.* Here's another consequence the very twin to that which went before. *Because Omissions often happen in copying of MSS,* therefore *this IS an Omission in the Epoch of Thespis.* If this argument had any force in't, it would equally hold against all the other Epochs of this Marble, and against all Marbles and MSS whatsoever. For what will be able to stand the shock, if this can be thrown down by saying, *That Omissions often happen?* Mr. B. if he would make good his Indictment against the Graver, ought to prove from the Place it self, from the want of Connexion, or <sup>250</sup> some other Defect there, that there's just reason to suspect some lines have been left out. But to accuse him upon this general Pretense, because *other Copiers have been negligent*, has exactly as much Sense and Equity in it, as if Mr. B. should be charged with meddling in what he understands not, and exposing his Ignorance, *Because it's a case, that is known often to have happen'd in the crude Books of Young Writers.* And besides this, there's another infirmity that this Argument labours under. For though a Copier may sometimes miss a Line or two, by taking off his Eye; yet if he have but the common diligence at last to com-

1) *Suid.* Θέσπ. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ, Ἀθλα Πέλλου, &c. Not τὰ δράματα. 2) In my opinion, Bentley intended *writ*, then a common form of the imperfect. — W. 3) P. 168.

pare his Copy with the Original, he discovers his own Omissions, and presently rectifies them: and by this means it comes to pass, that such deficiencies in the Texts of MSS are generally supplied and perfected by the same hand in the Margin. Though we should suppose therefore, that the Stone-Cutter might carelessly miss something; yet can we suppose too, that the Author of the Inscription would never read what was engraved there? Would a person of Learning and Quality, as he appears to have been, who had taken such accurate pains to deduce a whole Series of Chronology from before *Deucalion's* Deluge to his own time, and for the benefit of Posterity to engrave it upon Marble, and set it up in a conspicuous place as a publick Monument, be at last so stupidly negligent as not to examin the Stone-Cutter's Work, where the missing of a single Letter in the numbers of any *Æra*, would make the Computation false, and spoil the Author's whole design? What mad work would it make then, if, as Mr. *B.* affirms, 251 whole Lines were omitted by the Stone-Cutter, and pass'd uncorrected? Is it possible that the worthy Author of the Monument (I might say perhaps, *The Authors*, for it seems to have been done at a publick Charge) should act so inconsistently? Mr. *B.* if he pleases, may think so, or affirm it without thinking; but when he catches me affirming it, I'll give him leave to tell me again in his well-bred way, *That my head has no Brains in't.*

For the Epoch it self assures me, that there was no Omission here by the Stone-cutter. The words are, *Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής . . . . . πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν . . . τέλη δ' . . . πάρος.* Now if all the words after *ποιητής* belong to *Phrynichus*, as Mr. *B.* says, and not to *Thespis*, as the Stone-cutter says; pray, what's the meaning of *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ*, FIRST? *Thespis*, I know, FIRST invented Tragedy; and that was worthy of being recorded here; as the Invention of Comedy was before. But what did *Phrynichus* FIRST find out, that deserv'd to be named here? Why he FIRST brought in Women into the Subject of his Plays;<sup>1)</sup> which is a business of less moment, than that of *Æschylus*, who first added a Second Actor; or of *Sophocles*, who added a Third: yet

1) *Suid. Φρόν.*

neither of these two Improvements are register'd in the Marble: and why then should that of *Phrynichus* be mention'd, when Theirs are omitted? But I will not charge it as a fault upon Mr. B. that he neglected to gather this hint from the word *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ*; for the common Editions of the Marble have it not. But I'm afraid, he will not easily excuse himself for not observing the next words; . . . *τέθη δ' ὁ . . . πάρος*; which have been always hitherto thought to signifie, *That the GOAT was made the Prize of Tragedy*. Now certainly the proper place of mentioning this Prize <sup>252</sup> was at the Epoch of *Thespis*, the Inventor of Tragedy: for so the Prizes of Comedy, the Cask of Wine, and the Basket of Figs, are mention'd in the Epoch of *Susarion*, the Inventor of Comedy. And what a Blindness was it in Mr. B. not to observe this; when he so boldly tells the Stone-cutter and the Man that set him on work, that they have drop'd a whole Line, and that these words belong to *Phrynichus*? Pray what could *ΠΑΙΟΣ* the GOAT have to do, in the Epoch of *Phrynichus*? Does Mr. B. believe, that sorry Prize was continued, after Tragedy came into Reputation? Would *Phrynichus*, or any body for him, have been at the Charge of a Stage, and all the Ornaments of a Chorus and Actors, for the hopes of winning a Goat, that would hardly pay for one Vizard? In the following Epochs of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c. there's no mention of the Goat: and if this Epoch had belong'd to *Phrynichus*, no Goat had been here neither.

But Mr. B. the rather suspects,<sup>1)</sup> *That the Graver did make an Omission*; because the next *Æra* in the Marble falls as low as *Olymp. LXVII*: before which time it is not to be doubted, but the *Alcestis* of *Phrynichus* (that *Phrynichus* who was *Thespis's* Scholar) was acted.<sup>2)</sup> Now with his leave, I shall make bold to ask him one Question, in words of his own,<sup>3)</sup> *Whether it was proper and prudent in him to accuse the Stone-cutter of Negligence, by an Argument that discovers a shamefull Negligence in himself?* For the next *Æra* is not so low as *Olymp. LXVII*. As Mr. Selden has publish'd it, 'tis but *Olymp. LXV*. 4. But without doubt

<sup>1)</sup> P. 168.  
print. — D.

<sup>2)</sup> 'added' in the original ed., by a mis-  
<sup>3)</sup> P. 143.

Mr. *Selden* mistook the Letters of the Inscription (as the  
 253 Learned Dr. *Prideaux* observed before me) and for *III* read  
*III*, i. e. 3. instead of 6. So that the true *Æra* that comes  
 next after *Thespis*, is Olymp. *LXV*, 1; but the *Æra* that Mr. *B.*  
 speaks of, Olymp. *LXVII* is the next but one after *Thespis*.  
 Is not Mr. *B.* now an accurate Writer, and a fit person,  
 to correct a Stone-cutter? <sup>1)</sup> Or shall we blame his Assistant,  
 that consulted Books for him? But the Assistant may be  
 rather supposed to have writ this passage right; and the  
 Mistake be Mr. *B.*'s: for that is a Case known often to  
 have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts. <sup>2)</sup>

But the Gentleman makes amends with telling us a  
 piece of most certain News; <sup>3)</sup> For it is not to be doubted,  
 he says, but the *Alcestis* of *Phrynichus* was acted before  
 Olymp. *LXVII*. Now I would crave leave to enquire of him,  
 How he came to hear this News? But perhaps he'll tell  
 me, <sup>4)</sup> I may as well ask, how he came to hear his Name  
 was *Phrynichus*? Fame that told him the One, must tell him  
 the Other too. But if he do not trust too much to Fame  
 (which I advise him not to do, for she often changes sides)  
 I would then tell him a piece of News, quite contrary to  
 His; That it is not to be doubted, but *Alcestis* was not  
 acted before Olymp. *LXVII*. Because that Olympiad was the  
 very first time that *Phrynichus* wrote for the Stage; and  
 he was alive, and made Plays still, *xxxv* years after. I  
 will tell him too some other particulars about this *Phry-*  
*nichus*: but before I do that, he'll give me leave to ex-  
 postulate a little about his Conduct in this Quarrel with  
 the Stone-cutter: the whole ground of which, as the case  
 plainly appears, was this. Mr. *B.* would have *Thespis* placed  
 254 earlier in the Marble than Olymp. *LXI*; because *Phalaris*  
 was dead before that Olympiad, and consequently could  
 not hear of Tragedy, unless *Thespis* was earlier. Upon  
 this he indites the Stone-cutter for an idle fellow; who  
 after he had graved 'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς, skipp'd a  
 whole Line, and tacked the words, which concerned *Phry-*  
*nichus*, to the name of *Thespis*. Now allowing that the  
 poor Stone-cutter should confess this, and plead guilty;  
 pray what advantage would Mr. *B.* and his *Sicilian Prince*  
 get by't? For let it be, as he would have it; 'Αφ' οὗ ὁ

1) Pref.

2) P. 168.

3) P. 168.

4) P. 161.

Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής . . . . . and that the line, that should have come after, was really omitted. Yet however since *THESPI*S is named there, there was something said about him in the very original, which the Graver should have copied; and though the *Æra* of it be lost by the *Graver's negligence*; yet we are sure from the method of the whole Inscription, that this lost *Æra* must needs be later than that which comes before it. But the *Æra* that comes before it, *Cyrus's Victory over Croesus*, is Olymp. LIX, 1. or at soonest LVIII, 2. And the Death of *Phalaris*, as Mr. B. himself allows through all his Examination, was at Olymp. LVII, 3. What is it then, that he aims at in his charge against the Stone-cutter? Could he carry his Point against him never so clearly; yet his *Phalaris* is still in the very same condition: for he died, we see, VIII years or v at least, before *Thespis* is spoken of in the *Original Inscription*. And is not this a substantial piece of *Dullness*, ('tis one of his own civil words) to make all this bustle about Omissions in the Marble: when, if all he asks be allow'd him, he is but just as he was before. I am afraid his Readers will be tempted to think, that, whether the Stone-cutter was so or no, his Accuser has here shewed 255 himself a very ordinary Workman.

Having thus vindicated the *Graver* of the Inscription from the insults of our Examiner, I shall now put in a word in behalf of the *Author* of it. That excellent Writer here tells us, that the *first* performance of *Thespis* was after Olymp. LIX, 1. For this is the plain import of his words; and those learned Men, *who have taken pains to illustrate this Chronicle*,<sup>1)</sup> have all understood 'em so. But Mr. B. will not take up with this Authority;<sup>2)</sup> for he affirms, *Some of Thespis's Plays were acted about Olymp. LIII; and if this here about Olymp. LX was his, it was rather one of his Last, than the First: but his real opinion is, that it was neither his First nor Last; but Phrynichus's Play erroneously applied to Thespis*. Now in answer to this, I dare undertake from the same Topic, that Mr. B. uses, i. e. a comparison of *Thespis's Age with Phrynichus's*, to prove the very contrary, That this Play about Olymp. LX could not

1) P. 141.

2) P. 168, 169.

be *Phrynichus's*; and that in all probability 'twas the very first of *Thespis*.

*Suidas*, to whom the whole learned World confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the Age and Works of so many Authors, tells us,<sup>1)</sup> *Phrynichus was Thespis's Scholar*; and Mr. B. himself expressly affirms the same.<sup>2)</sup> *Plato* names them both together, as Pretenders to the Invention of Tragedy; where he says,<sup>3)</sup> *That Tragedy did not begin, as men believe, from Thespis, nor from Phrynichus*. And if any one will infer from this passage of *Plato*, That the two Poets were nearer of an Age, than Master and Scholar usually are; he will make my Argument against *Phalaris* so much the stronger: for by this means *Thespis* will be nearer to *Phrynichus's* Age, and remoter from *Phalaris's*. But I am willing to suppose with Mr. B. that *Phrynichus* was Scholar to *Thespis*: so that if we can but fix the Scholar's Age, we may gather from thence the Age of the Master. Now *Phrynichus* made a Tragedy at *Athens*, which he intituled, *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*, *The taking of Miletus*. *Callisthenes* says (they are the words of *Strabo*)<sup>4)</sup> *that Phrynichus the Tragic Poet was fined by the Athenians a Thousand Drachms, for making a Tragedy called, The taking of Miletus by Darius*. And *Herodotus*<sup>5)</sup> an older Author than he, *When Phrynichus*, says he, *exhibited his Play, The Taking of Miletus; the whole Theatre fell into Tears, and fined the Poet a thousand Drachms, and made an order, that no body ever after should make a Play of that Subject*. The same thing is reported by *Plutarch*,<sup>6)</sup> *Ælian*,<sup>7)</sup> *Libanius*,<sup>8)</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus*,<sup>9)</sup> the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*,<sup>10)</sup> and *Joh. Tzetzes*.<sup>11)</sup> But the taking of *Miletus*, the whole story of which is related by *Herodotus*, was either at Olymp. LXX, or LXXI, as all Chronologers are agreed. And the Tragedy of *Phrynichus* being made upon that Subject, we are sure that he must be alive after Olymp. LXX.

1) *Suid. in Φρύν. Μανητῆς Θέσπιδος.*

2) *P. 168.*

3) *Plato in Minoe.*

4) *Strabo xiv. p. 635. Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν*

*ὡπὸ Δαρείου.*

5) *Herod. vi. c. 21.*

6) *Plut. Præc. Reip.*

*gerendæ [17].*

7) *Æl. xii, 17.*

8) *Liban. Tom. I. p. 506.*

9) *Amm. xxviii, 1.*

10) *Schol. Arist. p. 364 [Vesp. 1490].*

11) *Tzetz. Chil. viii, 156 [p. 278 v. 997 ed. Kiessl].*



But there's another Tragedy of his, called *Φοίνισσαι*, which will shew him to have been still alive above xx years after that Olympiad. It is cited by the Scholiast<sup>1)</sup> on *Aristophanes*; and *Athenæus*<sup>2)</sup> gives us an Iambic out of it:

*Ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀείδοντες μέλη.*

But the Writer of the Argument of *Æschylus's Persæ* has the most particular account of it; *Glaucus*, says he, in his *Book about the Subjects of Æschylus's Plays*, says, *his Persæ were borrow'd from the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus*;<sup>3)</sup> the first Verse of which *Phœnissæ* is this;

*Τὰδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων.*

and an *Eunuch* is introduc'd, bringing the news of *Xerxes's* Defeat,<sup>4)</sup> and setting Chairs for the Ministers of State to sit down on. Now it's evident from this Fragment, that *Phrynichus* was yet alive after *Xerxes's* Expedition, i. e. Olymp. LXXV, 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a Tragedy at *Athens*, and carried the Victory; *Themistocles*<sup>5)</sup> being at the Charge of all the Furniture of the Scene and Chorus; who in memory of it, set up this Inscription. ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ· ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ· ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. *Themistocles of the Parish of Phreari was at the charge; Phrynichus made the Tragedy; and Adimantus was Archon.* And I am apt to believe, that *Phœnissæ* was this very Play, which he made for *Themistocles*. For what could be a more proper Subject and Complement to *Themistocles*, than *Xerxes's* Defeat, which he had so great a hand in. Now we are sure from the name of the Archon, that this was done at Olymp. LXXV, 4. and how long the Poet survived this Victory, there is no body now to tell us.

To compare this now with Mr. B's Doctrine about the Age of *Thespis* and *Phrynichus*:<sup>6)</sup> 'Tis not to be doubted, says he, but the *Alcestis* of *Phrynichus* was acted before Olymp. LXVII. There spoke an Oracle: 'tis not to be doubted, because we find him still making Tragedies xxxvi years

<sup>1)</sup> Schol. Arist. p. 318 [Vesp. 220]. <sup>2)</sup> Athen. p. 635 [e].

Φρύν. ἐν Φοινίσσαις. <sup>3)</sup> Ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου τοῦς

Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι.

<sup>4)</sup> Τὴν τοῦ Σέρξου ἥταν.

<sup>5)</sup> Plut. in Themist. [5]. Χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς.

<sup>6)</sup> P. 168.

after. Mr. B. declares *his Opinion* twice,<sup>1)</sup> *That a Play acted about Olymp. LX was not made by Thespis, but by Phry-*  
 258 *nichus.* Who will not rise up now to this Gentleman's *Opinion?* That Play must needs be *Phrynichus's*, because he was working for the Stage still, nay and carried the Prize there, LXIII years after that Olympiad. This, I think, is a little longer, than Mr. *Dryden's* *Vein* has yet lasted,<sup>2)</sup> which Mr. B. says is about xxxvi years.<sup>3)</sup> But I can help him to another instance, that will come up with it exactly to a single year. For *Sophocles*<sup>4)</sup> begun Tragedy at the age of xxviii, and held out at it till the age of xci; the interval LXIII. If this Example will bring off Mr. B. for saying, the Play is *Phrynichus's*, against the plain Authority of the Marble, it is at his Service: but with this reserve, that he shall not abuse me for *Lending* it; for I have had too much of that already.

But, If I may venture to guess any thing, that Mr. B. will think or say; I conceive, that upon better consideration, he will be willing to allow *Suidas's*<sup>5)</sup> words, *That Phrynichus got the Prize at Olymp. LXVII*, to be meant of his *First Victory*. For so we find in the Marble, that the *First Victories* of *Æschylus*,<sup>6)</sup> *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, are the only ones recorded. And if *Phrynichus* began at Olymp. LXVII, then the distance between his *First* and his *Last* (that we know of) will be xxxvi years; which is the very space that Mr. B. assigns to *Aristophanes* and Mr. *Dryden*. And it hits too with what the same *Suidas* has deliver'd about *Thespis*,<sup>7)</sup> *That he exhibited a Play at Olymp. LXI*. For if we interpret this passage, like the other about *Phrynichus*, That it was *Thespis's First Play*: then the Master will be older than the Scholar by about xxv years: which is a competent time, and, I believe, near upon the same,  
 258 that the very Learned Person, whom Mr. B.<sup>8)</sup> so much honours by *letting the world know, he had all his knowledge*

1) P. 168, 169.

2) P. 169.

3) Dryden was born 1631 and was therefore sixty-seven years old at the time of the publication of Boyle's 'Examination' (1698). His first work was an ode to Cromwell, written about 1658. — W.

4) *Marm. Arund.*

5) *Suid. in Φρόν. Ένίκα επί της ξ' ε' δολυπιάδος.*

6) *Marm. Arund. Πρωτον ενιχησε.*

7) *Suid. in Θέσπ.*

8) P. 60.

in these matters from him,<sup>1)</sup> (which they, that know that person's eminent Learning, will think to be no Complement to him) is older than Mr. B. And I humbly conceive, that all these Hits and Coincidences, when added to the express Authority of the Marble, which sets *Thespis* after Olymp. LIX, will bring it up to the highest probability, that *Thespis* first introduced Tragedy about Olymp. LXI; which is XIV years after the true *Phalaris* was dead.

I observe Mr. B's emphatical Expression,<sup>2)</sup> *The Alcestis of Phrynichus*; that *Phrynichus who was Thespis's Scholar*: which seems to imply, that he thought there were two *Phrynichus's*, both Tragic Poets: and indeed the famous *Lilius Gyraldus*,<sup>3)</sup> almost as learned a man as Mr. B. was of the same opinion. It's necessary therefore to examine this point, or else our Argument from the Date of *Phrynichus's Phœnissæ* will be very lame and precarious: for it may be pretended, the Author of *Phœnissæ* was not that *Phrynichus*, that was *Thespis's Scholar*. Now, with Mr. B's gracious permission, (for I dare be free with *Gyraldus*) I will endeavour to shew, that there was but One Tragedian of that name. 'Tis true there were two *Phrynichus's* that wrote for the Stage, the one a Tragic, the other a Comic Poet; that's a thing beyond question: but the point that I contend for, is, that there were not two *Phrynichus's* Writers of Tragedy.

The Pretense for asserting two Tragic Poets of that name is a passage of *Suidas*; who, after he had named *Φρύνιχος*, &c. *Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon or Minyras, or Chorocles, the Scholar of Thespis*; and that <sup>260</sup> *his Tragedies are nine, Πλευρωνία*,<sup>4)</sup> *Αἰγύπτιοι*, &c. subjoins under a new head, *Φρύνιχος*, &c. *Phrynichus, the Son of Melanthas, an Athenian Tragedian; some of his Plays are Ἀνδρομέδα, Ἡρόνη and Πυρρήχαι*. This latter place is

<sup>1)</sup> »The worthy Dean of York,« as he is styled in Boyle's 'Examination' p. 59, Dr. Gale. — W. <sup>2)</sup> P. 168.

<sup>3)</sup> *Gyrald. De Poetis*. [p. 723 ed. Basil. 1545]. [Bentley here falls foul of Gyraldus, but unjustly. Even Hallam calls him »one of the most eminent scholars of his age,« *Lit. Hist.* II p. 55].

<sup>4)</sup> *Suid. in Φρύν. leg. Πλευρωνία* [rather *Πλευρώνια*] ex Tzetze ad *Lycophronem*.

taken word for word out of *Aristophanes's* Scholiast,<sup>1)</sup> who adds that the same man made the Tragedy called, *The taking of Miletus*. Now it may seem from these two passages, that there were two *Phrynichus's* Tragic Poets: for the one is called the Son of *Melanthas*, the other not: and the three Plays ascribed to the latter are quite different from all the Nine that were made by the former. But to take off this Pretense; I crave leave to observe, that the naming his Father *Melanthas* is an argument of small force: for we see the other has three Fathers assign'd to him; so uncertain was the Tradition about the name of his Father: some Authors therefore might relate, that his Father was called *Melanthas*; and yet mean the very same *Phrynichus*, that according to others was the Son of *Polyphradmon*. And then the second Plea, that the Plays attributed to the one are wholly different from those of the other, is even weaker than the former: for the whole Dozen mention'd in *Suidas* might belong to the same *Phrynichus*. He says indeed, *Phrynichus Polyphradmon's* Son, writ *Nine Plays*; because the Author, he here copies from, knew of no more. But there might be more notwithstanding his not hearing of them; as we see there were really two, *The taking of Miletus*, and *Phœnissæ*; that are not mention'd here by *Suidas*.

261 Having shewn now, what very slight ground the Tradition about two Tragedian *Phrynichus's* is built on; I will give some Arguments on my side, which induce me to think there was but one. And my first is, Because all the Authors named above, *Herodotus*, *Callisthenes*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Libanius*, *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Joh. Tzetzes*, who speak of the Play call'd, *The Taking of Miletus*, stile the Author of it barely, *Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγικός*, *Phrynichus the Tragedian*; without adding *ὁ Νεώτερος*, the *Younger*; as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to have done; if this person had not been the famous *Phrynichus*, that was *Theopis's* Scholar. And so when he is quoted on other occasions, by *Athenæus*, *Hephæstion*, *Isaac Tzetzes*, &c. he is called in like manner, *Phrynichus the Tragic Poet*, without.

1) Σχολ. Arist. Vesp. p. 364 [v. 1490].

the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas*, who are the sole Authors produced to shew there were two Tragedians, do in other places plainly declare, there was but one. *There were four Phrynichus's in all*, says the Scholiast,<sup>1)</sup>

1. Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon, the Tragic Poet.
2. Phrynichus, the Son of Chorocles, an Actor of Tragedies<sup>2)</sup>.
3. Phrynichus, the Son of Eunomides, the Comic Poet.
4. Phrynichus, the Athenian General, who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a Plot against the Government.

What can be more evident, than that according to this Catalogue there was but one of this name, a Tragedian? but 'tis no wonder, if in Lexicons and Scholia compiled out of several Authors, there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place both the Scholiast<sup>3)</sup> and *Suidas*<sup>4)</sup> make this fourth *Phrynichus*, the General, to be the same with the third the Comic Poet: on the contrary, *Ælian*<sup>5)</sup> makes him the same with the first; and he adds a particular circumstance, *That in his Tragedy Πυρρίχαι he so pleased the Theatre with the warlike Songs and Dances of his Chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a General.* Among the Moderns some fall in with *Ælian*'s story, and some with the other: but with all deference to their Judgments, I am persuaded both of them are false. For *Phrynichus* the General was stabb'd at Athens, Olymp. xcii, 2, as *Thucydides*<sup>6)</sup> relates: but a more exact account of the circumstances of his Death is to be met with in *Lysias*<sup>7)</sup> and *Lycurgus*<sup>8)</sup> the Orators. This

<sup>1)</sup> *Schol. Arist. p. 397. 130* [Av. 750. Ran. 13]. And so *Suid.* in *Φρόν.* and *Λύκις.* <sup>2)</sup> See also p. 113. 358 [Nub. 1091. Vesp. 1302]. *τραγικὸς ὑποκριτής.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Schol. p. 157.* [Ran. 688]. <sup>4)</sup> *Suid.* in *Φρόν. & Παλαιόμασι.* <sup>5)</sup> *Æl.*

*Var. Hist. iii, 8.* <sup>6)</sup> *Thucyd. viii. p. 617* [50 sq.].

<sup>7)</sup> *Lysias contra Agoratum, p. 136* [§. 70 sqq.]. <sup>8)</sup> *Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 163, 164* [§. 112].

being a matter of Fact beyond all doubt and controversie; I affirm, that the Date of his Death can neither agree with the Tragic nor the Comic Poet's History; being too late for the one, and too early for the other. 'Tis too late for the Tragedian; because he began to make Plays, as we have seen above, at Olymp. LXVII; from which time, till Olymp. XCII, 2, there are CII years: and even from the Date of his *Phænissæ*, that were acted at Olymp. LXXV, 4. which is the last time we hear of him, there are LXVI years to the death of *Phrynichus* the General. And then it's too early for the Comedian; for we find him alive v years after, contending with his Play<sup>1</sup>) called *The Muses* (quoted by *Athenæus*, *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c.) against *Aristophanes's Frogs*, at Olymp. XCVIII, 3. when *Callias* was Archon.

263 Again, I will shew there was but one *Phrynichus* a Tragedian: *Aristophanes* in his *Vespæ* says, that the old men at *Athens* used to sing the old Songs of *Phrynichus*;

καὶ μνηροῖζοντες μέλη  
Ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυγχήρατα.<sup>2</sup>)

'Tis a conceited word of the Poet's making; and *σιδωνο*, which is one member in the Composition of it, relates to the *Phænissæ* (i. e. the *Sidonians*) a Play of *Phrynichus's*, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see, the Author of *Phænissæ* (whom they suppose to be the latter *Phrynichus*) is meant by *Aristophanes*; but if I prove too, that *Aristophanes* in this very place meant the *Phrynichus*, *Thespis's* Scholar; 'twill be evident, that these two *Phrynichus's* (whom they falsly imagin) are really one and the same. Now that *Aristophanes* meant the Scholar of *Thespis* will appear from the very words, μέλη ἀρχαῖα, *Ancient Songs and Tunes*. *Ancient*, because That *Phrynichus* was the second, or as some in *Plato* thought, the first Author of Tragedy. And *Songs and Tunes*; because he was celebrated and famous by that very character. *Phrynichus*, says the Scholiast on this place,<sup>3</sup>) had a mighty name for making of Songs; but in another place he says the same thing of *Phrynichus* the Son of *Polyphradmon*; who according to

<sup>1</sup>) *Argum. Ran. Arist.*    <sup>2</sup>) *Arist. Vesp. p. 318 [220. 269].*

<sup>3</sup>) *P. 318 [220]. Δι' ὀνόματος ἦν καθόλου ἐπὶ μελοποιῶν.*

*Suidas* was *Thespis's* Scholar, *He* was admired, says he, for the making of Songs:<sup>1)</sup> *They* cry him up for the composing of *Tunes*: and he was before *Æschylus*.<sup>2)</sup> And can it be doubted then any longer, but that the same person is meant? 'Tis a Problem of *Aristotle's*, *Διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον μᾶλλον ἦσαν μελοποιοί;* *Why did Phrynichus make more Songs than any Tragedian does now adays?*<sup>3)</sup> And he answers it, *Ἥ διὰ τὸ πολλαπλάσια εἶναι τότε τὰ μέλη ἐν ταῖς τῶν μέτρων τραγωδίαις;* correct it, *τὰ μέλη τῶν μέτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις.* Was it, says he, because at that time, the Songs (sung by the Chorus) in Tragedies were many more than the Verses (spoken by the Actors?) Does not *Aristotle's* very question imply, that there was but one *Phrynichus* a Tragedian? 264

I will add one Argument more for it, and That, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the Controversie. For I will prove that the very passage in *Aristophanes*, where the Scholiast, and *Suidas* from him, tell us of this (supposed second) *Phrynichus* the Son of *Melanthas*, concerns the one and true *Phrynichus* the Scholar of *Thespis*. *The ancient Poets* (says *Athenæus*)<sup>4)</sup> *Thespis*, *Pratinas*, *Carcinus*, and *Phrynichus*, were called, *ὄρχηστικοί*, *Dancers*: because they not only used much dancing in the Chorus's of their Plays, but they were common Dancing-Masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn. And to the same purpose *Aristotle*<sup>5)</sup> tells us, that the first Poetry of the Stage was *ὄρχηστικωτέρα* more set upon Dances, than that of the following Ages. This being premised (though I had occasion to speak of it before) I shall now set down the words of the Poet:<sup>6)</sup>

Ὁ γὰρ γέρων, ὡς ἔπαιε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου,  
 ἤκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρὴς τῷ πράγματι,  
 ὄρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύσεται.  
 Τάρχα' ἐκεῖν' οἷς θέσπις ἡγωνίζετο  
 Καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς φησιν ἀποδείξειν χρόνους  
 Τὸν νοῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

Which are spoken by a Servant concerning an old fellow

1) P. 397. [Av. 750]. Ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ μελοποιΐαις.

2) P. 166. [Ran. 916]. Ἐπαινοῦσιν εἰς μελ. ἦν δὲ πρὸ Ἀλ-  
 σγύλου.

3) Arist. probl. xix, 31.

4) Athen. i. p. 22.

Ὁἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί. 5) Arist. Poet. iv. 6) Arist. Vesp. p. 364.

his Master, that was in a frolick of Dancing. Who the *Thespis* was, that is 'here spoken of, the Scholiast and *Suidas* pretend to tell us; for they say, 'Twas one Thespis  
 265 a Harper, not the Tragic Poet.<sup>1)</sup> To speak freely, the Place has not been understood this thousand years and more; being neither written nor pointed right. For what can be the meaning of *Κρόνους τὸν νοῦν*? The word *Κρόνος* alone signifies the whole; and *τὸν νοῦν* is superfluous and needless. So in another place:<sup>2)</sup>

*Οὐχὶ διδάξεις τοῦτον, κρόνος ὤν.*

I humbly conceive the whole passage should be thus read and distinguish'd:

*Ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται  
 Τάρχα' ἐκεῖν', οἷς θέσπις ἡγωνίζετο.  
 Καὶ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς φησὶν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους  
 Τοὺς νῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.*

All night long, says he, he dances those old Dances that Thespis used in his Chorus's: and he says, he'll dance here upon the Stage by and by, and shew the Tragedians of these times to be a parcel of Fools, he'll out-dance them so much. And who can doubt now, that considers what I have newly quoted from *Athenæus*, but that *Thespis*, ὁ ἀρχαῖος, the Old Tragic Poet (who lived cxi years before the Date of this Play) ὁ διορχηστικὸς, the common Dancing-Master at Athens, is meant here by *Aristophanes*? So that the Scholiast and *Suidas* may take their Harper again for their own Diversion; for it was a common practice among those Grammarians, when they happen'd to be at a loss, to invent a story for the purpose. But to go on with *Aristophanes*: the old fellow begins to dance, and as he dances, he says;

*Κλῆθρα χαλάσθω τάδε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ  
 Σχήματος ἀρχή  
 (ὦ! Μᾶλλον δὲ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή)  
 Πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπαὶ ῥώμης.*

266 So the Interlocution is to be placed here, which is faulty in all the Editions. Make room there, says he, for I'm beginning a Dance, that's enough to strain a man's Side with the violent motion. After a line or two he adds:

<sup>1)</sup> *Schol. ibid.* [1479]. Ὁ κωμωπῶδης, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ τραγικός. So *Suidas* in *θέσπ.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Arist. Nub.* p. 107 [929].



Πτήσσει Φρόνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ,  
(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)

Σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλατίζων.

Thus the words are to be pointed, which have hitherto been falsely distinguish'd. But there's an error here of a worse sort, which has possess'd the Copies of this Play, ever since *Adrian's* time, and perhaps before. *Πτήσσω* signifies, *to crouch and sneak away for fear*, as Poultry do at the sight of the Kite; or a Cock, when he is beaten at fighting. The Scholiast<sup>1)</sup> and *Ælian*<sup>2)</sup> tells us, that *Πτήσσει Φρόνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ*, *Phrynichus sneaks like a Cock*, became a Proverb upon those that came off badly in any affair; because *Phrynichus* the Tragedian came off sneakingly, when he was fined 1000 Drachms for his Play, *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*. Now with due reverence to Antiquity, I crave leave to suspect, that this is a Proverb coin'd on purpose, because the Commentators were puzzled here. For in the first place, *To sneak away like a Cock*, seems to be a very improper Similitude: for a Cock is one of the most bold and martial of Birds. I know there's an expression like this, of some nameless Poet's:

Ἐπτῇξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλον ὡς κλῖνας περὸν.<sup>3)</sup>

*He sneak'd like a Cock, that hangs down his wings when he's beaten.*

But this case is widely different; for the Comparison here is very elegant and natural, because the circumstance of *being beaten* is added to it: but to say it in general of a Cock, as if the whole species were naturally timid, is unwarrantable and absurd. As in another instance; *He stares like a man frightened out of his wits*, is an expression proper enough: but we cannot say in general, *He stares like a Man*. I shall hardly believe therefore, that *Aristophanes*, the most ingenious man of an Age that was fertil of great Wits, would let such an expression pass him, *He sneaks like a Cock*. But in the next place, the absurdity of it is doubled and tripled by the Sentence that it's joyn'd with: *Phrynichus*, says he, *kicking his legs up to the very Heavens*

1) *Schol. ibid.* [1490].

2) *Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 17.*

Ἐπὶ τῶν χαλόν [χαλῶς edd.] τι πασχόντων. 3) *Plut. in Alcib.*  
[4. See Nauck Trag. 561].

in his Dances, crouches and sneaks like a Cock. This is no better than down-right Non-sense; though to say something in excuse for the Interpreters, they did not join ἐκλακτίζων with Φρόνιχος, as I do, but with the word that follows in the next Verse. But if the Reader pleases to consult the passage in the Poet, he will be convinced, that the Construction can be no other, than what I have made it. Ἐκλακτισμός, says Hesychius, σχῆμα χορικόν, ὀρχήσεως σύντονον (correct it, σχῆμα<sup>1</sup>) χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως, συντονον) was a sort of Dance lofty and vehement, used by the Chorus's. And Julius Pollux,<sup>2</sup> Τὰ ἐκλακτίσματα, γυναικῶν ἦν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ὤμον ἐκλακτίσαι; The ἐκλακτίσματα, says he, were the Dances of Women; for they were to kick their Heels higher than their Shoulders. But I conceive, here's a palpable fault in this passage of Pollux: for certainly this kind of Dance would be very unseemly and immodest in Women. And the Particle γὰρ, For, does further shew the reading to be faulty. For how can the throwing up the Heels as high as the Head in dancing  
 268 be assign'd as a Reason, why the Dance must belong to Women? It would rather prove it belong'd to Men, because it required great Strength and Agility. But the Error will be remov'd, if instead of γυναικῶν we correct it γυμνικῶν. The Dance, says he, was proper to the γυμνικοί, Exercisers; for the Legs were to be thrown up very high, and consequently it required Teaching and Practice. Well, it's evident now; how every way absurd and improper the present passage of Aristophanes is. If I may have leave to offer at the Emendation of so inveterate an Error, I would read the place thus:

ΠΛΗΣΣΕΙ Φρόνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ

(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)

Σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

i. e. Phrynichus STRIKES like a Cock, throwing up his Heels very lofty.<sup>3</sup>) This is spoken by the old Fellow, while he's cutting his Capers; and in one of his Frisks he offers to

<sup>1</sup>) So Pollux iv, 14 [105]. Τὸ σχίστας ἔλκειν, σχῆμα ὀρχήσεως χορικῆς.

<sup>2</sup>) Pollux ibid. [102]. <sup>3</sup>) Porson is reported to have been greatly in favour of this emendation; see his *Notae in Arist.* ed. Dobree p. 146. It is not, however, admitted by either Bekker or Dindorf. — W.

strike the Servant that stood by, with his Foot as it was aloft. Upon which the Servant says, *Τάχα βαλλήσεις, You'll hit me by and by with your capering and kicking.* *Πλήσσω* is the proper term for a Cock, when he strikes as he's fighting; as *Πλήκτρον* is his *Spur*, that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this, That in his Dances he leap'd up, and vaulted, like *Phrynichus*, who was celebrated for those Performances: as it further appears from what follows a little after:

Καὶ τὸ Φρυγίχειον<sup>1)</sup>  
Ἐκλακτισάτω τις ὕπως  
Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος  
Ῥῶσιν οἱ θεαταί.

Which ought to be thus corrected and distinguished:

Καὶ, τὸ Φρυγίχειον,  
Ἐκλακτισάτω τις ὕπως  
Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος,  
Ῥῶσιν οἱ θεαταί.

269

i. e. And in *Phrynichus's* way, frisk and caper; so as the Spectators seeing your Legs aloft, may cry out with admiration. Now to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose, sufficiently, that the *Phrynichus* here spoken of by *Aristophanes*, was, as well as the *Thespis*, famous for his Dancing; and consequently, by the authority of *Athenæus* quoted above, he must be *ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρύνιχος*, the Ancient *Phrynichus*, *ὁ ὀρχηστικὸς*, the Master of Dancing.<sup>2)</sup> Upon the whole matter then, there was but one Tragedian *Phrynichus*,<sup>3)</sup> the Scholar of *Thespis*; and if so, we have fully proved already from the Dates of his Plays, that his Master *Thespis* ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. LXI.

<sup>1)</sup> *Arist. p. 365* [1524]. <sup>2)</sup> We have part of an Epigram made by *Phrynichus* himself (*Plut. Sympos. Quæst. VIII 9*) in Commendation of his own Dancing:

Σχήματα δ' ὀρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
Κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖματι νύξ' ὁλοή.

*Add. p. 544.*

<sup>3)</sup> The result of Bentley's arguments has been admitted by all modern critics; see *Pauly Encycl. v p. 1584*. Some of his minor statements in the course of this exposition have, however, been contested by *Welcker* and others. — W.

But I have one short Argument more, independent of all those before, which will evidently prove, that *Thespis* was younger than *Phalaris*. For to take the earliest account of *Thespis*, which Mr. Boyle contends for, he was Contemporary with *Pisistratus*. But *Pisistratus*'s eldest Son *Hippias* was alive at Olymp. LXXI, 2.<sup>1)</sup> and after that, was at the Battle at *Marathon*, Olymp. LXXII, 2. where he was slain according to *Cicero*,<sup>2)</sup> *Justin*,<sup>3)</sup> and *Tertullian*;<sup>4)</sup> but if *Suidas* say true (out of *Ælian*'s Book, *De providentia*, as one may guess by the Style and matter) he surviv'd that fight,<sup>5)</sup> and died at *Lemnos* of a lingering Distemper: and this latter account seems to be confirmed by *Thucydides*<sup>6)</sup> and *Herodotus*: for the one says, *He was with the Medes at Marathon*,<sup>7)</sup> without saying he was kill'd there; and the other not obscurely intimates, that he was not killed; for he says,<sup>7)</sup> *His tooth that drop'd out of his head upon the Attic ground, was the only part of his Body that had a share in that Soil*: There are only two Generations then from *Thespis*'s time to the Battle of *Marathon*: but there are Four from *Phalaris*'s; for *Theron*<sup>8)</sup> the Fourth from that *Telemachus*, that deposed *Phalaris*, got the Government of *Agriгентum* Olymp. LXXIII, 1. but three years only after that Battle; and he was then at least about XL years old, as appears from the Ages of his Son and Daughter. I'll give a Table of both the Lines of Succession.

1. *Telemachus*. *Phalaris*.
2. *Emmenides*.
3. *Enesidamus*.
4. *Theron*. Ol. LXXII, 2.

*Thespis*. 1. *Pisistratus*.

2. *Hippias*. O. LXXII, 2.

'Tis true, *Hippias* was an old Man at that time; though it appears by the Post and Business that *Herodotus* assigns him, that he was not so very old as some make him. But however let him be as old, if they please, as *Theron*'s Father; yet still the case is very apparent, that *Thespis* is one whole Generation younger than *Phalaris*.

It may now be a fit season to visit the Learned Exa-

<sup>1)</sup> *Marm. Arund.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Tert. adv. Gentes.*

vi. p. 452 [59].  
p. 34, 35, 36.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cic. ad Att. ix. 10 [3].*

<sup>5)</sup> *Suid. in Ἰππίας.*

<sup>7)</sup> *Herod. vi. 106.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Just. ii. 9.*

<sup>6)</sup> *Thuc.*

<sup>8)</sup> See above

miner, and to see with what Vigour and Address he repels all these Arguments, that have settled the time of *Thespis* about Olymp. LXI.<sup>1)</sup> His Authorities are *Diogenes Laertius* and *Plutarch*, who shall now be examin'd. The point which Mr. B. endeavours to prove, is this; That *Thespis* acted Plays in *Solon's* time, and consequently before the Death of *Phalaris*. Now the words of *Laertius*, which are all he says that any ways relate to this affair, are exactly these. 271 *Solon*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *hindred Thespis from acting of Tragedies, believing those false Representations to be of no use.* Hence the Examiner infers, that *Thespis* acted his Plays in the days of *Solon*: so that his Argument lies thus: *He was hindred from acting Tragedies, Ergo, he acted Tragedies, i. e. he acted them, because he did not act them.* Is not this now a Syllogism worthy of the acute Mr. B. and his new System of Logic? And is it not a much better Argument, if you turn it's face the quite contrary way? For if *Solon*, when *Thespis*, as we may suppose, made Application to him for his leave to act Tragedies, would not suffer him to do it: is it not reasonable to infer, that *Thespis* acted none, till after *Solon's* Death? which is the very account, that I have establish'd by so many Arguments.

But are not the Words of *Plutarch* more clear and express in the Examiner's behalf? 'Tis true, for this Author relates particularly,<sup>3)</sup> *That Solon saw one of Thespis's Plays, and then disliking the way of it, he forbid him to act any more.* But what then? how does it appear, that this was done before *Phalaris's* Death? If I should allow this story in *Plutarch* to be true: yet Mr. B. will find it a difficult thing, to extort from it what he aims at. *Why, yes,* he says,<sup>4)</sup> *Solon was Archon Olymp. XLVI, 3. which is XLIV years before Phalaris was kill'd.* Here Mr. B. supposes, that this business with *Thespis* happen'd in the year of *Solon's* Archonship; which is directly to oppose his own Author *Plutarch*; who relates at large, how *Solon*, after he was Archon, travell'd abroad x years; and after his return (how long after we cannot tell) this thing pass'd between him

1) P. 166.

2) *Laert. Solone* [I 2, 59]. *Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε*

*τραγωδίας ἀγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀναγκαζὴ τὴν ψευδολογίαν.*

3) *Plut. Solone* [29].

4) P. 166.

272 and *Thespis*. But *Eusebius*, says Mr. B.<sup>1)</sup> places the Rise of Tragedy Olymp. XLII, 2. a little after Solon's Archonship. Will Mr. B. here stand to this against the plain words of *Plutarch*? Mr. B. either does or may know, that *Eusebius's* Histories are so shuffled and interpolated, and so disjointed from his Tables; that no wise Chronologer dares depend on them in a point of any niceness, without concurrent Authority. But, says he,<sup>2)</sup> take the lowest account that can be, that Solon saw *Thespis's* Plays at the latter end of his life; Solon died at the end of the LIII,<sup>3)</sup> or the beginning of the LIVth Olympiad; i. e. XIV years before Phalaris died. Now here's a double misrepresentation of the Author he pretends to quote. For there's nothing in *Plutarch* about Olymp. LIII or LIV. He only tells us that one *Phanias* said, Solon died when *Hegestratus* was Archon; who succeeded *Comias*, in whose year *Pisistratus* usurp'd the Government. But we know the Date of *Pisistratus's* Usurpation is Olymp. LIV, 4. *Comias* being then Archon.<sup>4)</sup> So that Solon, according to *Phanias's* Doctrine, died at Olymp. LV, 1. which is iv years later than Mr. B. makes him say. But to pardon him this fault, which in Him shall pass for a small one; yet the next will bear harder upon him; for he brings in this Date of Solon's Death, out of *Phanias*: as if it was a point uncontroverted, and allow'd by *Plutarch* himself. Whenas *Plutarch* barely mentions it, without the least token of Approbation; and places before it a quite different account from *Heraclides* (an Author as old as *Phanias* and much more considerable) That Solon lived, ΕΥΧΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, A LONG TIME after *Pisistratus's* Usurpation. Nay there's 273 some ground for Conjecture, that *Plutarch*<sup>5)</sup> disbelieved *Phanias*; for he espouses that common story about Solon's Conversation with *Cræsus*; who came not to the Crown till Olymp. LV, 3. which is two years after Solon's Death, according to *Phanias*; and yet Solon did not see *Cræsus* at his first Accession to the Throne; but after he had conquer'd xiv Nations in Asia, as *Herodotus* tells it.<sup>6)</sup> So that for any thing that Mr. B. has proved, Solon might

<sup>1)</sup> P. 166.  
Arund. K . . . ΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.  
<sup>2)</sup> P. 167.  
<sup>3)</sup> [I 29].

<sup>4)</sup> *Marm.*  
<sup>5)</sup> *Plut. Solone* [27].

possibly have this Controversie with *Thespis*, after the Death of the *Sicilian Prince*. But what if it was before his Death? Must the Fame of this new Diversion call'd Tragedy, which was then a dishonourable thing, and quash'd by the Magistrate, needs fly as far as *Sicily*, to the *Prince's Court*? As if a new Show could not be produced at a *Bartholomew Fair*; but the Foreign Princes must all hear of it.

But I must frankly observe on Mr. *B's* side (what he forgot to do for himself) that as *Plutarch* tells this story of *Thespis*, it must have happen'd a little before *Pisistratus's* Tyranny. For he presently subjoyns, That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; and pretending that he was set upon by Enemies, desired to have a Guard; *You do not act, says Solon to him, the part of Ulysses well; for he wounded himself to deceive his Enemies, but you to deceive your own Countrymen: Laertius* tells it a little plainer; That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; *Solon* said, *Ay, this comes*<sup>1)</sup> of *Thespis's* acting and personating in his Tragedies. Take both these Passages together, and it must be allowed, that as far as *Plutarch's* credit goes, it appears that *Thespis* did act some of his Plays before Olymp. LIV, 4. But we have seen above, that the *Arundel Marble* and *Suidas* set<sup>274</sup> the Date of his first Essay about Olymp. LXI. And the Age of *Phrynichus* his Scholar strongly favours their side; for by Their reckoning, he began his Plays about xxv years after his Master; but by *Plutarch's*, above 1. And whose Authority now shall we follow? Though there's odds enough against *Plutarch*, from the Antiquity of the Author of the *Marble*, who was above 300 years older than he; and from his particular diligence and exactness about the History of the Stage; yet I'll make bold to add another Reason or two, why I cannot here follow him. For he himself tells me in another place,<sup>2)</sup> That the first that brought *Μύθους καὶ Πλάτῃ* the Stories and the Calamities of Heroes upon the Stage, were *Phrynichus* and *Æschylus*: so that before them all Tragedy was Satyrical, and the Subject of it was nothing else but *Bacchus* and his Satyrs. But if this affair about *Thespis*, and *Solon*, and *Pisistratus* be true, then

1) *Laert. Solone* [60]. Ἐξεῖδεν ταῦτα φῶνας.  
*Symp. Quest. l. 1.* [c. 5].

2) *Plut.*

*Thespis* must have represented *Ulysses* and other Heroes in his Plays; for it's intimated, that *Thespis's* acting gave the hint to *Pisistratus* to wound himself, as *Ulysses* did. So that this latter Passage of *Plutarch* is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this. Some body had invented and published this about *Solon*, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise Law-giver; and *Plutarch*, who would never balk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with Chronology, thought it a fault to omit it in his History of *Solon's* Life. We have another instance of this in the very same Treatise: for he tells at large the Conversation that *Solon*<sup>1)</sup> had with *Cræsus*; though he prefaces it with this, *That some would shew by Chronological Arguments,*<sup>2)</sup> *that it must needs be a Fiction.* Nay, he is so far transported in behalf of his Story, that he accuses the whole System of Chronology, as a Labyrinth of endless uncertainty. And yet he himself upon other occasions can make use of Chronological Arguments, when he thinks they conduce to his design. As in the Life of *Themistocles*, he falls foul upon *Stesimbrotus* (an Author, as he himself owns, Contemporary with *Pericles* and *Cimon*;<sup>3)</sup> who, as *Athenæus*<sup>4)</sup> says, had seen *Pericles*, and might possibly see *Themistocles* too) for affirming, That *Themistocles* conversed with *Anaxagoras* and *Melissus* the Philosophers: *Where-in he did not consider Chronology,*<sup>5)</sup> says *Plutarch*; for *Anaxagoras* was an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, who was much younger than *Themistocles*; and *Melissus* was General against *Pericles* in the Samian War. Here we see, this great Man could believe, than an Argument drawn from Time is of considerable Force: and yet, with humble Submission, Chronology seems to be reveng'd on him in this place, for the slight he put upon't in the other. For *Pericles* was not so remote from *Themistocles's* time, but that one and the same Person might be acquainted with them both, and even they themselves be acquainted with one another; the one being made General within XVI years after the other's Banishment.<sup>6)</sup> And first for *Anaxagoras*;

1) *Plut.* in *Solone* [27].

2) *Ib.* *Χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις* *χανόσιν*, &c.

3) *Plut.* in *Cimone* [2].

4) *Athen.* p. 589 [D].

5) *Plut.* in *Themist.* [2]. *Ὅδῃ αὐτῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος.*

6) *Diod.* p. 41 [XI 56], & 47 [XI 85].



he might very well be personally known to *Themistocles*; for he was born at Olymp. LXX, 1. as *Apollodorus*<sup>1)</sup> and *Demetrius Phalereus* two excellent Writers testify; and began to teach Philosophy in *Athens* at xx years of age, Olymp. LXXV, 1. when *Callias* was Archon; the very year of *Xerxes's* Expedition, when *Themistocles* acquired such Glory: and ix years before he was banished. The same Authors inform us, that *Anaxagoras* continued xxx years teaching at *Athens*; so that he had ix entire years to cultivate a Friendship with *Themistocles*. And in the second place what hinders, but that *Melissus* too might be *Themistocles's* Friend; and yet be the *Samian* General in the War against *Pericles*, which was at Olymp. LXXXIV, 4?<sup>2)</sup> For suppose him to have been of the same age with *Anaxagoras*: he might then, as we have seen already, have been acquainted with *Themistocles*: nay suppose him, if you please, x years older; and yet he would be but LXX years old when he was General to the *Samians*. And what is there extraordinary in that? *Anaxagoras* himself survived that War XIII years:<sup>3)</sup> and we have had in our own time more Generals than one, that were LXXX years of Age.

But Mr. B. will prove,<sup>4)</sup> that I my self allow Plutarch's account of *Thespis*, and am obliged to defend it, as much as He is: because I own'd in another place, that he was Contemporary with *Solon*.<sup>5)</sup> The Reader shall judge between us, when I have told him the Case. *Johannes Malalas* and another Writer relate, that soon after the Siege of *Troy*, in *Orestes's* time, one *Themis* or *Theomis* (i. e. as I corrected it, *Thespis*) First invented Tragedies; in opposition to which I affirm'd, that the true *Thespis* lived in *Solon's* time, long enough after the taking of *Troy*. Now certainly there was no need of exactness here, where the distance of the two Ages spoken of was so many whole Centuries. I had no need to determin *Thespis's* age to a particular Year, but to say, he lived in the time of *Solon*; as without question he did, and may be supposed about xx years old before *Solon* died, if he made Tragedies at Olymp. LXI.

1) *Laert. in Anaxag.* [II 3, 7].

2) *Thucyd.* [I 115]

*Diod.* [XII 27] *Suid. v. Μέλιτος*, who confounds *Melissus* with *Melitus* the Orator.

3) *Laert. ibid.*

4) *P.* 166, 170.

5) *Dissert. ad Mal. p.* 46 [ed. 1691] *Soloni æqualis fuit.*

Mr. B. is pleased to call that Dissertation my *Soft Epistle* to Dr. Mill;<sup>1)</sup> which is Ironically said for *Hard*: and indeed to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at; as appears by his most miserable Stuff about *Anapestic Verses*.<sup>2)</sup>

And so much for the Age of *Thespis*: I shall now consider the Opinion of those, that make Tragedy to be older than He. And what has the Learned Examiner produced to maintain this Assertion?<sup>3)</sup> Nothing but two common and obvious Passages of *Plato* and *Laertius*, which every Second-hand Writer quotes, that speaks but of the Age of Tragedy: one of which passages tells us, *That Tragedy did not commence with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old*<sup>4)</sup> at Athens: the Other,<sup>5)</sup> *That of old in Tragedy the Chorus alone performed the whole Drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one Actor*. This is all he brings, except a hint out of *Aristotle*;<sup>6)</sup> who affirming that *Æschylus* invented the second Actor, *implies*, he says, that *Thespis* found out the first. Now for two of his Authorities, *Laertius* and *Aristotle*; these words of theirs do not prove, that Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. For *Thespis* might be the first Introducer of one Actor; and yet be the Inventor too of that sort of Tragedy, that was performed by the Chorus alone. At first his Plays might be but rude and imperfect, some Songs only and Dances by the Chorus, and the *Hemichoria*,<sup>7)</sup> i. e. the two Halves of the Chorus answering to each other: afterwards by long use and experience, perhaps of xx, or xxx, or xl years, he might improve upon  
 278 his own Invention, and introduce one Actor, to discourse while the Chorus took breath. What inconsistency is there in this? *Æschylus*, we see, is generally reported as the Inventor of the second Actor: and yet several believed, that afterwards he invented too the Third Actor;<sup>8)</sup> for in the making of lxxv Plays, he had time enough to improve further upon his first Model. Where then is Mr. B's con-

1) P. 166.

2) See above, p. 133, &c.

3) P. 170,

171, 172.

4) *Plato in Min. πάντο παλαιόν.*

5) *Laert.*

in *Plat.* [56].

6) P. 172.

7) [This is contested by

G. Hermann ad *Arist. Poet.* p. 107, referred to by D.]

8) *Vita Æsch.* [121, 81 West.] *Τὸν τρίτον ὑποκρίτην αὐτὸς ἐξέσῃρε.*

sequence, that he would draw from *Laertius* and *Aristotle*? But he has *Plato* yet in reserve, who affirms, *That Tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis's time*. I have already observ'd in answer to this, That *Plato* himself relates it as a Paradox; and no body that came after him, would second him in't. He might be excused indeed by this distinction, that he meant, *Ἀποσχεδιδόματα*, the *Extemporal Songs* in Praise of *Bacchus*, which were really older than *Thespis*, and gave the first Rise to Tragedy: were it not that he affirms there,<sup>1)</sup> That *Minos* the King of *Crete* was introduc'd in those old Tragedies before *Thespis's* time. Which by no means may be allowed: for the old Tragedy was all *Σατυρικὴ καὶ ὀρχηστικὴ*, dancing and singing; and had no serious and dolefull Argument, as *Minos* must be, but all Jollity and Mirth.

Mr. B. here takes his usual freedom of giving my Character;<sup>2)</sup> *He believes*, he says, *Laertius's works are better known to me, than Plato's*. What Authors he believes I am best acquainted with, is to me wholly indifferent: but since he seems curious about my acquaintance with Books, I'll tell him privately in his Ear, that the last acquaintance I made of this sort, was with the worst Author I ever yet met with. But surely one would think now, that the Examiner himself was very well versed in *Plato*, since he's so pert upon Me, and *believes* that I am not. Now the Reader<sup>279</sup> shall see presently, and by this very passage of *Plato*, whether Mr. B. knows that Author, or rather casts his Eye upon him,<sup>3)</sup> as he did on *Seneca* and the *Greek Tragedians*. The Interlocutors in this Dialogue, are *Socrates* and one *Minos* an *Athenian*, his Acquaintance; and the Subject of half of their Discourse, is to vindicate *Minos*, the ancient King of *Crete*, from the character of Cruelty and Injustice, which the Tragic Poets by their Plays had fasten'd upon him. Now our Examiner with his wonderfull Diligence and Sense, believes the Person, that talks there with *Socrates*, to be *Minos* the old King of *Crete*, who lived above 8000 years before him: *Minos*, says he,<sup>4)</sup> asks *Socrates*, how men come to have such an opinion of his Severity; i. e.

1) *Plato in Minos.*

2) P. 171.

3) P. 160.

4) Edit. 3. last Leaf.

of *Minos's* own that speaks; as plainly appears there from Mr. *B's* Context. Is not this Gentleman now very well qualified to pass Censures upon Writers? That can make *Plato's* discourses to be like *Lucian's*, *Dialogues of the Dead*? Nay, that can put the Dead and the Live together in Dialogue? and be almost like *Mezentius*, (the *Phalaris* of his Age, and therefore worthy of Mr. *B's* respect) who

*Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis?*<sup>1)</sup>

If he had read that short Treatise of *Plato's*, without being fast asleep,<sup>2)</sup> he might see some of those numerous places, which will tell him, that *Minos* the Interlocutor there, was not *Minos* of *Crete*. Dost thou know, says *Socrates* to him, which of the *Cretan Kings* were good men, as *Minos* and *Rhadamanthys*, the *Sons of Jove* and *Europa*? *Rhadamanthys*, replies the other, was a good man, they say; but *Minos* was  
 280 cruel, severe, and unjust. Have a care, says *Socrates* again to him, this borders upon Blasphemy and Impiety. But I'll set you right in your opinion of *Minos*; lest you, who are a Man, the Son of a Man, should<sup>3)</sup> offend against a Hero, the Son of *Jove*. If these places be not sufficient to make the Examiner sensible of his Blunder; I'll give him several others, when he and I next talk together. And I'll tell him This further before-hand; that in my opinion, *Plato* himself publish'd this Dialogue without naming the Interlocutor; it was only *Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δεῖνα*, *Socrates* and *Somebody*. Afterwards *Minos* was made the name of that unknown Person, from *Μίνως* the title of the Dialogue. But I hardly think, that he that first did it, ever imagin'd, such an ingenious Author as Mr. *B.* could have been caught in so sorry a Trap.

To convince us that Tragedy was older than *Thespis*, Mr. *B.*<sup>4)</sup> assures us, That *Plutarch* in the *Life* of *Theseus* EXPRESSLY tells us, that the acting of Tragedies was one part of the Funeral Solemnities, which the Athenians performed at the Tomb of *Theseus*. But he has been told already by Another,<sup>5)</sup> that there's no such thing in *Plutarch's* *Life* of *Theseus*; or if there was, yet Tragedy would not on that

<sup>1)</sup> Verg. Aen. VIII 485. — W.  
 ed. should st. α — D.  
 p. 72.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 176.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 137.

<sup>3)</sup> Old

<sup>5)</sup> View of Dissert.

account be older than Thespis; for Theseus had no Tomb at Athens before the days of Thespis. Mr. B. has pleaded guilty to this, and confessed<sup>1)</sup> that he took it at second-hand from *Jul. Scaliger*,<sup>2)</sup> who says, *Tragœdiam esse rem antiquam, constat ex historia; ad Thesei namque Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos legimus*. I'll tell him too of another that took it at the same hand; the learned *Ger. Vossius*,<sup>3)</sup> *Aiunt quidam*, says he, *Thesei ad Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos, atque eam fuisse Tragœdiarum vetustissimam*. Well, I will<sup>281</sup> not impute this to Mr. B. as a Fault, since *Scaliger* and *Vossius* have erred before him: I'll only observe the difference between those Great Men, and the Greater Mr. B. They cite no Authority for what they say, because they said it only at second hand; Mr. B. who took it at trust from them, believing that they had it out of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theseus*, cites Him for it at a venture in his Margin, and in the Text says, He *expresly* tells us so. What poor and cowardly Spirits were They in comparison of Mr. B.? They wanted the manly and generous Courage to quote Authors they had never read with an Air of Assurance. 'Tis a great Blot upon their Memories; but however we'll let it pass; and examin a little into the story of *Theseus's* Tomb, because such great men have been mistaken in't. For were it true that Tragedies had been acted at *Theseus's* Tomb, (which is not so) yet those Tragedies would be so far from being the First, that they came *lx* years after *Thespis* had exhibited his. *Theseus* died in Banishment, being murder'd and privately buried in the *Isle of Scyros*: and about *ἑκατὸν* years afterwards, the Oracle enjoyn'd the *Athenians* to take up his Bones and carry them to *Athens*, which was accordingly done by *Cimon*, *Olymp. lxxvii, 4*. *Μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ*, says *Plutarch*,<sup>4)</sup> *Φαίδωνος Ἀρχοντος*, After the Medes Invasion, when *Phædon* was Archon, the Oracle bid the *Athenians* fetch home the Bones of *Theseus*, and it was done by *Cimon*. If the Reading be not corrupted, this Oracle was given *Olymp. lxxvi, 1*. for then *Phædon* was Archon: and at this rate it will be seven years before the Oracle was obey'd. But I rather believe; that for<sup>282</sup> *Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος*, we ought to correct it, *Μηδικὰ Ἀρεφίωνος*,

<sup>1)</sup> *P. ult. 3d Edit. Poet. ii, 12.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Scal. de Poet. i, 5.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Voss.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Plut. in Theseo. [36].*

When Aphepsion was Archon.<sup>1)</sup> A was lost in Ἀφεψίωνος, because Μηδιδά ends with that Letter, and αι and ε are commonly put one for the other; being anciently pronounced both alike. Now Ἀφεψίων was Archon, Olymp. LXXVII, 4.<sup>2)</sup> which was the very year that Cimon fetcht Theseus's Bones, as Plutarch relates it; who adds too, that Ἀφεψίων<sup>3)</sup> was the Archon. Diodorus in the Annal of that year, says Phæon was Archon: for so the old Reading is Ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φαίωνος. The late Editions substitute Φαίδωνος: but the true Lection is Ἀφεψίωνος, as appears from Laertius and Plutarch: and this Depravation in Diodorus confirms my Suspicion about the first passage in Plutarch; for as here Ἀφεψίωνος was chang'd into Φαίωνος; so there it might be into Φαίδωνος. The Arundelian Marble calls him Apsephion; placing Ἀρχοντος Ἀψηφίωνος at this very year. Meursius,<sup>4)</sup> from these faulty places in Plutarch and Laertius, makes Phædon to have been thrice Archon, about Ol. LXXIII, 3. at Ol. LXXVI, 1. and LXXVII, 4. whereas really he was but once Archon at Ol. LXXVI, 1. But there's another mistake committed by Jos. Scaliger, that has had very odd Consequences. Scaliger in his Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφῇ, which he collected from all the Notes of Time, that he could meet with in any Authors, makes Ἀφεψίων to be Archon at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This I am persuaded, he did not do out of design, but pure forgetfulness: for he intended to have set it at Olymp. LXXVII, 4.<sup>5)</sup> but in the interval between reading his Author, and committing this Note to writing, his Memory deceiv'd him, and he put it at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This Suspicion of mine will be made out from  
 283 Scaliger's own words there, Ὀλυμπ. οδ. δ. Ἀφεψίων Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη κατά τινος, compared with Laertius's,<sup>6)</sup> from whence they are taken, Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Ἀφεψίωνος ἐν τῷ δ. ἔτει τῆς ος. Ὀλυμπιάδος. After this comes Meursius, who mistakes that Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφῇ, for an ancient Piece first publish'd out of MS by Scaliger; and seeing Aphepsion named there as Archon Olymp. LXXIV, 4. he<sup>7)</sup> interpolates

1) [Against Bentley's emendation see Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* from LV. to CXXIV Ol. p. 34 sec. ed., quoted by D.]

2) Laert. in Socrat. [44]. 3) Plut. Cim. [8]. 4) Meurs. Archont. ii, 6, 7. 5) See here p. 158, and 215. 6) Laert. in Socr. 7) Meurs. Arch. ii, 7.

*Laertius* to make him agree with it; by which means he makes two falshoods in *Laertius's* Text, which was right before he medled with it: for he sets *Aphepsion* at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. instead of LXXVII, 4. and at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he puts *Phædon*, instead of *Aphepsion*. And besides this, he dates *Cimon's* taking of *Scyros*,<sup>1)</sup> and the fetching of *Theseus's* Bones, at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. because *Plutarch*<sup>2)</sup> says, *Aphepsion* was Archon at the time of that Action: which is a mistake of a dozen years; for this was done Olymp. LXXVII, 3 and 4. as is plain from *Diodorus*,<sup>3)</sup> and intimated even by *Plutarch* himself. Nay, to see how Error is propagated, even *Petavius*<sup>4)</sup> too was caught here; for at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he takes notice of *Laertius's* inconsistency, as he thought it: *He makes Socrates to be born*, says he, *at this Olympiad: but he names Aphepsion for the Archon, who was not in this year, but Olymp. LXXIV, 4.* And again at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. *Petavius*<sup>5)</sup> makes *Aphepsion* to be Archon, and cites *Laertius* for it in the life of *Socrates*: and he adds, *That in this year Cimon fetch'd Theseus's Bones from Scyros to Athens.* Here we see are the very same mistakes that *Meursius* fell into; and the sole occasion of them all, was the heedlessness of *Jos. Scaliger*. But *Petavius* has yet another mischance; for he adds, that upon the bringing of *Theseus's Bones*, the Prizes for Tragedians were instituted:<sup>6)</sup> which is part of the error of *Jul. Scaliger*, and *Ger. Vossius*, that we have noted above. The original of which seems to have been this mistaken passage of *Plutarch*; who after he has related how the Bones of *Theseus* were brought in Pomp to *Athens* by *Cimon*; <sup>7)</sup> ἔθεντο δὲ, says he, καὶ εἰς μνήμην Αἴτοιο καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστήν γενομένην. Now it seems that some believed Αἴτοιο to be spoken of *Theseus*: and from thence they coin'd the story of Tragedies being acted at his Tomb. But it plainly relates to *Cimon*, who with the rest of the Generals sat Judge of the Plays of *Sophocles* and *Æschylus* at that Olymp. LXXVII, 4. and gave the Victory to the former.<sup>8)</sup> Upon

1) *Ibid.*2) *Plut. Cimon.*3) *Diod. p. 45 [XI 60].*4) *Petav. Doctr. Temp. II. p. 570.*5) *Ibid. p. 567.*6) *Inde Tragedorum institutus est Agon.*7) *Plut. Cim.*8) *Plut. ibid. See Marm. Arund. Epoch. 57.*

the whole then, first it appears against Mr. B. that Tragedies were not acted among the Solemnities at *Theseus's* Tomb: and secondly, that *Theseus's* Tomb was not built till Olymp. LXXVII, 4. in *Æschylus* and *Sophocles's* time, long after *Thespis*: so that were it true, that Tragedies had been one of those Funeral Solemnities; yet it would be no Argument for that Antiquity, that Mr. B. assigns to Tragedy. But these are mistakes of his only for want of Reading: the next that I am going to mention let others judge from what want it proceeds. The case is this; A certain Writer<sup>1)</sup> has accused Mr. B. of a false Citation of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theseus*; for there's no such thing as he quotes in that Life. In the Life of *Cimon* indeed there's something that an ignorant Person might construe to such a Sense. To this Mr. B. replies, That he owns he was misled by *Jul. Scaliger*; who affirms the thing, but quotes no body for it; And perhaps, says M. B. further,<sup>2)</sup> I was too hasty in not fully considering the whole passage of *Plutarch* in the Life of *Cimon*, relating to this matter. Now this Excuse implies an affirmation, that he had his Eye on that passage in the Life of *Cimon*, when he wrote that about Tragedies at *Theseus's* Tomb. But the contrary of this is manifest from his own Book; for he quotes not the Life of *Cimon*, but the Life of *Theseus*, where there is not one Syllable of Tragedies. So that he quoted *Plutarch* at a venture, without looking into him at all. Where's the truth then of his not fully considering? If Mr. B's very Excuses stand in need of excuse, how inexcusable must the Rest be!

'Twas the Examiner's purpose, to shew some footsteps of Tragedy before the time of *Thespis*. But he has not observed a Passage of *Herodotus*, (because his Second-hand Writers did not furnish him with it) which of all others had been fittest for his turn. *The Sicyonians*, says that Historian,<sup>3)</sup> in every respect honour'd the Memory of *Adrastus*, and particularly they celebrated the story of his Life with Tragical Chorus's; not making *Bacchus* the subject of them, but *Adrastus*. But *Clisthenes* assign'd the Chorus's to *Bacchus*, and the rest of the Festival to *Melanippus*. This *Clisthenes*,

<sup>1)</sup> View of Dissert. p. 72.

<sup>2)</sup> P. ult. 3d Edit.

<sup>3)</sup> *Herod. v. c. 67.* Τὰ πάθῃα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον.



here spoken of, was Grandfather to *Clisthenes* the *Athenian*, who was the main Agent in driving out the Sons of *Pisistratus*, at Olymp. xxvii. And since *Tragical Chorus's* were used in *Sicyon* before that *Clisthenes's* time; it appears they must be long in use before the time of *Thespis*, who was one Generation younger than *Clisthenes* himself. And agreeably to this, *Themistius*<sup>1)</sup> tells us, *That the Sicyonians were the Inventors of Tragedy, and the Athenians the Finishers.* And when *Aristotle*<sup>2)</sup> says, *That some of the Peloponnesians pretend to the Invention of it;* I understand him of these *Sicyonians*. Now if *Mr. B.* had but met with this place of *Herodotus*; with what triumphing and insulting would he have produced it? what plenty of Scurrility and Grimace would he have pour'd out on this occasion? But I have so little apprehensions either of the force of this Argument, or of *Mr. B's* Address in managing it; that I here give him notice of it, for the Improvement of his next Edition. The truth is, there is no more to be inferr'd from these Passages; than that before the time of *Thespis*, the first Grounds and Rudiments of Tragedy were laid; there were *Chorus's* and extemporal Songs, *αὐτοσχεδιαστικά*, but nothing written nor publish'd as a Dramatic Poem: so that *Phalaris* is still to be indicted for a Sophist; for saying his two Fairy Poets wrote Tragedies against him.<sup>3)</sup> Nay the very word *Tragedy* was not heard of then at *Sicyon*; though *Herodotus* names *Τραγικὸς χορὸς*, *The Tragical Chorus's*; which by and by shall be consider'd.

*Mr. B.* is so very obliging,<sup>4)</sup> that if I'll suffer my self to be taught by him, he'll set me right in my Notion of Tragedy. I am willing to be taught by any body, much more by the great *Mr. B.* though as to this particular of Tragedy, I dare not honour my Self, as *Mr. B.* honours his Teacher,<sup>5)</sup> by telling him, *That the Foundation of all the little knowledge I have in this matter was laid by Him.* For there's nothing true in the long Lecture that he reads to me here about Tragedy, but what I might have learnt out of *Aristotle*, *Julius Scaliger*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Marmora*

1) *Them. Orat. xix.* [= *XXVII p. 337 ed. Hard.*] *Τραγωδίας εὑρεται μὲν Σικωνίοις, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταί.*

2) *Arist. Poet. 3.* 3) *Ep. 63, 97.* 4) *P. 172.* 5) *P. 59.*

*Oxoniensia*, and other common Books. And as for the  
 287 Singularities in it, which I could not have learnt in other  
 places, (if I, who am here to be *taught*, may use such  
 freedom with my *Master*) they are such Lessons, as I hope  
 I am now too old to learn. I will not sift into them too  
 minutely; for I'll observe the respect and distance that's  
 due to him from his *Scholar*: but there's one Particular,  
 that I must not omit; when he tells me, as out of *Aristotle*,  
 that the Subject of Primitive Tragedy was *Satyrical Re-*  
*proofs of vicious Men and Manners of the times*:!) so that he  
 explains very dextrously, as he thinks, the Expression of  
*Phalaris*, *That the Poets wrote Tragedies AGAINST him*: for  
 the meaning, he says,<sup>2)</sup> is this, *That they wrote Lampoons,*  
*and abusive Satyrical Copies of Verses upon him*. But it  
 were well, if this would be a warning to him, when he  
 next pretends to *teach* others; to consider first, how lately  
 he himself came from School. The words of *Aristotle*<sup>3)</sup>  
 that he refers to, are, *That Tragedy at first was Σατυρικη*;  
 which Mr. B. in his deep Judgment and Reading, inter-  
 prets *Satyre and Lampoon*, confounding the *Satyrical Plays*  
 of the *Greeks* with the *Satire* of the *Romans*: though it's  
 now above a hundred years, since *Casaubon*<sup>4)</sup> writ a whole  
 Book on purpose, to shew they had no Similitude nor  
 Affinity with one another. The *Greek Satyrica* was only a  
 jocose sort of Tragedy, consisting of a Chorus of Satyrs  
 (from which it had its name) that talk'd lasciviously, be-  
 fitting their character: but they never gave *Reproofs to*  
*the vicious Men of the Times*, their whole Discourse being  
 directed to the Action and Story of the Play, which was  
*Bacchus*, or some ancient *Hero* turn'd a little to ridicule.  
 There's an entire Play of this kind yet extant, *The Cyclops*  
 288 of *Euripides*; but it no more concerns the *vicious Men* at  
*Athens* in the Poët's time, than his *Orestes*, or his *Hecuba*  
 does. As for the abusive Poem or *Satire* of the *Romans*,  
 it was an Invention of their Own; *Satira tota nostra est*,  
 says *Quintilian*,<sup>5)</sup> *Satire is entirely Ours*: and if the *Greeks*  
 had any thing like it, 'twas not the *Satyrical Plays* of the

1) P. 173.

2) P. 180, 181.

3) *Arist. Poet.* 4.4) Is. Casaub. *De Satyrica & Satira*. Par. 1595.5) *Quint.*

x, l. [93].

Tragic Poets; but the old Comedy, and the *Silli* made by *Xenophanes*, *Timon*, and others. *Satire*, says *Diomedes*,<sup>1)</sup> among the *ROMANS* is now an abusive Poem, made to reprove the Vices of Men. Here we see 'twas a Poem of the *Romans*, not of the *Greeks*; and 'twas now, that is, after *Lucilius*'s time, that it became abusive; for the *Satire* of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius* was quite of another nature. And now which of my *Masters* must I be taught by? by *Quintilian* and *Diomedes*? or by the young *Orbilius*,<sup>2)</sup> that has lash'd *Scaliger* and *Salmasius* at that insolent rate? But *Mr. B.* offers to prove, that the old Tragedy had a mixture of Lampoon, from *Thespis*'s Cart that he carried his Plays in; From which Cart, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *Scurrility* and *Buffoonry* were so usually uttered, that *Ἐξαμάζειν*, and *Ἐξάμαξῃς λέγειν*, became Proverbial Expressions for *Satire* and *Jeering*. What an odious word's here, *Ἐξαμάζειν*! Sure all the *Buffoonry* of that Cart he talks of, could not be so nauseous, as this one Barbarism. I desire to know in what Original Author (for his second-hand Gentlemen he must excuse me) this wonderfull word may be found; the Original of which seems a mistake of *ἐξάμαξων* for a Participle *Ἐξαμάζων*. But to leave This to keep company with *Ἀντιγονίδα* and *Σελευκίδα*;<sup>4)</sup> I'll crave leave to tell him, that they were other *Carts*, and not *Thespis*'s, that this Proverb *Τὰ ἐξάμαξων* was taken from. For they generally used *Carts* in their Poms and Processions, not only in the Festivals of *Bacchus*, but of other Gods too. And particularly in the *Eleusinian Feast*, the Women were carried in the Procession in *Carts*, out of which they abused and jeered one another: *Aristophanes* in *Plutus*;<sup>5)</sup>

Μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην  
Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμαξῆς ———

Upon which passage the old Scholiast and *Suidas*<sup>6)</sup> have this note; That in those *Carts* the Women, *ἐλοιδοροῦν ἀλλήλαις*, made obusive Jests one upon another; and especially at a Bridge over the River *Cephissus*, where the Procession used to stop a little; from whence to abuse and jeer was

1) *Diomed.* p. 482.

2) *P.* 215.

3) *P.* 180.

4) See here p. 128.

5) [v. 1013].

6) *Schol. Arist.*

p. 48 [Pl. 1014]. *Suid.* in *Τὰ ἐξάμαξων*.

called γεφυρίων.<sup>1)</sup> These *Eleusinian Carts* are mention'd: by *Virgil* in the first of his *Georgics*;

*Tardaue Eleusine matris volventia plaustra:*<sup>2)</sup>

which most of the Interpreters have been mistaken in: for the Poet means not that *Ceres* invented them, but that they were used at her Feasts. But besides the *Eleusinian*, there was the same custom in many other Festival Pumps; whence it was that *Πομπεύειν* and *Πομπεία* came at last to signify scoffing and railing. So *Demosthenes*<sup>3)</sup> takes the word; and his Scholiast says, *That in those Pumps they used to put on Vizards, and riding in the Carts abuse the People; from whence, says he, comes the Proverb, ἐξ ἀμάξης με ὕβρισε; which Demosthenes uses in the same Oration.*<sup>4)</sup> So that the very passage of this Orator, which Mr. B. cites in his Margin, is not meant of the Carts of *Tragedians*. 'Tis true, *Harpocration* and *Suidas*<sup>5)</sup> understand it of the *Pomp* in the Feasts of *Bacchus*: but even there too, they were  
 290 not the *Tragic*, but the *Comic* Poets who were so abusive; for They also had their Carts to carry their Plays in. *The Comic Poets*, says the Scholiast<sup>6)</sup> on *Aristophanes*, rubbing their faces with Lees of Wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in Carts, and sung their Poems in the High-ways; from whence came the Proverb, Ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖ, To rail as impudently as out of a Cart. Mr. B. concludes this Paragraph with a kind Hint,<sup>7)</sup> *That the Doctor may perhaps before he dies, have a convincing proof, that a Man may be the subject of such Tragedies (i. e. such Lampoons and Abuses from Carts) while he is Living.* I heartily thank him for telling the world, what worthy Adversaries I am like to have, and what honourable Weapons they will use; and to requite his kindness, I assure him, that I shall no more value, nor be concern'd at those *Lampooning Tragedies*, than if they were really spoken out of Carts, which perhaps may still be the fittest Stage for such kind of *Tragedians*.

1) *Hesych. Γεφ.* 2) *Georg. i, v. 163.* 3) *Demost.*  
*De Corona, p. 134. Edit. Par. [§ 11 p. 229].* 4) *P. 159.*  
 [§ 122 p. 268]. 5) *Harp. in Πομπεία. Διονυσιαῖς ἑορταῖς.*  
*Suid. in Ἐξ ἀμάξης. Ἐν Ἀθηναίοις.* 6) *Schol. Arist. p. 76*  
 [Eqq. 547. Nub. 296]. 7) *P. 180.*

There are two Passages of *Horace* and *Plutarch*, that concern the Rise and Origin of Tragedy;

*Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camænae  
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis.*<sup>1)</sup>

And Ἀρχομένων<sup>2)</sup> τῶν περὶ θεῶν ἤδη τὴν τραγωδίαν κινεῖν. Now the first of these, as Mr. B. glosses upon it,<sup>3)</sup> means it was an *Unknown kind of Tragic Poetry*, which Thespis found out; and implies, there was another *Known kind in use before him*.<sup>4)</sup> The latter, he says, may import, that Thespis did not invent, but only gave *Life and Motion to Tragedy by making it Dramatic*. Now Mr. B. either seriously believes these Interpretations, or not. If he *does*; the best advise his Friends can give him, is to trouble his head no more with Critic, for it will never do him credit. If <sup>291</sup> he *does not* believe them; where's that *Modesty becoming a young Writer*,<sup>5)</sup> or that *Sincerity becoming a Gentleman*, or that *Prudence becoming a Man*? 'Tis a dangerous thing to trifle with the World, and to put those things upon others, which he believes not himself. No man ever despis'd his Readers, that did not suffer for't at the last. However whether Mr. B. believes these Interpretations or not; I am resolved not to refute them. For though I have often had already, and shall have still, a very ignoble Employment in answering some of his little Cavils; yet I have Spirit enough to think, that there may be some Drudgery so very mean, as to be really below me.

We are come now to the last point about *Tragedy*, and that is the Origin of the Name. I had observ'd, That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion. So that the very word, τραγωδία, which the false *Phalaris* uses in his Epistles, was not so much as heard of in the days of the true one. Mr. B. commences his Answer to this, with an acuteness familiar to him. What does he mean? says he,<sup>6)</sup> Names I thought were invented to signify Things, and that the Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called. Now I leave it to the sagacious Reader to discover, what I cannot do,

<sup>1)</sup> *Hor. in Arte Poet.* [275].

<sup>2)</sup> *Plut. in Solone* [29].

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 175.*

<sup>4)</sup> *P. 176.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Præf.*

<sup>6)</sup> *P. 178.*

the pertinency and the drift of this passage of Mr. B's. However, let it belong to any thing or nothing, 'tis a proposition false in it self, *That Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called*. For we have many  
 292 new Tunes in Music made every day, which never existed before; yet several of them are called by *Names*, that were formerly in use: and perhaps the Tune of *Chivy Chase*,<sup>1)</sup> though it be of famous Antiquity, is a little younger than the name of the Chase it self. And I humbly conceive, that Mr. *Hobbes's* Book, which he called the *Leviathan*,<sup>2)</sup> is not quite as ancient, as it's Name is in *Hebrew*. So very fortunate is Mr. *B.* when he endeavours at subtilty and niceness. 'Tis true, where *Things* are Eternal; or as old as the World, which we call the Works of Nature, they *must* be older than the *Names* that are given them: but in things of Art or Notion, that have their Existence from Man's Intellect or Manual Operation, the *Things themselves* may be many years younger than the *Names by which they are called*; and so the thing Tragedy may possibly be younger, than the Name that it is called by.

The Reason therefore, why I affirm'd, *That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing*, was because good Authors assured me, that the word *Tragedy*<sup>3)</sup> was first coined from the Goat that was the Prize of it, which Prize was first constituted in *Thespis's* time. So the *Arundel* Marble in the Epoch of *Thespis*: Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέδην ὁ Τράγος; And the Goat was appointed for the Prize. So *Dioscorides* in his Epigram upon *Thespis*;

——— Ὡς τράγος ἄθλον,

And *Horace* speaking of the same Person;<sup>4)</sup>

*Carminē quī Tragico vīlem certavit ob Hircum.*

And because I was fully persuaded by them, that this was the true Etymology of the word: and that the Guesses of some *Grammarians*, *Τραγωδία quasi τρουγωδία*, or *Τραγωδία quasi τραχεῖα ῥῶδη*, and other such like, were absurd and

<sup>1)</sup> Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 3rd ed., vol. 1 p. 1—38. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> See *Überweg's* History of Philosophy, III p. 39 first edition. — W.

<sup>3)</sup> *Τραγωδία. Τράγος.*

<sup>4)</sup> [Ars poet. 220].

ridiculous; I thought, as I do still, that the very Name <sup>293</sup> of Tragedy was no older than *Thespis*; and consequently could not have been found in the Epistles of the true *Phalaris*.

But I have not forgot, what I my self lately quoted out of *Herodotus*; that the *Sicyonians* before *Thespis*'s time honoured the Memory of *Adrastus*, *τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι*,<sup>1)</sup> with *Tragical Chorus's*. If this be so, here appears an ample Testimony, that the Word Tragedy was older than *Thespis*. But for a man that meddles with this kind of Learning, the first Stock to set up and prosper with, is sound *Judgment*; which gives the very Name and Being to *Crític*, and without which he will never be able to steer his course successfully among many seeming Contradictions. As in this passage of *Herodotus*, which is contrary to what others assure us, what course is to be taken? must we stand dubious and neuters between both, and cry out upon the *uncertainty of Heathen Chronology*? or must we not rather say, That *Herodotus*, who himself lived many years after *Thespis*, when Tragedy was frequent and improved to its highest Pitch, made use of a *Prolepsis*, when he called them *Τραγικὸς χορὸς*; meaning such Chorus's as gave the first Rise to that which in his time was call'd Tragedy? So we have seen before,<sup>2)</sup> that *Porphyrus*, and *Jamblichus*, and *Conon* speak of *Taurominium* at a time, when that name was not yet heard of; but they meant the City *Naxos*, that was afterwards called so. Such an Anticipation is common and familiar in all sorts of Writers. And if *Herodotus* in another place,<sup>3)</sup> where he says, That the *Epidaurians* (long before *Susarion* lived in *Attica*) honour'd the Goddesses *Damia* and *Auxesia* *χοροῖσι γυναικῶσι κερ-* <sup>294</sup> *τόμοισι*, with Chorus's of Women, that used to abuse and burlesque the Women of the Country, had call'd them *χοροῖσι κωμικοῖσι* Comical Chorus's, he had said nothing unworthy of a great Historian: because those Chorus's of Women were much of the same sort, that were afterwards called Comical; though perhaps at that time the word *Comical* was not yet minted.

But let us see, what Mr. B. advances, to shew that the Name of Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. It cannot

1) *Herod.* v. c. 67.

2) *P.* 180.

3) *Herod.* v. c. 83.

reasonably be question'd,<sup>1)</sup> says he, but that those Bacchic Hymns they sung in Chorus round their Altars (from whence the regular Tragedy came) were called by this Name Tragedy from *Τράγος*, the Goat, the Sacrifice, at the offering of which these Odes were sung. But he presently subjoins,<sup>2)</sup> That as to this we are in the Dark, and have only Probabilities to guide us. If we are in the Dark, I dare affirm, that the Examiner will leave us so still; for it is not his Talent, to give Light to any thing; but rather to make it darker than it was before. It cannot reasonably, he says, be question'd. Why not I pray? Because it would be a Question, that He could not answer. I know no other unreasonableness in questioning it; for he has not one Authority for what he supposes here, That the name of Tragedy was as old as the Institution of Sacrificing a Goat to *Bacchus*. But on the contrary, we have express Testimonies, that it was no ancients than when the Goat was made the Prize to be contended for by the Poets. As besides the Passages cited before, *Eusebius* says in his Chronicle, *Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. Hircus in Præmio dabatur; unde aiunt Tragædos nuncupatos*: So *Diomedes* the Grammarian;<sup>3)</sup> 295 *Tragœdia à τράγω & ᾠδῇ dicta, quoniam olim actoribus Tragicis, τράγος, id est, Hircus, præmium cantus proponebatur*. Etymol. Mag. *Κέκληται τραγωδία, ὅτι τράγος τῇ ᾠδῇ ἄθλον ἐτίθετο*. *Philargyrius* on *Virgil's Georgics*:<sup>4)</sup> *Dabatur Hircus præmii nomine, unde hoc genus poematis Tragœdiam volunt dictam*. All the other Derivations of the word Tragedy are to be slighted and exploded.<sup>5)</sup> But if this be the true one, as certainly it is; the word cannot possibly be ancients than *Thespis's* days, who was the first that contended for this Prize. Besides this, we have very good Authority, that those Bacchic Hymns, from whence the regular Tragedy came, were originally call'd by another name, not Tragedy, but *Dithyramb*. So *Aristotle*<sup>6)</sup> expressly teaches; Tragedy, says he, had its first Rise from those that sung the *Dithyramb*. *Διθύραμβος*, says *Suidas*, ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον, i. e. *Dithyramb* means the Bacchic Hymn. The first Author

1) P. 178.

2) P. 179.

3) [p. 484 P.]

4) Georg.

ii. v. 183 [381].

5) See, however, Pauly's Encycl. VI 2

p. 2042 (by Witzschel). — W.

6) Arist. Poet. iv. Ἀπὸ τῶν

ἐξαρχόντων τὸν Διθύραμβον.



of the *Dithyramb*, as some relate,<sup>1)</sup> was *Lasus Hermionensis* in the First *Darius's* time: or as others,<sup>2)</sup> *Arion Methymnæus* in the time of *Periander*. But as it appears from *Pindar*,<sup>3)</sup> and his *Scholias*t, the Antiquity of it was so great, that the Inventor could not be known: and *Archilochus*, who was much older than both *Lasus* and *Arion*, has the very word *Dithyramb* in these wonderfull and truly *Dithyrambic* Verses:<sup>4)</sup>

Ὡς Διωνύσοι' ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
Οἶδα Διθύραμβον, οἷνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

So the Verses are to be corrected and distinguished, being a pair of *Trochaics*. And Mr. B. may please to observe, that *Archilochus* too as well as *Suidas*, defines a *Dithyramb* to be a *Bacchic Hymn*, which Mr. B. erroneously makes to be peculiar to Tragedy. I will tell him also anon, that the Chorus belonging to the *Dithyramb* was not <sup>296</sup> call'd a *Tragic*, but *Cyclian Chorus*.

Mr. B. has fail'd in his first attempt about the Date of the word Tragedy: but he has still another Stratagem to bring about his design. For he will prove that *Τραγωδία* comprehended originally both Tragedy and Comedy:<sup>5)</sup> and since Comedy was as ancient as *Susarion*, who was near forty years older than *Thespis*; it follows that the word *Τραγωδία*, which Comedy was then called by, must be older too than *Thespis*. This being the Point he promised to prove, he presently shifts hands, and changes the Question; for he has quoted five Passages, one out of *Athenæus*, three out of the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and one out of *Hesychius*, to shew that *Τρυγωδία* signifies Comedy. Which is a thing so known and common, and confess'd by all, that he might as well take pains to prove *Κωμωδία* signifies Comedy. But what's all this to *Τραγωδία*? Must *τραγωδία* signifie Comedy, because *τρυγωδία* does? An admirable Argument, and one of Mr. B's beloved sort. He may prove too, whensoever he pleases, that *Lacerna* means a Lamp, because *Lucerna* does; and a great many other

<sup>1)</sup> *Suid. Λάσος. Arist. Schol. p. 362 [Vesp. 1416], 421 [Av. 1403].* <sup>2)</sup> *Suid. Ἀρίων. Arist. Schol. 421. Dion Chrysost. p. 455. [II p. 401 Reiske].* <sup>3)</sup> *Pind. Olymp. 13 [19].*

<sup>4)</sup> *Athen. p. 628.* <sup>5)</sup> *P. 179.*

Feats may be performed by this Argument. But in his other Citations, with which his Margin is plentifully stuff out, there's One to shew that *Τρυγωδία*<sup>1)</sup> signifies *Tragedy*, and Two, that *Τραγωδία* signifies *Comedy*. Now, the first of these is besides the Question again; for though *τρυγωδία* should stand both for *τραγωδία* and *κωμωδία*, yet it does not at all follow, that *τραγωδία* may stand for *κωμωδία*. If Mr. B. had studied his new Logic more, and his *Phalaris* less; he had made better work in the way of Reasoning. 'Tis as if some Schoolboy should thus argue with his Master: *Pomum* may signifie *Malum* and *Apple*, and *Pomum* too may signifie *Cerasum* a *Cherry*; therefore *Malum* an *Apple* may signifie *Cerasum* a *Cherry*. But besides the failure in the Consequence, the Proposition it self is false; for *τρυγωδία* does not signifie *Tragedy*: nay, to see the strange Felicity of Mr. B's Critic, even his other Assertion is false too; for *τραγωδία* never signifies *Comedy*. Let us examin his Instances.

*Τρυγωδία*, says Mr. B.<sup>2)</sup> signifies *Tragedy* properly so called, in this passage of Aristophanes:<sup>3)</sup>

——— Αὐτός δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ  
*Τρυγωδίαν* ———

For this is spoken of Euripides. But what then? Why Euripides being a *Tragic Poet*; *τρυγωδία*, when applied to him, must needs signifie *Tragedy*. I am unwilling to discourage a Gentleman; and yet I cannot but take notice of his unlucky Hand, whenever he meddles with Authors. Here he interprets *τρυγωδία*, *Tragedy*: and yet the very Jest and Wit of this Passage consists in this, that the Poet calls *Euripides's* Plays *Comedies*. And so the Scholiast interprets it, *τρυγωδίαν δὲ εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κωμωδίας*.<sup>4)</sup> *Euripides* was accused by *Aristophanes*, and several of the Ancients, for debasing the Majesty and Grandure of *Tragedy*, by introducing low and despicable Characters instead of Heroic ones; and by making his Persons discourse in a mean and popular Style, but one degree above common

<sup>1)</sup> P. 179.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 179.

<sup>3)</sup> Arist. *Acharn.* p. 278.

[v. 399]. <sup>4)</sup> Elmsley, Bekker and Dindorf write *τραγωδίαν* in the passage of Aristophanes, and this is the reading of the best mss. — W.

Talk in Comedy; contrary to the practise of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, who aspired after the sublime Character, and by Metaphors and Epithets and Compound Words made all their Lines strong and lofty. And particularly in *Aristophanes's Ranæ*,<sup>1)</sup> where *Æschylus* and *Euripides* are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqu'd and rally'd on this very account. What could *Aristophanes* then say smarter in this Passage about him, than in derision of his Style and Characters to call his Tragedies *Comedies*? 298

Well; let us see, if in his next point, Mr. B. is more fortunate, That τραγωδία may signifie Comedy. There's a Fragment, he says,<sup>2)</sup> of *Aristophanes's ΓΗΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ*<sup>3)</sup> preserved, where τραγωδός signifies a Comedian:

Καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
Ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας.

Now *Sannyrion* being a Comic Poet, as it's very well known; 'tis a clear case, as Mr. B. thinks, that ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν means one of the *Comedians*. No doubt the Poet meant to say, that *Sannyrion* was sent Ambassador from the Comic Poets, *Meletus* from the Tragic, and *Cinesias* from the *Dithyrambic*. This was *Aristophanes's* Thought; and therefore I affirm, that his words could not be ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν, as now they are read. So far from that, that if τραγωδῶν could signifie *Comedians*, yet he would not have used the word in This place, where τραγικῶν χορῶν immediately follows. For what a wretched Ambiguity would be here, and wholly unworthy of so elegant a Poet? since τραγωδῶν and τραγικῶν χορῶν are words of the same Import; and if the former may signifie *Comedy*, the latter may do so too. So that if the Persons *Sannyrion* and *Meletus* had not been well known, the Passage might appear a mere Tautology, *Tragedians* and *Tragedians*, or *Comedians* and *Comedians*: or if the signification was varied, the one word meaning *Comedians*, and the other *Tragedians*; yet it had 299 been uncertain whether of the two was the Comedian, and whether the Tragedian; because both the words, according to Mr. B. may be interpreted in either signifi-

<sup>1)</sup> *Arist. Ran.* p. 167, &c.  
p. 551 [a. *Aristoph.* fr. 198 Dind.].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 179.

<sup>3)</sup> *Athen.*

cation. These, I conceive, are such just Exceptions against the vulgar Reading of this Passage; that a Person, who esteems *Aristophanes* as he deserves, may safely say, he never wrote it so. If Critic had ever once smiled upon Mr. B. or if there was not a kind of Fatality in his Errors, he could scarce have miss'd this most certain Correction,

——— Πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
Ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν ———

By which all the Ambiguity or Tautology vanishes; for *τραγωδός* never signified any thing but a Comedian. And how easie and natural was the Depravation of *τραγωδῶν* into *τραγωδῶν*? *Τραγωδός* being the much rarer word, and as I believe, not to be met with in Prose or serious Writings: for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as *Κωμωδός*. However, the Corruption of this Passage is very ancient; for the Author of the Epitome of *Athenæus*, who lived before *Eustathius*'s time, i. e. above 2 years ago, read it *τραγωδῶν*; for here he calls *Sannyrion*<sup>1)</sup> a Tragedian. But in *Ælian*'s days the true Reading *τραγωδῶν* was still extant in *Athenæus*: for that Author transcribes this very Passage into his *Various History*, and from it he calls *Sannyrion* a Comedian,<sup>2)</sup> and *Melitus* a Tragedian.

But that Mr. B. may not wonder at the change of *τραγωδῶν* into *τραγωδῶν*, I'll tell him of one or two other Corruptions in the very same Passage;

300

——— Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
*Μέλητος*, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν *Κινησίας*.

For the Learned *Casaubon*<sup>3)</sup> instead of *Μέλητος* reads it *Μέλιτος*: Because, says he, neither this Verse here, nor any other wherein he is mention'd, will allow the second Syllable of his Name to be long. But with humble Submission, whether his Name be written *Μέλητος* or *Μέλιτος*;<sup>4)</sup> I affirm, that those very Verses both allow and require, that the

1) *Epit. Athen. MS.* Σαννυρίωνα τὸν τραγωδόν. 2) *Æl. Var. Hist.* x, 6 Σαννυρίων ὁ Κωμωδίας ποιητής. 3) *Casaub. ad Athen.* p. 857.

4) The proper spelling is *Μέλητος*, as is now well known. The excellent Bodleian ms. of Plato has it so constantly. — W.

second Syllable of it should be long. As first in this of *Aristophanes*, if the first Syllable of *Κυκλικῶν* be short, the second of *Μέλιτος* must be long. *Casaubon*, 'tis true, as his observation shews, believ'd the first of *Κυκλικῶν* to be of necessity long: but as it's plain, that it *may* be short; so that it actually is so in several passages (I might say, all) of the same Poet, will be seen by and by. The other Verse that *Casaubon* produces, is this out of *Ranæ*;

*Σκολιῶν Μελίτου, καὶ Καρικῶν ἀλχημάτων.*

But even here too the second Syllable of *Μελίτου* is long; for *ΚΑΙ* ought to be struck out, as will be plain from the whole passage;<sup>1)</sup>

*Οὔτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων,  
Σκολίων Μελίτου, Καρικῶν ἀλχημάτων,  
θρήνων, Χορείων· τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.*

Who does not see now, that if *ΚΑΙ* be inserted in the second Verse, a great part of the Elegancy is lost? for the whole Sentence runs on, without any Particle of Conjunction. But to put the matter quite out of doubt, this very Verse is cited in *Suidas*,<sup>2)</sup> and *ΚΑΙ* does not appear there: but it easily crept into the Text, because the next word begins with the same Letters *ΚΑ*. Upon the whole therefore, the fault that *Casaubon* found in the passage of *Athenæus* is really, none. But there is one, which he did not find, and that is *κυκλικῶν* instead of *κυκλίων*: for the Verse should be corrected thus;

*Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.*

So *Ælian*<sup>3)</sup> cites it from this very place, *Κινησίας Κυκλίων χορῶν ποιητής*. And *Aristophanes*<sup>4)</sup> speaks so in other places:

*Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωρο-  
φένακας.*

And again, speaking of the same *Cinesias*;

*Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον;*

And so all manner of Writers call them *Κύκλιοι χοροί*, and never *Κυκλικοί*; *Suidas*, Scholiasts on *Pindar* and *Aristophanes*, *Hesychius*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and others. This

<sup>1)</sup> *Arist. Ran. p. 180* [1301].

<sup>2)</sup> *Suid. in Μέλιτος.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Æl. x, 6.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Arist. Nub. p. 79* [333].

*Cyclian* Chorus was the same with the *Dithyramb*, as some of these Authors expressly say; and there were three Chorus's belonging to *Bacchus*, the *Κωμικός*, the *Τραγικός* and the *Κύκλιος*; the last of which had its Prize, and its Judges<sup>1)</sup> at the *Dionysia* as the other two had. The famous *Simonides* won LVI of these Victories, as *Tzetzēs* informs us from an Epitaph upon that Poet's Tomb:<sup>2)</sup>

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο νίκας  
Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.  
Κεῖω δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλήσι δ' ἔπαινον  
Εὐχυνέτου ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις.

So this Epigram is to be corrected; for it's faulty in *Tzetzēs*. Indeed it is not express'd here, what sort of Victories they were: so that possibly there might be some of them obtain'd by his Tragedies; if that be true which *Suidas* tells us, that *Simonides* made Tragedies. But I rather believe, that he won them all by his *Dithyrambs* with the *Cyclian* Chorus's; and I am confirmed in it by his own Epigram, not publish'd before:<sup>3)</sup>

303 Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο ταύρους  
Καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.  
Τοσσάκι δ' ἡμερόεντα (διδαζόμενος) χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,  
Εὐδόξου νίκας ἀγλαὰν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

I have supplied the third Verse with *διδαζόμενος*, which is wanting in the MS. But it's observable, that instead of *νίκας*, as it is in *Tzetzēs*, the MS Epigram has *ταύρους*: which I take to be the Author's own word, but being not understood, it was chang'd into *νίκας*. For *Ταῦρος* a *Bull* was the Prize of *Dithyramb*, as a *Goat* was of *Tragedy*: which was the reason, why *Pindar*<sup>4)</sup> gives to *Dithyramb* the Epithet of *βοηλάτης*;

Ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε  
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες  
Διδυράμβῳ ———.

1) *Æsch. contra Ctesiph.* p. 87 [§ 232]. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρετὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς Κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιούτε.

2) *Tzetx. Chil.* i, 24 [p. 27 ed. Kiessl.]

3) *Anthol. Epigr. MS.* [Anth. Gr. Jac. I 69. Anth. Pal. I 253].

4) *Pind. Olymp.* XV [XIII 19].

He calls the Dithyramb *βοηλάτης*, says the Scholiast, because the Bull was the Prize to the Winner; that Animal being sacred to Bacchus. And as the Dithyrambic Poets contended for a Bull, so the Harpers, *Κιθαρωδοί*, contended for a Calf. *Aristophanes*:

Ἄλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἡνίκα' ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ποτὲ  
Δεξιθεὸς εἰσήλθ' ἀσόμενος Βοιώτιον.<sup>1)</sup>

Some, says the Scholiast, interpret it ἐπὶ μόσχῳ for a Calf: because he that got the Victory with his Harp, had a Calf for his Premium. He seems indeed to give preference to the other Exposition, that makes *Μόσχος* the name of an Harper, and the Modern Translators follow him in it: but the former is the true meaning of the Passage, as both the Language and the Sense sufficiently show. I will crave leave to add two things more relating to this matter: First, That this triple Chorus, the *Comic*, *Tragic*, and *Cyclian*, may perhaps be meant in that Epigram of *Dioscorides*,<sup>303</sup> which I have produced above,

*Βάχχος* ὅτι τριττὸν κατὰγοι χορόν ———.

Neither shall I contend the point, if any one will embrace this Exposition: but for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to *Trina Liberalia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus*. And Secondly, That these Prizes, the Bull and the Calf, appointed for the Dithyramb and Playing on the Harp (if they really were continued till *Simonides*'s Death, and *Aristophanes*'s time; and if those Passages of theirs related to the present Custom, and not the first Institution only) may induce some to believe, that the old Prizes for Tragedy and Comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of. However, be this as it will, the Arguments used above<sup>2)</sup> are not weakn'd at all by't. For it's plain from the Epochs of *Æschylus*, &c. in the *Arundel Marble* (where those Prizes are not mention'd) that the Epochs of *Susarion*<sup>3)</sup> and *Thespis* (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that Author, as the first Rise of Comedy and Tragedy.

<sup>1)</sup> *Acharn.* p. 261 [13].

<sup>2)</sup> See above, p. 210, 252.

<sup>3)</sup> The old ed. has »*Sannyrion*;« a mistake noticed by Porson in his *Tracts* etc, ed. by *Kidd*, p. 316. — D.

Mr. B. has one Passage more, which is his last Anchor, to prove his notable point, *That the word Tragedy may signifie Comedy*. 'Tis in the Greek *Prolegomena to Aristophanes*, gather'd out of some nameless Authors; the words are, Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην (Κωμωδίαν) εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον εἰ τραγωδίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, ὅτι τραγῖα χριόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν; <sup>1)</sup> i. e. *Comedy may be called Tragedy, quasi Trygœdia, because the Actors besmear'd their Faces with Lees of Wine*. Here we see the Testimony is positive and full, that Comedy may be call'd Tragedy, which is the thing that Mr. B. undertook to prove; and what is there now remaining but to congratulate and applaud him? But I think one could hardly pitch upon a better instance, to shew that he that meddles with these matters, must have *Brains*, as Mr. B's Phrase is, as well as *Eyes in his Head*. A man that has that Furniture in his upper Story, will discover by the very next words in that nameless old Author, that the Passage is corrupted. For it immediately follows, Καὶ τῆς μὲν Τραγωδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινῆσαι τοὺς ἀκροατάς, τῆς δὲ Κωμωδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα. So that the whole Sentence, as the common Reading and Mr. B. has it, is thus; *Comedy may be also called Tragedy: and 'tis the Design of Tragedy to excite Compassion in the Auditory; but of Comedy to excite Laughter*. Is not this now a most admirable Period, and all one, as if he had said; *Comedy may be called Tragedy, for they are quite different things?* Without all doubt, if he had really meant, *Comedy may be called Tragedy*; in those following words he would have said, τῆς τραγωδίας τῆς κυρίως λεγομένης, 'tis the Design of Tragedy properly so called: and not have left them as they now are, a piece of flat Nonsense. But the Fault, one may say, is now conspicuous enough; but what shall be done for an Emendation of it? even That too is very easie and certain; for with the smallest Alteration the whole Passage must be read thus: Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον εἰ τραγωδίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, ὅτι τραγῖα χριόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν. And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another Writer among the same *Prolegomena*, Τὴν αὐτὴν <sup>2)</sup> δὲ (Κω-

<sup>1)</sup> *Proleg. Arist. p. ix. [n. IV 23 Dübner].*  
<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid. p. vii. [n. III 7 Düb.].*



μωδίαν) καὶ τραγωδίαν φασίν, ὅτι τρυγὶ διαχρίοντες τὰ πρό-  
σωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο. The import of both is, *That for κωμω-  
δία one may use the word τραγωδία; which is true and right;*  
for the words are synonymous; as appears from several <sup>305</sup>  
places in *Aristophanes*, and the old Lexicographers.

I have now dispatcht all the Examiner's Instances, which he has brought to shew that *τραγωδία* may signify Tragedy, or *τραγωδία* signify Comedy: and it would seem a very strange thing in any other Writer but Mr. B. that he should bring half a dozen Examples, that are either false or nothing to his purpose, and be ignorant of that single one, that is plainly and positively for him. I crave his leave to produce it here, and to change my Adversary for a while; if Mr. B. will not be affronted, that I assign him a Second so much inferior to him, the great *Isaac Casaubon*. This Author in his most excellent Book, *De Satyrica Poesi*, as Mr. B. has done, teaches us, *That at first both Comedy and Tragedy were called τραγωδία or τραγωδία,*<sup>1)</sup> *as appears from Athenæus;*<sup>2)</sup> *where he says, Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out in the time of Vintage; (τρύγη) ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τραγωδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ κωμωδία.* Which, says Casaubon, *I thus correct, ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ τραγωδία καὶ ἡ κωμωδία*, that is, *From which word τρύγη Vintage, both Comedy and Tragedy were at first call'd τραγωδία.* This is Casaubon's first proof, and we see it solely depends upon his own Emendation of *Athenæus*; which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one. For it is not in the Text, as he has cited it, *ἐκλήθη ΚΑΙ κωμωδία* (which would truly show some defect in it) but *ἐκλήθη Ἡ κωμωδία*, both in his own and the other Editions. He was deceived therefore by trusting to his *Adversaria*, without consulting the Original; for there's no other Pretense of altering the Text, but from the Particle *ΚΑΙ*. He goes on, and tells us, *That both τραγωδία and* <sup>306</sup> *τραγωδία were at first a common Name,*<sup>3)</sup> *both for Tragedy and Comedy; but afterwards it was divided, διεισπάσθη, as Aristotle says, and the ancient Critics witness.* Now the Passage in *Aristotle*, which he refers to, has nothing at all

<sup>1)</sup> Casaub. *Satyr. p. 21.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Athen. p. 40 [b].*

<sup>3)</sup> Casaub. *p. 22.*

either about Tragedy or Comedy; but it speaks of Poetry in general: Διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἥθη ἢ ποιήσεις,<sup>1)</sup> That it was divided and branched into sorts, according to the several Humors of the Writers; some singing the Stories of Heroes, others making Drolls and Lampoons, and a third sort Hymns and Encomiums, all as their several fancies lead them. But Mr. Casaubon subjoins this Quotation following; Τραγωδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγωδία, ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ἴδιον; i. e. Tragedy was of old a common name, both for it self and Comedy; but afterwards that common name became peculiar to Tragedy, and the other was called Comedy. Which Passage is taken out of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, though a little interpolated and depraved by Casaubon himself. For that Author, after he has given several Etymologies of the word τραγωδία, at last he says,<sup>2)</sup> Ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγὸς τρυγωδία· ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν· ἐπεὶ οὐπω διεκέκριτο τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας· ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἔν ἦν τὸ ἄθλον, ἡ τρύξις. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγωδία· ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ὠνόμασται, &c. where we must not refer the words ὄνομα κοινὸν to Τραγωδία, as Casaubon does; but to Τρυγωδία which immediately comes before: for the meaning of it is this; That Τραγωδία might have its name by a little variation from τρυγωδία: which word τρυγωδία signified of old, not Tragedy only, but Comedy too: for at that time, these two  
 307 sorts of Poetry were not distinguish'd, but had one and the same Prize, (τρύγα) a Vessel of Wine: afterwards Tragedy retain'd that old name (ν only being chang'd into α) and the other was call'd Comedy. 'Tis an Error therefore in Casaubon, when he tells us as from this Writer, that Τραγωδία once signified Comedy: for the thing that this Writer affirms is this, That Τρυγωδία once signified both Tragedy and Comedy: which is a Proposition very much different from that other of Casaubon's.

But however, if this Passage of the *Etymologicon* will not serve Casaubon's purpose, it may be usefull to Mr. B's. 'Tis true, it will not come up to his main point, which he undertook to make out;<sup>3)</sup> That under the word Tragedy,

1) *Arist. Post. cap. iv.* 2) *Etymol. Mag. v. τραγωδ.* 3) *P. 179.*

both Tragedy and Comedy were at first comprehended (which alone, and nothing less than it, will signify any thing to the Age of Tragedy) yet it plainly affirms, what He by two mistaken instances in vain attempted to prove, *That τραγωδία once signified Tragedy*. It concerns me therefore to give an answer to this passage; because I have already flatly denied, that τραγωδία ever signified Tragedy. And I think I need not be at much trouble for a Reply; when the Author himself affords me one in this very place. For the grounds of his Assertion he declares to be these Two: that τραγωδία is derived from τραγωδία; and that τρὺξ Wine was the common Prize both to Comedy and Tragedy. Now both these are plain mistakes; for the true Derivation of τραγωδία is from τράγος a Goat, as I have fully shewn above; and that the Prize was not the same, but the Goat was for Tragedy, and the Wine for Comedy, the *Arundel Marble*, (to name no more) expressly affirms, in the Epochs of *Susarion* and *Thespis*. If the grounds then, that he walks upon, fail him; his Authority too must fall with him; for he is alone, without any other to support him; all the rest confining the signification of τραγωδία to Comedy alone. Τρωγυδεῖν, χωμυδεῖν, says *Hesychius*, Τρωγυδία, ἡ χωμυδία, says *Aristophanes's* Scholiast. [Ach. 398]. In the present Editions of *Suidas*, we read Τρωγοχωμυδία, without any Exposition: but the true Reading, as the very order of the Alphabet shews, is τραγωδία, χωμυδία; and so *H. Stephanus* affirms, that he found it in his MS. All these Three are older than the Author of the *Etymologicon*; and if ever any before their time had used τραγωδία for Tragedy, either all or some of them would have told us of it.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, as well as some others, I should rather suspect that χωμυδία was the old and common name both for Tragedy and Comedy; till they came to be distinguish'd by their peculiar Appellations. For the Etymology of the word (χωμυδία, ἐν χώμασι ᾠδὴ, a Song in Villages) agrees equally to them both: both Tragedy and Comedy being first invented and used in the Villages, as all Writers unanimously say. And 'tis remarkable, that *Dioscorides* in his Epigrams, calls the Plays of *Thespis* χώμους;

θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο, τάδ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἀν' ὕλαν  
 Παίγνια, καὶ ΚΩΜΟΥΣ τοῦσδε τελειοτέρους.<sup>1)</sup>

And again, he says, *Thespis's Plays* were an Entertainment to the *καμῆται*;

θέσπις ὅδε τραγικὴν ὡς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος ἀοιδὴν,  
 ΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ νεαρὰς καينوτομῶν χάριτας.

309 So that even *Thespis's Plays* might at first, and for a little while, be call'd Comedies; which was a word already in use from the time of *Susarion*. But when men understood the difference between the two Sorts, and a distinct Prize was appointed to *Thespis's*, it was natural to give each sort a particular Name taken from the several Prizes; and the one was called *τραγωδία* from the Goat,<sup>2)</sup> the other *τρουγωδία* from the Cask of Wine.<sup>3)</sup> The very likeness that is between the two words, is no small confirmation, that this account of them may be true: But I only propose it as a Guess, to set against the Conjecture of the Author of the *Etymologicon*; and perhaps it might be accounted as probable as His, if it had not the disadvantage of coming so many Centuries after it.

Mr. *B.* having at last made an end of his Mistakes in this Article *about Tragedy*; I am very glad too to make an end of my Animadversions upon them. For I am sensible how long I have detain'd the Reader upon this Subject: though I hope both the Pleasure and the Importance of it and the vast number of Faults that call'd upon me for Correction, will excuse the Prolixity. Which I will not encrease further, by a repetition of what has been said, for even a short Account of each, where the Variety of things touch'd on is so great, would amount to a long Story. I will only crave leave to say, That of the Three points, which the Learned Mr. *B.* undertook to make out,<sup>4)</sup> every one has been carried against him; and that the incident Mistakes, which he has run into, have not fail'd to increase in Number, proportionably as this Article of his exceded in Length.

1) See above, p. 231, 233.

2) *Τράγος.*

3) *Τρούξ.*

4) *P. 165.*

## XII

310

HAD all other ways failed us of detecting this Impostor, yet his very Speech had betray'd him. For his Language is *Attic*, the beloved Dialect of the Sophists, in which all their *Μελέται*, or *Exercises* were composed; in which they affected to excell each other, even to Pedantry and Solocism. But he had forgot that the Scene of these Epistles was not *Athens*, but *Sicily*, where the *Doric* tongue was generally spoken and written; as besides the testimonies of others, the very Thing speaks it self in the Remains of *Sicilian* Authors, *Sophron*, *Epicharmus*, *Stesichorus*, *Theocritus*, *Moschus*, and others. How comes it to pass then, that our Tyrant transacts every thing in *Attic*, not only foreign Affairs of State, but domestic Matters with *Sicilian* Friends, but the very Accounts of his Houshold? Pray, how came that Idiom to be the Court Language at *Agrigentum*? 'Tis very strange, that a Tyrant, and such a Tyrant as He, should so doat on the Dialect of a Democracy, which was so eminently *μισοτύραννος*, the *Hater of Tyrants*; which, in his very day, had driven out *Pisistratus*, though a generous and easie Governour: especially, since <sup>311</sup> in those early times, before Stage-Poetry and Philosophy and History had made it famous over *Greece*, that Dialect was no more valued than any of the rest.

I would not be here mistaken; as if I affirmed, that the *Doric* was absolutely universal, or original in *Sicily*. I know, that the old *Sicani*, the Natives of the Isle, had a peculiar Language of their own; and that the *Greek* Tongue there, like the *Punic*, was only a Foreigner, being introduced by those Colonies that planted themselves there. Most of which coming from *Corinth*, *Crete*, *Rhodes*, &c. where all

spoke the *Doric* Dialect; thence it was that the same Idiom so commonly obtained almost all over *Sicily*; as it appears to have done, to omit other testimonies, from the ancient Medals of that Island, *TAYPOMENITAN*, *MEΣΣANION*, *ΘEPMITAN*, *ΠΑΝΟΡMITAN*, *ΑΙΛΥΒΑΙITAN*, *ΣΕΛΙΝΩNTION*, &c. all which words, inscribed upon their Money, demonstrate the *Doric* Dialect to have been then the Language of those Cities. 'Tis true, there came some Colonies to *Sicily*, from *Eubæa*, and *Samos*, and other places; which, in those Parts where they settled, might speak, for a  
 212 while, the *Ionic* Dialect; and afterwards, being mixed with the *Dorians*, might make a new sort of Dialect, a compound of both: as *Thucydides*<sup>1)</sup> observes of *Himera*, that the Language of that City was at first a medly of *Doric* and *Chalcidic*. But that is no more than what happen'd even in *Greece* it self, where there were many *ὑποδιαίρέσεις τοπικαί*,<sup>2)</sup> local Subdivisions of every Dialect, one Country having always some singularity of Speech, not used by any other. But those little peculiarities do not hinder us from saying in general, that the *Sicilians* spoke *Doric*. For the other Dialects were swallowed up and extinguished by those two powerfull Cities of *Dorian* Original, *Syracuse*, and *Agrigentum*, that shared the whole Island between them. *Syracuse* was a *Corinthian* Colony, and spoke the Dialect of her Mother City.<sup>3)</sup> *Agrigentum* was first built by the *Geloans* of *Sicily*, who had been themselves a Plantation of the *Cretans* and *Rhodians*, both of which were *Dorian* Nations. So that upon the whole, though in some other Towns, and for a time, there might be a few footsteps of the *Ionic* Dialect; yet our So-

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Lib. vi. p. 414. [c. 5].*      <sup>2)</sup> *Vetus Auctor περὶ Διαλέκτων.* [Gramm. Meermann. p. 656 Greg. ed. Schaefer]. *Herod. i. 142.*      <sup>3)</sup> *Theocrit. Id. xv. [90 sqq.]*

phist is inexcusable, in making a Tyrant of *Agri-gentum*, a City of *Doric* Language and Original, write Epistles in such a Dialect, as if he had gone to School at *Athens*.

But some Apologies have been offer'd for his<sup>313</sup> using the *Attic* Dialect; as first, *because* Phalaris *was born at Astypalæa, an Island of the Sporades, where was an Athenian Colony.* This is thought to be a good Account of his speaking in that Idiom. It were easie to overthrow this argument at once; by refuting our spurious Epistles, and by shewing, from much better Authority, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born. But I may speak perhaps of that by and by; and I'll have every Proof I bring stand by it self, without the support of another. Let us allow then, that *Phalaris* came from *Astypalæa*, an Island of the *Sporades*, mention'd by *Strabo*<sup>1)</sup> and *Pliny*.<sup>2)</sup> 'Tis true, some of the Editors of *Phalaris* have discovered a new place of his birth, *Astypalæa*, a City of *Crete*, never mention'd before by any Geographer, situate in the 370th. deg. of Longit. bearing South and by North off of *Utopia*. And I am wholly of their opinion, that he was born in that, or in none of them. But because Tradition is rather for the Island, we will beg their good leave to suppose it to be so: and There, as it seems, was formerly a Plantation of *Athenians*; and *Phalaris* being one of their Posterity, must needs, for that reason, have a twang of their Dialect. Now, what a pity<sup>314</sup> 'tis, that *Phalaris* himself, or his Secretary, did not know of this Plantation, when he writ the cxx Letter to the *Athenians*, *Ὁ σοφώτατος γηγενεὺς Ἀθηναῖοι!* What a fine Complement would he have made them upon that subject of their Kindred! If any one know an express testimony, that there was an *Athenian*

1) *Lib. x. p. 488.*

2) *Liv. iv. cap. 12.*

Colony at that *Astypalæa*, he can teach me more than I now remember. This I know in general, from *Thucydides*<sup>1)</sup> and others, that the *Athenians* sent Colonies to most of the Islands; and so That may come in among the rest. But what then? must the Language for ever afterwards be *Attic*, wherever the *Athenians* once had footing? *Thucydides* says in the same passage, That they planted *Ionia*. They had Colonies at *Miletus*, at *Ephesus*, and most of the Maritim Towns of *Asia Minor*. Nay, the *Ionians* and the *Attics* were anciently one People, and the Language the same: and when *Homer* says,

Ἐνθάδε Ροιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες<sup>2)</sup> ———

by the latter he is known to mean the *Athenians*. And yet we see, that in process of time, the Colonies had a different Dialect from that of the Mother Nation. Why then must *Astypalæa* needs be *Attic*?  
 315 and that so tenaciously, that twenty Years living in *Sicily* could not at all alter it in one of her Islanders? He was part of that time a Publican,<sup>3)</sup> or Collector of Taxes and Customs: Could not that perpetual negoce and converse with *Dorians* bring his mouth, by degrees, to speak a little broader? Would not He that aim'd at Monarchy,<sup>4)</sup> and for that design studied to be popular, have quitted his old Dialect for that of the Place; and not by every word he spoke make the invidious discovery of his being a Stranger? But what if, after all, even the *Astypalæans* themselves should be found to speak *Doric*? If we make a conjecture from their Neighbourhood, and the company they are put in, we can scarce question but they were *Dorians*. *Strabo* says,<sup>5)</sup> the

1) *Thucyd.* p. 10 [I 12]. Καὶ Ἰωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄκισαν. *Isocrat. Panathen.* [12, 43 Bens.]  
*Plutarch. De exilio.* [10].

2) *Strabo*, p. 333, 392.

3) *Polyænus Strateg.* [V 1].

4) *Ibid.*

5) *Lib. x.* p. 488.



Island lies between *Cos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Crete*, μεταξὺ τῆς Κῶ μάλιστα καὶ Ρόδου καὶ Κρήτης. And that all these three used the *Doric* Dialect, is too well known to need any proof. But to answer this in one word; we have direct Evidence, that this *Astypalæa* was a *Dorian* Colony, and not an *Athenian*: for it was planted by the *Megarians*, as *Scymnus Chius*<sup>1)</sup> says expressly:

Ἐν τῇ πόρῳ δὲ χειμένη τῷ Κρητικῷ  
 Ἀποικίος ἐστὶν Ἀστυπάλαια Μεγαρέων,  
 Νῆσος πελαγία. —

But let us hear the Second Apology for the <sup>316</sup> Atticism of *Phalaris*. He is defended by the like practice of other Writers; who being *Dorians* born, repudiated their vernacular Idiom for that of the *Athenians*; as *Diodorus* of *Agyrium*, and *Empedocles* of *Agrigentum*. So that, though *Phalaris* be supposed to be a Native of *Sicily*, yet here is an excuse for him, for quitting the Language. But I conceive, with submission, that this Argument is built upon such Instances, as are quite different and aliene from the case of our Epistles.

The Case of *Empedocles* and *Diodorus*, the one a Poet and the other an Historian, is widely remote from that of our Tyrant. The former, being to write an Epic Poem, show'd an excellent judgment in laying aside his Country Dialect for that of the *Ionians*; which *Homer* and his followers had used before him, and had given it, as it were, the dominion of all Heroic Poetry. For the *Doric* Idiom had not Grace and Majesty enough for the Subject he was engaged in; being proper indeed for Mimes, Comedies, and Pastorals, where Men of ordinary rank are represented; or for Epigrams, a Poem of a low vein: or for Lyrics, and the Chorus of Tragedy, upon the

1) *Scymn. Ch. v. 550.*

317 account of the *Doric* Music; but not to be used in Heroic, without great disadvantage. And the Historian likewise, with the rest of that and other *Dorian* Nations, *Philistus*, *Timæus*, *Ephorus*, *Herodotus*, *Dionysius Halic.* &c. had great reason to decline the use of their vernacular Tongue, as improper for History; which besides the affectation of Eloquence, aims at Easiness and Perspicuity, and is designed for general use. But the *Doric* is coarse and rustic, and always clouded with an obscurity; ἐχούσης τι καὶ ἀσυχρὲς τῆς Δωρίδος διαλέκτου, says *Porphyry*; <sup>1)</sup> who attributes the decay of the *Pythagorean* Sect to their writing in that Dialect. And now, what affinity is there between *Phalaris's* case, and that of Historians, or Heroic Poets? What mighty motives can be here for assuming a foreign Dialect? The Letters are dated in the middle of *Sicily*, mostly directed to the next Towns, or to some of his own Domestics, about private Affairs, or even the expenses of his Family, and never designed for the public view. If any will still excuse the Tyrant for Atticizing in those Circumstances, 'tis hard to deny them the Glory of being the faithfullest of his Vassals.

318 THE Examiner begins his Remarks upon this Article with a point, <sup>2)</sup> that he owns is not very material. He acknowledges there are several Attic ways of Speech in the Letters; but for all that they are not properly Attic. Which Cavil seems to be started here for no other design, but to bring in that cutting Jest, That Dr. B. has abundance of pure Anglicisms in his Latin; which when he or any body for him shall shew by instances, I'll then consider what to answer: but in the mean time it will pass for a Calumny. He adds, That Homer mixes Atticism in his Style, and yet no body will say he wrote Attic. Which is very crudely said, and shews, Mr. B. had no true view of the Progress

<sup>1)</sup> *Vita Pyth.* p. 205 [§. 53].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 34.

of Dialects. For if I should ask him what the *Attic Dialect* was in *Homer's* time, I might stay long enough before he could tell me. 'Tis well known, that the *Ionians* were *Athenian Colonies*; <sup>1)</sup> and at first the *Ionic* and *Attic* were one and the same Dialect. Now those Colonies were carried into *Asia* by *Neleus*, but *CLXX* years <sup>2)</sup> before *Homer* was famous; and even *Homer* himself calls the *Athenians*, *Ἴάονες*, *Ionians*. If I should say then, that in *Homer's* time there was little or no difference between the *Attic* and *Ionic* Language, how could *Mr. B.* disprove it? For the difference we now see between *Homer* and the *Attic Writers* is no just measure in the case. Because *Homer* lived near *ccc* years <sup>3)</sup> before the *Athenians* had any writer of their own. So that, as we may gather from the proportion of time, there was not near so great a change made in the Dialects, between *Neleus's* and *Homer's* time, as between *Homer's* and *Tyrtæus's* or *Solon's*.

But he chastises me for saying, <sup>4)</sup> *That the Sophists* 319 *affected to excell one another in writing Attic, even to Pedantry and Solæcism.* For he declares, *He is at a loss for the meaning of this, and to him 'tis an incomprehensible degree of Affectation.* What *Mr. B.* is at a loss for, or what he cannot comprehend, I now know his Reach too well to be very solicitous. He may say therefore, if he pleases, that *Lucian* too writ Nonsense, where he says, <sup>5)</sup> *That one Socrates was wont to rallie, τοὺς σολοικίζοντας Ἀττικῶς, those that affected ATTIC SOLOECISMS.* Here's the very same incomprehensible Expression, that I am reproved for by our great Master of Sense and Language. But for fear *Lucian* should have no better Quarter from him in his next Book, than I had in his last, I'll endeavour to clear this point to the Examiner, so that, if possible, he may apprehend us both. 'Tis known that *Philostratus* and *Ælian* have been ever thought the most *Attic* of all the Tribe of the Sophists. Now the great *Photius*, where he gives us a Character of *Philostratus's* Style; *His Syntax*, says he, <sup>6)</sup> *is so very odd,*

---

<sup>1)</sup> See here p. 314.      <sup>2)</sup> *Marm. Arund.*      <sup>3)</sup> *Marm. Arund.*      <sup>4)</sup> *P. 34.*      <sup>5)</sup> *Lucian Solæc. p. 981 [III 560 Reitz].*  
<sup>6)</sup> *Photius p. 540 [331a Bekk.] Ἀσυνταξίας μάλλον εἰκέναι, ἢ συντάξεως ὁτιοῦν μετέχειν.*

that no Writer's was ever like it; for it looks more like Solœcism, than any thing of Syntax. Neither does he this out of ignorance; but because some of the Ancients might speak so now and then, he does it every where with Affectation. And Eustathius, after he has given some instances of Solœcism in Euripides and Sophocles, But that some, says he,<sup>1)</sup> of the old and good Orators made Solœcisms on purpose to give a new turn and quaintness to their Style, appears plainly in the Writings of Philostratus. This, we see, was the Judgment of Photius and Eustathius, no despicable Authors:  
 320 and by Mr. B's permission, I'll give an Example or two to justify their Censure. Οἱ δὲ Ὀρεῖται, says Philostratus,<sup>2)</sup> χαλκαὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι. Here's a plain Solœcism; a Nominative Case without any Verb following it: another Writer would have said, Τοῖς δὲ Ὀρεῖταις, χαλκαὶ μὲν αἱ πέτραι. Again, says he,<sup>3)</sup> Καὶ πρὸς πυρρὴν αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν μεστὰ πάντα ἦν. And again,<sup>4)</sup> Τὸν λυπούμενον μὲν, κομίζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ. And again,<sup>5)</sup> Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν εἰς νήσους καθεύχθησαν. All these are gross Solœcisms, the last part of the Sentence not agreeing nor answering to the first; which is the proper definition of a Solœcism.<sup>6)</sup> Corinthus<sup>7)</sup> too observes it, as a peculiar way of the Attics, to put Nominatives instead of Oblique Cases; and he instances in Aristophanes and Philostratus. I shall add to these a few Passages out of Ælian,<sup>8)</sup> the other great Pattern of the Attic Style. Οἱ ἵπποι, says he, τὰς κάτω βλεφάριδας οὗ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Οἳ γε ἄρρενες καὶ πολεμικοὶ κάμηλοι,<sup>9)</sup> καὶ ἐκτέμνουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βάκτριοι. Λαχύδης<sup>10)</sup> δὲ καὶ Τίμων οἱ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τούτους πεινῶν πάμπολύ φασι. If these Examples be not sufficient to give Mr. B. some clearer apprehension, what it is to solœcize in the Attic way, it's to no purpose to add more; but he must still continue at a loss for the meaning of this deep Reflection.<sup>11)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 179 [236, 33]. Σολοικοφανῇ καὶ οὕτω καίνοπρεπῇ.

<sup>2)</sup> Philost. Apol. p. 155 [III 54 = II 122 ed. Teubn.]

<sup>3)</sup> P. 159 [IV 2].

<sup>4)</sup> P. 227 [VI 21].

<sup>5)</sup> P. 325 [VII 8].

<sup>6)</sup> Suid. v. Σολοιχ.

<sup>7)</sup> Cor. Περὶ Διαλέκτων [p. 86 sq. Schäfer].

<sup>8)</sup> Ælian. de Anim. iv. 50.

<sup>9)</sup> Ibid. iv, 55.

<sup>10)</sup> Var. Hist. ii, 41.

<sup>11)</sup> P. 35.

Well; he recovers himself out of this deep Puzzle, and now he comes to my Argument, which, says he, *I will make free to call a silly one, because it is my Own, and mention'd by Me in My Preface to Phalaris.* Indeed, as this Argument lies in His Preface, being barely hinted there,<sup>1)</sup> and neither back'd with any proof, nor guarded from any Exceptions, and usher'd in with a false Propo-<sup>321</sup>sition, *That the Sicilian Writers ALWAYS used the Doric Dialect;* he shall have my consent to call it as silly as he pleases. But with humble Submission, as the Argument is manag'd in My Dissertation, Mr. B. will find it much easier to call it so, than to prove it.

I. His first good Reason, why his Sicilian Prince was not obliged to speak Doric, is,<sup>2)</sup> because he was no Native of Sicily. Which we are sure of, says he, *if the Credit of the Letters stand good; and though Dr. B. pretends that he can refute this from better Authority;*<sup>3)</sup> yet he has not throughout his Dissertation said one Syllable to shake it; nay, he says,<sup>4)</sup> *the Dr. contends without any manner of Proof or Reason, that Phalaris was a Sicilian born.* Now though I have as little reason as any body to be concern'd for this Gentleman's Reputation; yet it really afflicts me to see him so pert and positive in a thing that's evidently false. For in the XVI Section of my Dissertation I had these very words; *Lucian makes both Phalaris, and his Smith Perilaus to be born at Agrigentum; but the Letters bring one of them from Astypalæa, and the other from Athens.* What can be more express, than that *Lucian* is here produced against the Letters, to shew *Phalaris* was born in Sicily. Yet Mr. B. avers above once, that I have not one Syllable, not any manner of Proof or Reason to shew he was a Sicilian. If I did not enter further into that Particular, 'twas because I then thought there was no need of it; and by mentioning *Lucian* alone, I was as good as my promise, which was only this, *That I might speak perhaps of that by and by.* But since Mr. B. has come forth in such Fury to fight *Phalaris's* Battles for him; I shall now think is worth my<sup>322</sup>

1) *Neque cum Siculis Scriptoribus placuerit semper Dialectus Dorica, Agrigentinorum Tyrannus aliâ uti debuit.* 2) P. 35.

3) P. 36. 4) P. 40.

while to produce other Authorities, and to shew him to his comfort,<sup>1)</sup> that neither all *threatned History*, nor all flattering Applauses, *have the luck to live long*.

That *Phalaris* was of *Agrigentum*, a *Sicilian* born, we have another positive Testimony of *Lucian*, besides that cited before. *The damn'd*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *broke out of Hell*, and were headed by *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE*, and *Busiris the Egyptian*, &c. And so *Polyænus* calls him, *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE*,<sup>3)</sup> a *Publican*. And to these we may add *Suidas*, who says, *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE*<sup>4)</sup> *was Tyrant over all Sicily*. Which *Orosius* thus expresses, *Phalaris the SICILIAN*<sup>5)</sup> *was Tyrant*, &c. And *Photius* styles him, *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE*<sup>6)</sup> *Tyrant*. Are not all these Witnesses pretty open and express; and we have others yet, that make broad intimation of it. When *Scipio*, says *Tully*,<sup>7)</sup> *restor'd Phalaris's Bull*, which he found at *Carthage*, to the *Agrigentines*; he desir'd them to consider, whether it was better for the *Sicilians* to be *Slaves to their own Countrymen* (*Suis servire*) or to be *Subjects to the Romans*: when the same *Bull* was a *Monument both of their own Cruelty* (*DOMESTICÆ Crudelitatis*) and of the *Roman Clemency*. Now if *Phalaris* had been a *Foreigner*, this *Speech of Scipio's* had been very weak, and, like the *Arguments of Mr. B.* might have been turn'd upon the *Author*. *Heracledes*<sup>8)</sup> tells us, That when the *Agrigentines* got *Phalaris* into their power, they burnt his *Mother also*, and his *Friends*. Which implies he was not an *Alien*, but had relations in the *Country*; though the *Letters* pretend he was both a *Stranger* and  
 323 an *Orphan*. This very *Book*, as it seems, of *Heracledes*, is quoted by *Cicero*<sup>9)</sup> for another *Story* about *Phalaris's Mother*: and if *Heracledes* had made *Phalaris* to be no *Native of Sicily*; we suppose sure that *Cicero*, who had read him, would never put that *Speech* into *Scipio's Mouth*. And what says our *Examiner* now to his *threatned History*? I am afraid, the *Threats* are executed not

1) P. 36. 2) *Lucian. Ver. Hist. ii. p. 761 [c. 23]. Φάλαρον τὸν Ἀγραγαντίνον.* 3) *Polyæn. v. [1]. Φάλαρις Ἀγραγαντίνος.*

4) *Suid. Φάλ. Ἀγραγαντίνος.*

5) *Oros. i. 20. Phalaris Siculus.*

6) *Phot. Ep. 207. Τὸν Ἀγραγαντίνον τύραννον.*

7) *Cic. iv. in Verrem [33, 73].*

8) *Herac. in Polih. [XXXVII]. Τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους.*

9) *Cicero Divin. I. [23, 46].*

only upon this Piece of History, but upon the whole Body of the Epistles. For since the Epistles give out *Phalaris* for an *Astypalæan*, whom all the Historians that speak of his Lineage declare to be an *Agrigentine*, 'tis a shrewd token of an Imposture: at least it evidently proves thus much, That either none of them ever heard of *Phalaris's* Epistles, or none of them believed them genuine; either of which is sufficient to rout the Mock *Sicilian Prince*, and all them that take up Arms for him.

But Mr. B.<sup>1)</sup> is very angry, because I was merry at a mistake of his, where he calls *Astypalæa*, a City of Crete; which I said, was a Discovery, that no Geographer had made before. He would ask me, he says, seriously, Do not the Epistles themselves PLAINLY suppose it? And do not You in the 58th Page EXPRESSLY own that they do so? Now I, in my turn, desire the favour of asking Mr. B. one of his own Questions, Was it worth his while to forge this little Piece of History? (the remainder of this Question to Me, Only in order to contradict his BETTERS,<sup>2)</sup> I leave for Mr. B's own use, and never will borrow't of him). And is the pleasure of inventing a circumstance (again I leave him the words that follow, Merely to be RUDE with) an equivalent to the shame of being told on't? For in both these Particulars, he has too well imitated that Sophist, whom he has so ill defended. First, the Epistles are so far from PLAINLY supposing, that *Astypalæa* was in Crete, that they do not suppose it at all. All that is said there is no more than this, That *Phalaris* was born at, and banish'd from *Astypalæa*:<sup>3)</sup> and that some time after, He invited his Wife to come to him from Crete to Agrigentum.<sup>4)</sup> Now how does this suppose or imply, That *Astypalæa* was in Crete? Might not his Wife leave *Astypalæa*, where her Husband's Memory was odious, and retire into Crete? Is it necessary, that because She was in Crete after her Husband's Banishment, that *Astypalæa* too must be in Crete? *Themistocles* was born and lived and married at Athens; but after he was banish'd, his Wife and Children were in *Epirus*:<sup>5)</sup> must Athens therefore be in *Epirus* too? A notable inference! and yet exactly the very same with

1) P. 36.

2) P. 39.

3) Ep. 4. &amp; 119.

4) Ep. 69.

5) Plut. Them. [24].

Mr. B's, who, because *Phalaris's* Wife was in *Crete*, would make *Astypalæa* in *Crete* too, though no body ever heard on't there. In the second place he wrongs me, or rather Himself, when he says, *I EXPRESSLY own, that the Epistles suppose it.* For the very words he refers to, are these;<sup>1)</sup> *Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believ'd Astypalæa to be a City in Crete.* Let the Candid Reader judge now, what an Adversary I have to deal with. Is a *SEEMING intimation* an equivalent Phrase in his Language, to *EXPRESS owning*? If so, I'll have no further controversy with him. I had reason to say, it was *seemingly* intimated; because I saw this was the only Authority to make an *Astypalæa* in *Crete*; an Error that no body could possibly have fallen into, had there been nothing *seeming* here, nothing *like* such an intimation.

325 But why, says Mr. B.<sup>2)</sup> is not *Astypalæa* a City in *Crete*? what has the Dr. to oppose to it? Has he then a List of all the Hundred Cities there? If he has, 'tis a mightier Discovery in Geography, than that of *Mine*. And again he inculcates it, *No Geographer has mention'd this City in Crete; no more have they several of the other Ninety Nine.*<sup>3)</sup> Now whether shall we admire more, his Learning or his Reasoning? his Learning, that he knew that great Secret, that *Crete* was call'd *ἑκατόπολις*, because it had a Hundred Towns in't; or his Reasoning, that *Astypalæa* is a City of *Crete*, because I cannot refute it with a List of all the Hundred? By the same way of arguing he may affirm, when the humour takes him, that *Oxford* too was a City of *Crete*; and what will the Dr. have to oppose to it? But the misfortune is, that the old Fatality of mistaking still pursues our Examiner: for what if I should give him a List of all the Hundred Cities of *Crete*? Then his Face-tiousness and his assuming Air will sit but awkwardly upon him. And yet such a List is so very easie to come at, that above xx years ago there was one printed to my hand,<sup>4)</sup> not only of a Hundred, but a Hundred and twenty *Cretan* Cities, with an account of the several Authors that mention every one of them. For there were a Hundred Cities

1) Section xv.  
Meursius's CRETA.

2) P. 37.

3) P. 38.

4) See



there even in *Homer's* time, and several were founded after. Is not the Examiner now a great Judge of *Discoveries in Geography*? Have Geographers never spoken of *several of the Ninety Nine*? Methinks, as he says, he ought to have look'd about him, before he resolv'd to be *Positive*.<sup>1)</sup>

However, Mr. B. urges for his own Justification, that He was not the first,<sup>2)</sup> that made this (false) *Discovery*, but <sup>326</sup> *mistook after great Names, Goltzius,<sup>3)</sup> and Fazellus.<sup>4)</sup> If he thinks it a more venial fault to make a mistake at Second hand after others, than to produce one out of his own Store, he shall have the benefit of this Plea; for I'll be as easie to him as he can desire. 'Tis enough for me, that the error is evident, and that Mr. B. slipt into it; but whether he led or follow'd, it matters not at all. But he goes on again, and expostulates, *Will the Dr. discard all places, that occur but once in Ancient Authors?*<sup>5)</sup> and so he flourishes for a whole Page out of *Diodorus* and *Scylax*. But I have answer'd him already, that *Astypalæa* of *Crete* does not once occur in *Ancient Authors*. 'Tis true, in some *New Geographers* we meet with it, such as *Naogeorgus*<sup>6)</sup> in his Preface to *Phalaris*, *Boyle* in his Preface and Index; who, by mistaking the Author that they publish'd, have banter'd the world with an enchanted City, that no body can see but they. I must speak warily therefore, as Mr. B. tells me,<sup>7)</sup> that it occurs in no *Old Geographers*: and that I think I may safely say.*

A very worthy Person,<sup>8)</sup> having occasion to speak of *Phalaris*, had said, *He was born at Astypala an Island of the Cyclades*. Which in the former Edition of these Dissertations, I had gently corrected thus, *Astypalæa one of the Sporades*. Upon this Mr. B. resolves to do right to that *Learned Man, whom I take upon me*, he says,<sup>9)</sup> to correct without the least ground or colour of Reason. But Mr. B. had been better advised, to have staid till that *Learned*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 37.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 37.

<sup>3)</sup> For *Goltzius* see Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* II p. 52. 54. 359. — W.

<sup>4)</sup> *Facellus*, born 1498

at Sciacca in Sicily, a Dominican, died 8 April 1570, at Palermo. *Nomencl. Philol.* — W.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 38.

<sup>6)</sup> A Bavarian,

born at Straubingen, 1511. — W.

<sup>7)</sup> P. 38.

<sup>8)</sup> Joshua

Barnes, in his ed. of *Euripides*, 1694. p. 523. — D.

<sup>9)</sup> P. 39.

Man had ask'd his Assistance. I am sure, when that person is on the side of Truth, he needs no such Defender as Mr. B. and if he chances to be mistaken (as the most  
 327 Learned may sometimes be) he is too candid and just to accept of such a Defender. As in the present Case, I dare say for him, he would be asham'd to make use of such poor shifts, as Mr. B. supplies him with. For Mr. B. maintains *Astypala* to be a legitimate word, because we read it *Ἀστυπάλῃ* in the present Copy of *Scylax*,<sup>1)</sup> one of the most corrupted Books in the world. But the very Adjectives form'd from the name of this City, *Ἀστυπалаιεὺς*, and *Ἀστυπалаιάτης*, shew plainly that the primitive name is *Ἀστυπάλαια*: so *Ἰστιαεὺς* is from *Ἰστίαια*; *Λιλαιεὺς* from *Λίλαια*, *Ποτιδαεὺς* and *Ποτιδαιάτης* from *Ποτίδαια*. But neither *Ἀστυπалаιεὺς* nor *Ἀστυπалаιάτης* can by any Analogy be form'd from *Ἀστυπάλῃ*. We must correct *Scylax* then by other Authors; and not think to maintain and propagate one fault by another. Well, Mr. B. goes on to confute me, for saying, *The Astypalæa in Phalaris seem'd to be the Island of the Sporades, rather than the Cyclades*. My reason was, because *Stephanus*,<sup>2)</sup> besides that of the *Cyclades*, names another *Situate between Rhodes and Crete*: which nearness to *Crete*, whither *Phalaris's*<sup>3)</sup> Wife and Son are supposed to have fled, makes it probable, that That was the Island mention'd in the Epistles. Now Mr. B. would overthrow This two several ways: First, the Nearness, he says, of this *Astypalæa* to *Crete*, is no argument at all, but rather the contrary.<sup>4)</sup> *For those that fly are usually glad to get as Far as they can out of the reach of their Pursuers*. Wonderfull Aphorism, and taken from the justest view of human Nature! I should have thought now; that they are usually glad, to get as soon as they can out of reach. But hereafter, if a Merchant man be chased by a Privateer, she  
 328 must not make to the next safe Harbour; but according to Mr. B's Conduct, bear away for the remotest. Mr. B. has been so kind, as several times to bid me study the Holy Scripture; I crave leave therefore, to propose one Text to him, and desire his Comment upon it: God commanded<sup>5)</sup> the *Israelites* to build three Cities of Refuge

1) P. 40. 2) Steph. v. Ἀστυπ. 3) Ep. 69. 4) P. 39.  
 5) Numbers c. 35. v. 14.

beyond *Jordan*, and Three in the Land of *Canaan*. Did not the Persons therefore, that fled for Manslaughter, strive to reach the *next* City of Refuge? or did they usually cross the River *Jordan*, and take their course to the City *farthest* from home; that the Pursuer might have time and space to overtake them? If Mr *B.* can make out this latter to be the true Interpretation; he may then persuade us, that it was very absurd in *Phalaris's* Wife, to steer towards *Crete*, the nearest place of safety; and that she ought to have got *as far off as she could*, towards *Carthage* or *Hercules's Pillars*; no matter whether the Season was contrary, or the Vessel old and leaky, or not victuall'd for so long a Voyage. But secondly, says he,<sup>1)</sup> *This Flight of hers, is a mere Fiction, and there's no such thing supposed, or in the least intimated in the Epistles.* These are very hard Expressions; but we are used to have such from Mr. *B.* when his Arguments are soft enough. *Phalaris* fled from *Astypalæa*, and left his Family behind him; this is plain from the Epistles. And the next news we hear of his Wife is, that she was in *Crete*. Now if *Astypalæa* was not in *Crete*, which I have clearly shew'd already; then her flight from *Astypalæa* to *Crete* is both *supposed* and *intimated*. But indeed, if with some new Geographers one can spy out an *Astypalæa* in *Crete*, invisible to all the Ancients; then he is well qualified to believe on Mr. *B's* side, <sup>329</sup> that no flight is supposed. The Examiner closes this first part with a sorry, but yet a very spitefull Quibble about the word *Gratuitously*; which is a priviledg'd Slander, and cannot with good Manners be answer'd in the manner it deserves. And to speak freely, I can scarce resent it from Mr. *B.* because I cannot believe it's his own; I impute it rather to some under-jobbing Assistant, of a low sordid Spirit, which this Calumny is a Picture of, than to a Gentleman that challenges the Title of Honourable.

Before we leave the Examiner's first Argument, let us see a little what he drives at in all this bustle about *Phalaris's* Country. Why, to convince us, that *his Prince* was not oblig'd to write Doric, he would shew that he was no Native of *Sicily*. Grant this, and let him be born

---

1) P. 39.

where the Examiner would have him, at *Astypalæa* in *Crete*. Now we are as sure, that the Island of *Crete* spoke *Doric*, as that *Sicily* it self did. And is not Mr. B. then a Man of quick Thought and Foresight, to bring an Argument which ends just where it first set out, without advancing one Inch? Nay, if *Phalaris* was born in the Island *Astypalæa*; I had shewn it to be highly probable, that *Doric* was the Mother-Tongue there; and not a word has been yet said to disprove me. But he may now see a direct Testimony of it, which I have added out of *Scymnus Chius*. So that upon every Supposition his Argument is vain and idle.

II. But we are come at last to the second Point; for supposing, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born; yet Mr. B. will give good reasons, why he should not use the *Doric* 330 Dialect. If the Reader pleases to run over what I had said in my Dissertation upon this Head; he will see, that I my self had given several Examples of Authors, who being Natives of *Sicily* or other *Dorian* Countries, had writ Books in another Dialect, as *Diodorus*, *Empedocles*, *Philistus*, *Timæus*, *Ephorus*, *Herodotus*, *Dionysius Hal.* &c. But I had shewn the case of *Phalaris* to be quite different from theirs; and the Difference turn'd upon these points, That *Phalaris*'s Writings are private Letters, to his Domestic Servants, about Family Affairs, never design'd to be publish'd, and written at a time, when the *Attic* Dialect was not yet in fashion. These therefore are the Considerations, that Mr. B. should have spoken to, if he design'd to seek after Truth, and not merely to raise a Dust. But instead of answering to the Purpose, his main Performance here is to fill up my &c. and to add more Names of such Authors, as departed from the Dialect of their Country. A very easie piece of work, but quite besides the Question: and yet it's no little matter of compassion,<sup>1)</sup> to see how sorrily he acquits himself, even where to acquit himself well had been a vain and useless Labour.

*Agathyrsides*, says Mr. B.<sup>2)</sup> the *Historian* of *Samos*,

<sup>1)</sup> The old ed. reads »comparison«: an error which has been pointed out by Porson, in his *Tracts*, &c., ed. by Kidd, p. 316. — D.      <sup>2)</sup> P. 141.

had he follow'd the Dialect of his Country, would have written in Doric. Thus it is in his First Edition; for at that time in his great Learning, he thought the *Samians* spoke *Doric*. But in the next he corrected it *Ionic*; which I mention for his Commendation, and as an instance of his Improvement. But 'tis a pity he could go no further; for if I had the honour to have been in his Assistant's place, I could have told him, that there was no such man, as *Agathyrsides* 331 an Historian of *Samos*. Mr. B. will say, he is quoted by *Stobæus*,<sup>1)</sup> *Agathyrsidæ Samii in iv rerum Persicarum*. So indeed it was in the Copy that *Gesner* made use of: but the true reading is *Agatharchides*, as appears by *Plutarch*,<sup>2)</sup> who relates the same Story word for word from *Ἀγαθαρχίδης Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Περσικῶν*. Neither can it be said, that the error may lie in *Plutarch's* Copies, and not in *Stobæus*; for the same Author is cited twice in *Plutarch's* Book *About Rivers*; but *Agathyrsides* is never once heard of, but in this corrupted place of *Stobæus*.

Another of Mr. B's Writers that departed from their Country Dialect,<sup>3)</sup> is *Andronicus Rhodius* in his *Paraphrase of Aristotle's Ethics*; but he should have remember'd, that the old MS. it self has no name of any Author; for *Dan. Heinsius* the first Editor of it, informs us, that *Andronicus's* name was prefix'd to it by a Modern and a very Unlearned Hand. Mr. B. adds,<sup>4)</sup> *That we may know, Epimenides did not write in the Cretic Dialect, from the short Citation out of him in St. Paul,*

*Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψευστοὶ, καὶ ἀθηροί, γαστέρες ἀργαί.*

*For the Cretans are said to use αἰὲς instead of ἀεὶ. That this Poem of Epimenides was not in Cretic, I readily own. But the proof that Mr. B. brings of it does not seem to be good. For the Cretans might use both αἰὲς and ἀεὶ too. As in a Letter of this very Epimenides written in the Cretic Idiom, extant in Laertius,<sup>5)</sup> we read, Εἶχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ΑΕΙ. And in a Cretic Inscription among the *Marmora Oxon.*<sup>6)</sup> Οἱ ΤΟΚΑΕΙ κοσμώντες, that is, οἱ τόχ' ἀεὶ.*

<sup>1)</sup> *Serm. vii. [63].*    <sup>2)</sup> *Plut. in Parall. p. 305 [Mor. Par. min. c. 2].*    <sup>3)</sup> *P. 41.*    <sup>4)</sup> *P. 41.*    <sup>5)</sup> *Laert. Epimen. [I 10, 113].*    <sup>6)</sup> *Marm. Oxon. p. 116.*

Mr. B. therefore, had he known of it, should rather have cited this following Fragment of *Epimenides*,<sup>1)</sup>

332 Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γένος εἰμὶ Σελήνης ἡϋκόμοιο,  
Ἥ δεινὸν φρίξας ἀπεσείσατο θῆρα λέοντα,  
Ἐς Νεμεαῖαν ἄγουσ' αὐτὸν διὰ πότνιαν Ἦραν.

For this Passage plainly proves what Mr. B. aims at, that *Epimenides*'s Poems were not *Cretic* but *Ionian*. *Ἐς Νεμεαῖαν* is a Correction of the Learned *Gesner*'s; for the Vulgar Reading is *Ἐννεμεαῖαν*: perhaps it might be mended without varying a Letter. *Ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἀνάγουσ'* —

Mr. B. goes on, and tells us,<sup>2)</sup> That *Alcæus*, *Sappho*, and *Simonides* were born in places where the *Ionian* was spoken, and yet wrote their *Lyric Poems* in *Æolic* or *Doric*. 'Tis true indeed, that *Simonides* was born at *Ceos*, Whose Inhabitants were *Ionians*,<sup>3)</sup> being an *Athenian Colony*, as *Herodotus* tells us; for the *Athenians* themselves were anciently *Ionians*. Mr. B. therefore has the luck to be right in one of the three. But for the other two, *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, how scandalously is he mistaken! I protest I am ashamed even to refute such miserable trash; though Mr. B. was not ashamed to write it, nay to value himself upon't. What part is it that I must teach him? That *Alcæus* and *Sappho* were Natives of *Lesbos*? but 'tis almost incredible he should be ignorant of that. Or that the Language of *Lesbos* was *Æolic*? Yes, there his wonderfull Learning was at a loss, and he believ'd it was *Ionian*. But his *Scylax*, that he lately vapour'd with (if instead of a wrong word *Ἀστυπάλῃ*, he had learnt any good out of him) might have taught him a better Lesson; *Lesbos*, says *Scylax*,<sup>4)</sup> an *Æolian Island*. The Inhabitants of *Lesbos*, says *Stephanus*,<sup>5)</sup> are call'd *ÆOLIANS*. Five *Æolian Cities*, says *Herodotus*,<sup>6)</sup> are in the Island of *Lesbos*. Nay it was the *Metropolis*, as it were, of all the *Æolian Cities*, as *Strabo*<sup>7)</sup> says expressly, *Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μητρόπολις ἡ Λέσβος ὑπάρχει τῶν Αἰολιδῶν*<sup>8)</sup> πόλεων. But there's a Passage in *Ælian* and *Suidas*,<sup>9)</sup>

1) *Ælian H. An.* xii, 7. Τὰ Ἐπιμενίδου ἔπη.

2) P. 41.

3) *Herod.* viii. c. 46. Χῖοι, [Κεῖιοι] ἔθνος ἐδὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

4) *Scylax* p. 34. Νῆσος Αἰολίς Λέσβος.

5) *Steph.*

v. Αἰολ.

6) *Herod.* i. c. 151.

7) *Strabo* p. 616.

8) Vulgo Αἰολικῶν: vide ed. *Falc.* p. 885. — D.

9) *Æl.*

*Var. Hist.* viii, 5. *Suid.* v. Ἰωνία.

that may seem to countenance our Examiner's mistake; for in reckoning up the *Ionian Cities*, they have *Ποτήνη, ΑΕΣΒΟΣ, Τέως*. Tho' the misfortune is, that for *Λέσβος* we must read it there *ΛΕΒΕΔΟΣ*, as it's plain from *Herodotus, Strabo*, and others. I had corrected this, when I knew not that any other had done it. But it was well for me, that before I printed it, I lit on *Meursius's Fortuna Attica*, where I found the same correction. For if Mr. B. had met with the same Passage; when he next appears in Print, I had been branded for a Plagiary. And yet I do not believe *Meursius* was a Plagiary; though I find, that long before his time this very same Emendation, and by the same Proofs, was made by *Brodæus* in his Notes upon *Anthol. Epigram.*<sup>1)</sup> For a Man would have very hard measure, if because another, whom he knew not of, had lit upon the same thought, he must be traduced as a Plagiary: Though it appear from the rest of his Performances (which are certainly New and his Own) that he was very able to do That too without stealing from others. And this alone will be a sufficient Answer to that Calumny of Mr. B's, which by and by we shall come to.

The Examiner, in the depth of his Reading, goes from Writers to Coins,<sup>2)</sup> that have been struck in *Dorian Countries*, and yet the Inscription of them not pure Doric. Among others he tells us, of *Ευστάρχης ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος*, a Cretan Money. This was borrow'd from Monsieur *Harduin's* very excellent Book *Of the Coins of Cities and People:*<sup>3)</sup> but I find other Persons, as well as my self, have but ill usage<sup>334</sup> from Mr. B. when he borrows any thing of them. For there is no such Cretan Money; neither does *Harduin* give the least intimation of it. There's an Inscription indeed, but no Money, that has *Ευστάρχης ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος*; and 'tis extant in *Gruter*, p. 1094. belonging to *Lyttus* a City of *Crete*. And 'tis with equal faithfulness and diligence, what Mr. B. presently adds, *That in some other Inscriptions it is Ευστάρχας*. This is the Reverse of the former Blunder: for his Author *Harduin* here says Money, and not *Inscription*; and he says *Κρητάρχας*, not *Ευστάρχας*: which last word in the *Doric*

1) *Lib. iv. cap. Εἰς Ναούς.*  
*Num. Illustr. p. 261.*

2) *P. 44.*

3) *Harduin,*

Termination, Mr. B. will not find either in Inscription or Money. I will leave the credit of this Citation to be divided between Mr. B. and his Assistant: for it's a plain case that one or both of them have an excellent hand at transcribing of Authors. But besides this, Mr. B. mentions *YEAH the Inscription of a Coin, belonging to Velia, a Town in Magna Græcia*: which *Velia* he supposes, in his great Learning, to have been a *Dorian Colony*; but *Herodotus* and *Strabo* will tell him, that it was an *Ionic*; and the Planters were the *Phocæans*, who were driven out of *Asia* by *Harpagus*.

But the most remarkable Instance of all, says<sup>1)</sup> Mr. B. is that of *Zaleucus, King of the Locrians, a Doric Colony, the Preface to whose Laws is preserv'd in Stobæus and Diodorus, and has plainly nothing of the Doric Dialect in it*. And again a little after, *I will add*, says he, <sup>2)</sup> *Zaleucus too, who we are sure was a Pythagorean, from very good Authority*. And I am sure too, that this is a remarkable instance, though not the most of all, of Mr. B's great Abilities in all parts  
 335 of Learning. For he has turn'd the Commonwealth of the *Locrians* into a Monarchy; and of a poor Shepherd and Slave, as *Zaleucus* is said to have been, he has made a King. These are no ordinary Performances; and they shew the Gentleman has well improv'd himself in *Phalaris's* Service. But why forsooth must *Zaleucus* be a King? Merely, because Mr. B. had heard he was a Law-giver. And if it chance to lie in his way, he will make *Draco* and *Solon* Kings of *Athens* by the very same Argument: though *Aristotle*<sup>3)</sup> informs us, that the best and most of the Law-makers were *Men of the middle Rank*. But to pass over this scandalous mistake, I have a matter of greater consequence to debate with him; for I am persuaded (notwithstanding Mr. B's very good Authority) that *Zaleucus* was no *Pythagorean*; and that the System of Laws ascribed to him, and produc'd by *Diodorus* and others, may be as mere an Imposture, as *Phalaris's* Epistles.

The Title of that Book, as *Stobæus* and others quote it, was *ZALEUCUS's Laws*: but we have good reason to suspect, that there was no such Person as *Zaleucus* a Law-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 44.      <sup>2)</sup> P. 53.      <sup>3)</sup> *Arist. Polit.* iv. 11. [p. 1296, 19 Bekk.] *Τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν.*



giver; and if this be true, the Cheat is apparent. *Timæus* the Sicilian, a man of a virulent Style, but an inquisitive and accurate Writer, expressly maintain'd, against the common Tradition of his Time, That there was no such man as *Zaleucus*. *Cicero* in a Letter to *Atticus*, among other vulgar Errors takes notice of this; *Who has not said*, says he, *that Zaleucus was Law-giver to the Locrians? Must Theophrastus therefore be despised, if that Story be refuted by Timæus, an Author you are much versed in?*<sup>1)</sup> And again, in his Book of Laws; <sup>2)</sup> *Before I give you the Law it self*, <sup>336</sup> says he, *I will preface something in its Commendation, as I see Zaleucus and Charondas have done.* To which his Brother *Quintus* replies, *That Timæus denied, there was any such Person as Zaleucus. But Theophrastus*, says *Cicero* again, *(an Author, as I think, no worse than Timæus, as many think, a better) affirms there was such a man; and the Locrians my Clients, have still a Tradition of it: but whether there was such a man or no, it's nothing to this matter.* Here we see the Orator, in Complement as it seems to his *Locrian* Clients, speaks in favour of the Vulgar Tradition: but in his private Letter to *Atticus*, he gives it up as a Fable, and joins it with that notorious Error about *Eupolis's* being drown'd *Olymp. xci, 2.* which, he says, *Eratosthenes* refuted, shewing several Comedies that *Eupolis* made and exhibited after that year. As for *Cicero's Locrians*, who, he says, still preserv'd the Tradition about *Zaleucus*; we may oppose to them some *Locrians* in *Timæus's* time, who lived above *cc* years before *Cicero*. For *Timæus* in that very place of his History<sup>3)</sup> where he reprehended *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* for their Narratives about the *Locrians*, said, he conversed with one *Echecrates*, a *Locrian* of Note and Quality, and had his Informations from him about the Affairs of that City. If *Echecrates* therefore in that Age did not believe, there was any *Zaleucus*; he's certainly as credible, as *Cicero's Locrians*, who come so many Generations afterwards, after so many Revolutions and Changes in the Constitution of their Government. 'Tis

1) *Lib vi. Ep. 1* [18]. *A Timæo tuo Familiari.* 2) *De Legibus ii, 6* [14]. 3) See *Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 45 &c.* [p. 735 Bekk.]

true, *Polybius* falls very foul upon *Timæus* for abusing  
 337 *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and charges him with some  
 falsehoods relating to the *Locrians*: but there's nothing  
 now extant, implying, that *Polybius* defended *Theophrastus*  
 against him, in this particular of *Zaleucus*. There's a  
 Passage indeed in the *Excerpta* of *Polybius*,<sup>1)</sup> where a Law  
 of *Zaleucus* is mention'd: but the word *Φησὶ* there intimates  
 that he gives it not as his own Narrative, but repeats the  
 words of some-body else. But however let that be as it  
 will; *Whether there was such a man or no*, as *Cicero* says,  
 I will not contend:<sup>2)</sup> but I think so much may be safely  
 concluded from it; That either this Book of *ZALEUCUS*'s  
 LAWS was not yet made in *Timæus*'s time; or else he  
 condemn'd it for an Imposture; nay, not he only, but  
*Echecrates* a Citizen of *Locri*, and therefore a very com-  
 petent Judge about a Story of that Country.

But I rather think the Book was made after the days  
 of *Timæus*: for I observe that those that speak of *Zaleucus*  
 before, and at that time, make him a poor Shepherd, and  
 much older than *Pythagoras*: but after that time, they  
 commonly describe him as a Man of Quality,<sup>3)</sup> and a  
 Scholar of that Philosopher's. Now this new Account of  
 him was in all probability gather'd from some Passage in  
 that *System of Laws* ascribed to him: for where else could  
 they meet with it? So that if I can shew from the oldest  
 and best Writers, that he was more ancient than *Pytha-*  
*goras*; this new and false Story in the later Authors, being  
 taken from that System, will convict it of a Cheat.

The account that *Aristotle* gave of him is this,<sup>4)</sup> *That*  
*when the Locrians had consulted the Oracle, how they might be*  
*rid of their Seditions, they were bid to make themselves Laws.*  
 338 *Upon this, a certain Shepherd, named Zaleucus, told them,*  
*That He could furnish them with very good Laws. And being*  
*ask'd, Whence He could have them? he said, Minerva appear'd*  
*to him in a Dream, and would give him them. Whereupon*  
*they gave him his Freedom (for he was then a Slave) and so*

<sup>1)</sup> *Polyb.* xii. p. 660 [740 Bekk.]      <sup>2)</sup> See Westermann's  
 article on *Zaleucus* in Pauly's *Encycl.* VI 2 p. 2816. — W.

<sup>3)</sup> *Diod. Sic.* p. 84 [12, 20]. *Ἐθγενής.*      <sup>4)</sup> *Pind. Schol. ad*  
*x Olymp.* [XI 17 Böckh.] *Φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, &c.*

he became their Law-giver. And agreeably to this, *Suidas*<sup>1)</sup> tells us, *That at first he was a Slave, and a Shepherd.* Either of which Circumstances are sufficient Proofs, that he was no *Pythagorean*: for if he was another man's Slave, and oblig'd to look after Sheep at *Locri*; how could he have either time or leave to be at *Crotona* with *Pythagoras* near a hundred Mile from home? and especially to continue there the v Years of Silence, according to the Discipline of the School? Besides, a Slave would not have been admitted into that Society, had he had never such opportunities.

And we have another Argument from the same Passage of *Aristotle*, that *Zaleucus* was no Scholar of *Pythagoras*. For he ascribed all his Laws to *Minerva*, from whom he pretended to receive them in Dreams. This *Aristotle* has told us, as he is cited by the Scholiast on *Pindar*. And that we may not question the Scholiast's Authority, the great *Clemens Alex.*<sup>2)</sup> assures us, that both *Aristotle* and his Scholar *Chamaeleo* say, *That Zaleucus gave it out, that he had his Laws from Minerva.* *Plutarch*<sup>3)</sup> too falls in with this account, where he tells us, *That Zaleucus said, Minerva used to appear to him, and give him Laws, which were all entirely Hers, and no part of them his Own.* Now I humbly conceive, that this Project of *Zaleucus's* has nothing of a *Pythagorean* in it. For *Pythagoras's* Scholars ascribed every thing to their Master; it was always *ἄντὸς ἔφα* with them, HE SAID IT: and the greatest Oath was to swear by Him, 339

*Ὁὐ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρῳ ψυχῇ παραδόντα τετραχτὼν.*

If *Zaleucus* therefore had been of that Society, he would certainly have honour'd his Master by imputing his Laws to his Instructions: but being a poor illiterate Shepherd, and of no Authority with the people, he very craftily acquired it, by taking nothing upon Himself, but laying all to *Minerva*.

Again, *Strabo*,<sup>4)</sup> informs us, *That the Locrians were*

<sup>1)</sup> *Suid. v. Ζάλ.* Ἦν δὲ πρότερον δοῦλός τε καὶ ποιμήν.

<sup>2)</sup> *Clem. Strom. i. p. 152* [422 P.] <sup>3)</sup> *Plutarch. περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν, &c.* [de se ipsum citra invid. laud. cap. 11]. *Idem in Numā* [4] *Valer. Max. l. 2, Theodoret. ad Græc. Serm. ix.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Strabo p. 259. Νόμοις ἐγγράπτοις.*

generally believ'd to be the First that used WRITTEN Laws: and that Zaleucus took them, as Ephorus the Historian says, from the Cretic, and the Laconic, and the Areopagetic Customs.<sup>1)</sup> And so Scymnus Chius, speaking of these Locrians, says, They were the First that had WRITTEN Laws, which were supposed to be made by Zaleucus:<sup>2)</sup>

Τούτους δὲ πρώτους φασὶ χρήσασθαι νόμοις  
Γραπτοῖσιν, οὓς Ζάλευκος υποθέσθαι δοκεῖ.

Clemens Alexand.<sup>3)</sup> forgot himself perhaps, when he said, That Zaleucus the Locrian was the first that made Laws; for he ought to have said, made WRITTEN Laws, as Ephorus and Strabo said before him. But if Zaleucus's written Laws were the most ancient, 'tis most certain he could not be a Pythagorean. For Draco's Laws were Written ones at Athens:<sup>4)</sup> and He lived about Olymp. xxxix, as Tatian, Clemens, and Eusebius expressly say: or as Diodorus<sup>5)</sup> in one of his lost Books, He was XLVII years before Solon: which being reckon'd from Solon's Archonship, Olymp. XLVI, 3. will fall upon Olymp. xxxv, 1. If Zaleucus then was before Draco, he must be longer before Pythagoras, who by the  
340 very earliest account was not born, till Olymp. XLIII, 4.

All this is further confirmed by Eusebius, who places Zaleucus the celebrated Law-giver of the Locrians, at Olymp. xxix; which is XL years before Draco, and about LX before Pythagoras was born. Aristotle<sup>6)</sup> indeed reprehends their ignorance, who would make Onomacritus to have been the First that was skill'd in Law-making; and that Thales was his Acquaintance; whose Scholars were Lycurgus and ZALEUCUS, and Zaleucus's Scholar was Charondas: for they talk, says he, inconsistently with Chronology. The Thales, that is meant here, was not the Milesian; but the ancient Cretan, who is generally<sup>7)</sup> assigned a Master to Lycurgus. So that

1) Νομίμων, i. e. ἀγράφων.

2) Scymnus, v. 313.

3) Clem. Strom. i. p. 133 [365 P.]

4) Joseph. c. Appion. I.

p. 2 [c. 4 Bekk.] Γραφέντας νόμους.

5) Ulpian in Demost.

Timocr. p. 480 [Schol. or. 24, 211 Tur.]. Ὁ δὲ Δράκων πρὸ Σόλωνος ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράχοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥς φησὶν ὁ Διόδωρος.

6) Arist. Polit. ii, 58 [12 p. 1274 Bekk.] Ἀσχεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες. 7) Strabo p. 482. Sextus Empir. p. 68 [679, 1 Bekk.] Laert. in Thal. [38].

*Aristotle* seems to find fault, that they made *Zaleucus* too a Scholar of that *Thales*. For at that rate he must have lived οὔμιν years<sup>1)</sup> before the First Olympiad; i. e. cc years, before *Locri* was built, Ολ. xxiv.<sup>2)</sup> How then could he be a *Locrian*, and a Lawgiver there? This is the *Ignorance of Chronology*, which the Philosopher censures here: but however it's no inconsiderable Argument, that *Zaleucus* was older than *Pythagoras*, who came above ccc years after *Lycurgus*.

And we have yet a further Discovery of it from the Orator *Demosthenes*, who to persuade the *Athenians* not to change any Law upon small and frivolous Pretenses, gives the example of these *Locrians*, *With whom*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *it's a Law, that a Man who shall propose to make any new Law, shall do it with a Rope about his Neck; which he shall be strangled in, if he do not carry his Point: which has been such a Guard and Defense to the Laws, that there has been but One New one made in MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS.* Now that *Demosthenes* here speaks of *Zaleucus's* Laws, is<sup>341</sup> plain enough from his naming the *Locrians*; but it appears further from the Law it self. For *Hierocles*<sup>4)</sup> and *Polybius's* Author say expresly, *that this Law about the Rope was ZALEUCUS's*; and it's produced by *Stobæus*,<sup>5)</sup> as out of *Zaleucus's* own Preface to his Body of Laws. 'Tis not very clear indeed, what the Orator means here, whether it *was more than cc years* from the first Date of *Zaleucus's* Laws to the introducing of that One New Law; or whether from the first Date of them to the Orators own time, which he calls *more than cc years*, there was but one new Law made. The first Interpretation seems the more probable: but even the Latter will be a sufficient proof, that *Zaleucus* could not be *Pythagoras's* Scholar. For this Oration against *Timocrates* was spoken Olymp. cvi, 4. when *Theodemos* or *Eudemos* was Archon, as *Dionysius Halic.*<sup>6)</sup> says in express words; and *Plutarch*<sup>7)</sup> says it implicitly, when he tells us

1) *Clemens, Plutarch. &c.*

2) *Euseb. Strabo* [p. 259].

3) *Demost. in Timocr. p. 469* [743 sq.] *Ἐν πλείστον ἢ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν.* 4) *Hieroc. apud Stobæum, Sermon. 37.* [39, 36] *Polyb.*

*xii. p. 661* [p. 741 Bekk.]

5) *Stob. Sermon. 42* [44, 20 sq.]

6) *Dion. Hal. De Demost. [ad Amm. I cap. 4].* 7) *Plut. vita Demost. [15 p. 853].*

*Demosthenes* made it at the xxvii or xxviii year of his Age. For he was born at Olymp. xcix, 4.<sup>1)</sup> and his xxviii year falls at Olymp. cvi, 4. Now to compute only *Two hundred years* backwards from this Olympiad, and it reaches to Olymp. lvi, 4. when *Pythagoras* by the very earliest reckoning had been but xiii years in *Italy*, and vii of those were spent in his Room under ground: and I suppose what *Demosthenes* calls more than cc years will amount above the remaining Five; nay, I may moderately say, above the whole xiii. But thus much I am sure may be safely concluded from it, that if *Zaleucus* was really *Pythagoras's* Disciple, the Learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Calculation must be wrong, which  
 342 makes *Pythagoras* first set foot in *Italy* at Olymp. lxvii, 2. for that Olympiad falls xlii years within *Demosthenes's* Two Hundred, without adding those years to the Account, which the Orator means by more. I make the reckoning from *Pythagoras's* going to *Italy*, because *Zaleucus* one of the *Locrians* of *Italy* could not be his Scholar till he came thither. For *Theodoret*<sup>2)</sup> was quite out, when he thought the *Locrians*, whom *Zaleucus* gave Laws to, were those of *Greece* near *Acarmania* and *Phocis*.

Take all these Arguments together, and I conceive their united Force will effectually refute Mr. B.<sup>3)</sup> who is sure that *Zaleucus* was a *Pythagorean*. But besides that, they will go a considerable way to refute the Book it self too, which pass'd abroad in the World under the Name of *Zaleucus*. For if any Intimation was given in that Book, that the Author was a *Pythagorean*; the Imposture of it is very evident. And yet it's hard to give any other Reason, that should induce the later Writers to call him a *Pythagorean*, as *Diodorus*<sup>4)</sup> does expressly, *Μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Φιλοσόφου*, *The Scholar of Pythagoras the Philosopher*; and so *Laertius*, *Porphyry*, and *Jamblichus*; and *Seneca*<sup>5)</sup> thus flourishes upon it, *That Zaleucus and Charondas learnt their Laws in the silent and sacred Recess of Pythagoras*. Thus we see the more Recent Authors with one voice make him a *Pythagorean*; and yet every one of the Old, that speak of him, make him earlier than that Philo-

<sup>1)</sup> *Dionys. Ibid.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Theod. c. Græc. Serm. ix.*

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 53*

<sup>4)</sup> *Diod. Sic. p. 84 [12, 20].*

<sup>5)</sup> *Sen. Ep. 90 [6].*

sopher; as *Ephorus*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, *Chamaeleo*, *Theophrastus*, *Timæus*, the youngest of whom was about ccl Years before the eldest of the others. What can be the cause of this Difference? but that in the interval between these Old and those Later Writers, in the times of the *Ptolemæes*,<sup>343</sup> when the Forging of Books came to be a Fashion and a Trade, some Impostor made a System of Laws under the name of *Zaleucus*, and in it gave a broad Hint, that he was a Scholar of *Pythagoras*.

The Impostor had taken care to insert those Laws of *Zaleucus*, which he had met with in Ancient Writers, into his counterfeit System. As that Law, which *Demosthenes* mentions, *That he that proposed a new Law, should do it with a Halter about his Neck*, appears in the very Preface of the counterfeit Book, which *Stobæus*<sup>1)</sup> has given us. And his Forgery met with good Entertainment, because the old Constitution of the City *Locri* was then alter'd, and was no longer in Being to discover the Cheat: which imposed therefore upon *Diodorus*, and others; and prevail'd upon *Cicero* himself so far, that he seems to stand Neuter, and pronounces on no side. For it appears there, that *Cicero* meant this very Preface, that *Stobæus* afterwards met with. *Before I give you the Law it self*,<sup>2)</sup> says he, *I'll preface something in commendation of it, as I see Zaleucus and Charondas have done*. And he gives a *Proœmium*, as he calls it, much to the same sense with those of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* in *Stobæus*. But however this Impostor has not done every thing so artificially; but that even from the Fragments, that are still left of his Book, it may seem very questionable, if it was not supposititious.

I. *Demosthenes* has inform'd us, *That the New Law which alone was made at Locri in the compass of above cc years, was, That he that blinded a Man with one Eye should lose Both his own*; for the Old Law of *Zaleucus* was *Lex Talionis*, an Eye for an Eye. But *Diodorus* makes this to be one of the Laws of *Charondas*, and tells the same Story about<sup>344</sup> a Man with one Eye at *Thuriæ*, and that the Laws there which had continued the Same a long time, were never changed but upon This and Two other occasions. They

1) *Stob. Serm. 42* [44, 20].

2) *Cic. de Leg. II, 6.*

are both very good Authors, and 'tis a very tender point to say whether of them we should follow. But with submission to better Judgments, I will lay down some Reasons, why I think *Demosthenes* is in the right here. He calls the City, where he says this Law was so long in force, *Πόλις ΕΥΝΟΜΟΥΜΕΝΗ*, a well-governed City;<sup>1)</sup> and this is the very Character that is generally given of *Locri*: The *Locrians*, says *Strabo*,<sup>2)</sup> were *πλεῖστον χρόνον ΕΥΝΟΜΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ*, for a long time under good Government. And *Pindar* puts this Compliment upon them,

*Νέμει γὰρ ἀτρεχέια πόλιν Λοκρῶν Ζεφυριῶν*<sup>3)</sup> ———

Where he means, says the Scholiast, *ὅτι ΕΥΝΟΜΕΙΤΑΙ*, That they have a good Government. And *Plato*<sup>4)</sup> tells us, That the *Locrians* seem to have been *εὐνομώτατοι*, the best governed People in all that Country: And again he says, That *Timæus*<sup>5)</sup> was of *Locri*, *εὐνομωτάτης πόλεως*, the best regulated City in Italy: which *Proclus*<sup>6)</sup> thus explains; That the *Locrians* *εὐνομοῦντο*, were well govern'd, is evident: for their Lawmaker was *Zaleucus*. But on the contrary, the *Thurians*, where *Diodorus* lays the Scene of this Story, were so far from being celebrated on this account; that they are censured for their Misgovernment. So *Ephorus* complains of them in *Strabo*;<sup>7)</sup> and *Aristotle*<sup>8)</sup> in his *Politics* brings them in twice as examples of ill management. *Demosthenes*'s Story therefore is more agreeable to This matter  
 345 of Fact, than that of *Diodorus* is. And again, *Demosthenes* says here, that the *Locrians* were under a happy Government above cc Years; as *Strabo*<sup>9)</sup> also says, *πλεῖστον χρόνον*, a very long time: which is really true in Fact, as appears by a Computation from the Date of *Zaleucus*'s Laws to the time that *Dionysius* the Younger tyrannized there and ruin'd all at *Olymp. cvi, 1*. Now *Diodorus* too would magnify the continuance of *Charondas*'s Laws at *Thurii*, when he says,<sup>10)</sup> *ἐν παντὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ*, In all the time after *Charondas* there were but three changes made in them. But this

1) *Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 468* [744].

2) *Strabo p. 259*.

3) *Pind. Olymp. x. [13]*.

4) *Plato Leg. I. p. 17* [638 B].

5) *Idem Timæo [20 A]*.

6) *Proclus ad Tim. p. 22*.

7) *Strabo p. 260*.

8) *Arist. Pol. v. 7* [VIII 7 p. 1307 Bekk.]

9) *Strab. ibid.*

10) *Diod. p. 82* [XII 17].



account of a long continuance is not warranted by History; for it's certain from Himself and others, That the City<sup>1)</sup> *Thuriæ* was but first built Olymp. LXXXIV, 1. or a little before: and the Government was quite subverted within LIV years, at Olymp. XCVII. 3. three parts in Four of the People being slain, and the rest sold for Slaves<sup>2)</sup> by their Neighbors the *Lucanians*. Upon the whole then *Demosthenes*'s Account seems more agreeable to Truth. But how happen'd it, That *Diodorus* should be so mistaken, and ascribe a Law to *Charondas*, which we see was *Zaleucus*'s? Is there not just ground of suspicion, that *Diodorus* was impos'd on by that spurious Book of *Zaleucus*'s Laws, where this Law was forgotten by the Impostor? If so, it will open a discovery of another Counterfeit: for we see the Law was omitted, where it ought to have been enter'd; and it was put among *Charondas*'s, where it ought not to have been. That Copy therefore of *Charondas*'s Laws must by this account be a Cheat too, and by the very same Hand. For as it seems the Impostor had read something about the Law, but was mistaken in fathering it upon a wrong <sup>346</sup> Person. But of *Charondas*'s Laws I shall say more anon. This must needs seem the most probable account of *Diodorus*'s Error; if we believe he has truly told us what he found in those Books of Laws, and did not forget himself. But there's some reason to suspect, that he trusted to his Memory, and so might possibly mistake one Lawgiver for the other. For he tells us too,<sup>3)</sup> That the Law concerning the *Halter* was one of *Charondas*'s; which *Stobæus*<sup>4)</sup> attributes to *Zaleucus*, and pretends to cite it in *Zaleucus*'s own words out of his Preface. *Hierocles*<sup>5)</sup> too and *Polybius*'s Author ascribe it to *Zaleucus*; but They might have it at second Hand. So that all this Matter must lie between *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. If *Diodorus* has quoted faithfully, *Zaleucus*'s Book of Laws were a Cheat: if *Stobæus* was a faithful Transcriber, then this Argument fails against *Zaleucus*'s Book; and falls upon *Diodorus* himself.

1) *Diod.* p. 75 [XII 9]. *Plutarch.* vi. *Lynceæ*, &c. [X or p. 835 D.]

2) *Diod.* p. 313 [XIV 101]. *Strabo* p. 263.

3) *Diod.* p. 82 [XII 17].

4) *Stob.* *Serm.* 42 [44, 21].

5) *Hierocl. apud. Stob.* 37 [39, 36]. *Polyb.* p. 661 [740 Bekk.]

II. We have Two Words of those Laws of *Zaleucus* preserved in *Hesychius*; *ΛΕΠΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΕΙΑΣ*, says he, *λεῦκος ἐν Νόμοις, τὰς δραχμὰς. λεπτὰς μὲν τὰς ἐξωβόλους, παχείας δὲ τὰς πλέον ἐχούσας*: That is, *The words Λεπτὰς καὶ παχείας Thin and Thick in the Laws of Zaleucus are spoken of Drachms; the Thin Drachms weighing Six Oboli, and the Thick above Six.* In the printed *Hesychius* it's *Λεῦκος*; but *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, and other Learned men have observed, and the Thing it self speaks, that the true Reading is *Ζάλευκος*; for the preceding word ending in *ΑΣ*, the following *ΖΑ* was swallow'd up, as it frequently happens when Syllables are alike. Now I say, if *Λεπτὰς καὶ παχείας*,  
 347 *Thin and Thick Drachms*, were in the Laws of *Zaleucus*, as *Hesychius* assures us; that pretended Book of Laws must appear a meer Cheat. For *Julius Pollux* informs us, who they were that called those *Drachms παχείας, Thick ones*, and upon what occasion.<sup>1)</sup> *Τὴν Αἰγναίαν δραχμὴν*, says he, *μεῖζω τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὖσαν (δέκα γὰρ ὀβολοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἴσχυεν) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ΠΑΧΕΙΑΝ δραχμὴν ἐκάλουν, μίσει τῶν Αἰγινήτων Αἰγναίαν ὀνομάσαι μὴ θέλοντες*, i. e. *The Ægeinean Drachm which was bigger than the Attick (for it weigh'd x Attic Oboli) was call'd by the Athenians ΠΑΧΕΙΑ the Thick Drachm; for they would not call it the Ægeinean, out of Hatred to that People.*<sup>2)</sup> The case is this; The *Attic Drachm* weigh'd six *Attic Oboli*; and so the *Ægeinean Drachm* weigh'd six *Ægeinean Oboli*: but the *Ægeinean Obolus* was bigger than the *Attic*, in the proportion of x to vi; and so consequently the *Ægeinean Drachm*, and the Summs made up of it, the Mine and Talent, exceeded the *Attic Drachm*, Mine and Talent in the same proportion. Now the *Ægeinean Drachm* being often current at *Athens* (for *Egina* is close by it) and in other places of Trade; the *Athenians*, who mortally hated the *Ægeineans*, would not call that Money *Ægeinean*, as the rest of the World did, but *Thick*; because it was thicker than their own, weighing almost twice as much. The whole History of this Enmity between the *Athenians* and *Ægeineans* is given largely by *Herodotus*.<sup>3)</sup> If *ΠΑΧΕΙΑ* then for an *Ægeinean Drachm* was a word peculiar to the

<sup>1)</sup> *Pollux. ix, 6* [76].      <sup>2)</sup> See *Hultsch, Metrologie* p. 134.  
 — W.      <sup>3)</sup> *Herod. lib. v.* [82] & vi.

*Attics*, and proceeded purely from the Hatred between the two Nations; how comes the word in that sense to be found in *Zaleucus's Laws*? What had the *Ægineans* offended Him, who liv'd at *Locri* in *Italy*, remote enough from them and their Quarrels? Why did not He call it *Æginean*, as <sup>348</sup> all the World did except the *Athenians*? Nay even among the *Athenians* themselves they seem to have been the Tradesmen and Rabble only, that call'd them *Παγείας*, and not the Men of Quality: as appears plainly from *Thucydides*, where we have *ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΣ ὁβολός*, *ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΑ δραχμή*, *ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΝ τέλαντον*; but never *ΠΑΧΥΣ ὁβολός*, nor *ΠΑΧΕΙΑ δραχμή*. And would *Zaleucus* put a word in his Laws, which a grave Writer would not use in his History? But why must the *Æginean Money* be at all taken notice of by *Zaleucus*? What was the *Locrian Commonwealth* concern'd with the *Ægineans*? They were very far asunder, and the latter were poor and inconsiderable in the time of that Lawgiver, and consequently could have very little or no Traffick with his Citizens. *Thucydides*<sup>1)</sup> tells us, that before *Themistocles's* time neither the *Ægineans* nor *Athenians* were considerable at Sea; and *Herodotus*<sup>2)</sup> says, That the beginning of the Wealth and Power of *Ægina* was the Plunder that was carried thither and sold, after *Xerxes's Army* was routed at *Plataea*. There was no reason then nor occasion to bring the *Æginean Money* into the body of his Laws; much less to speak of it under the Nick Name of *Παγείας*; which the *Locrians* could not know the meaning of, till it were explain'd to them out of *Greece*. Nay, there's reason to suspect, that *Zaleucus's* true Laws were made before the Hatred began between the *Athenians* and *Ægineans*; and consequently before *Παγεία δραχμή* was ever used in that sense. *Herodotus* relates the first original of that Hatred, which was about a couple of Statues: and the occasion of his mentioning it is this. About Olymp. LXXIX, the *Thebans* desired the <sup>349</sup> assistance of the *Ægineans* in a War against *Athens*; and the *Ægineans*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> remembering the Quarrel about the Statues, were ready enough to enter into an alliance against

<sup>1)</sup> *Thucyd.* p. 11 [I 14].

<sup>2)</sup> *Herod.* ix, 79 [80].

<sup>3)</sup> *Herod.* v, 89.

the *Athenians*. Now from Olymp. LXXIX to the time of *Zaleucus* Olymp. XXIX, there are no fewer than CLX years; and if the business of the Statues were as long ago as that, 'twas a very stale and cold Pretense to begin a new War upon. Surely if they had been at Enmity for eightscore Years, in all that tract of Time some Skirmishes or Pickerings would have happen'd between them; that might serve for a fresher Complaint and a greater Incentive to War, than an old Scuffle six Generations ago. 'Tis very probable therefore that *Zaleucus* had made his Laws, before the Quarrel began, which gave Rise to the Expression, *Παλαιὰ δραχμή*. Add to all this, that among the *Dorian Greeks* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and consequently among the *Locrians*, there was no such sort of Money as *δραχμή* or *ὀβολός*; but their Species were quite different both in Value and Name, *ὀβυρία*, *νοῦμμος*, *λέτρα*, as I'll shew further in Section XIV. And if this be made out, who will question but these pretended Laws must be spurious? For if the Name and Species of *δραχμή* was quite foreign to the *Locrians*: what had *Λεπτάς καὶ παχείας* to do there? One might as well expect to find them in the XII Tables at *Rome*, as in the Laws at *Locri*. 'Tis most probable then, that some Sophist drew them up; and having been bred among the *Athenians*, he was senseless enough to put such words into the Mouth of *Zaleucus*, as he heard spoken at *Athens*: just as the Forger of *Phalaris's* Letters has made the Tyrant talk *Attic*, as if he had quite forgot he was a *Sicilian*.

350

III. *Diodorus* tells us,<sup>1)</sup> One of *Zaleucus's* Laws was, That no body should wear Cloths as fine as *Milesian Cloths*, if he was not a Catamite; *μηδὲ ὑμῶντιον ἸΣΟΜΙΑΗΣΙΟΝ φορεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἑταίρεύηται*. Now methinks it is very odly worded in a *Locrian Law*, to characterize the Cloths for mens Habits, by comparing them with the Manufacture of *Miletus* in *Asia* at so vast a distance from *Italy*. For considering the remoteness of the Places, and the smallness of Trade in those early times, it may justly be question'd, Whether the *Milesian Cloths*, though in *Greece* they were celebrated for their Fineness, were at all heard of at *Locri*; much less were so famous there, as to deserve to come

<sup>1)</sup> *Diod. p. 85 [XII 21]*.

into their Laws. And besides this, the word *ισομήσιον*, i. e. EQUAL to Milesian Cloths, never found that I know of but here, seems a very unfit Expression for a Law. For how many doubts and questions would arise about that Equality? and what a wide Door was open'd to Delators and Sycophants? If he had absolutely forbid the wearing of Milesian Cloths; the Law had been clear, and had amounted to a Prohibition of importing that Commodity. But as it is *ισομήσιον*, and not *Μιλήσιον*; it seems to be contrived on purpose for the encouragement of Barretors. Nay, though he had forbidden Milesian Cloths even that too had been very improper: for to what purpose should he declare by Law such Goods to be contraband, which even before that Prohibition were never imported? For the Locrians might have as fine or finer Cloths, and at a much lower rate from their next Neighbors, the Apulians and Calabrians, and particularly from Tarentum, than the Milesians could bring them. To be sure then, the Milesians<sup>351</sup> would never carry Cloths with the Charge and Hazard of so long a Voyage, to a Market where others could both out-do them, and under-sell them. Such a Trade would have been as unprofitable, as to carry Silphium to Cyrene, or Frankincense to Arabia. The best Wool says Pliny,<sup>1)</sup> is the Apulian; and what in Italy is call'd the Wool of the Greek Cattle, but abroad is call'd Italic; in the third place comes the Milesian. By the Greek Cattle, Pliny means the Tarentine, as Columella<sup>2)</sup> explains it; *Græcum pecus, quod plerique Tarentinum vocant. The finest Sheep, says the same Columella,<sup>3)</sup> are the Milesian, the Calabrian, and Apulian; and among these the Tarentine are the best.* And the Tarentines were as famous for the Effeminateness of their Habit, as the Milesians themselves. All the Tarentines, says Clearchus,<sup>4)</sup> wore fine and transparent Cloaths, such as Women wear now a-days. Insomuch that a sort of thin Woman's Garment had its name from them, *Ταραντίσιον*, as we read in Athenæus:<sup>5)</sup> but in that place, a MS Athenæus, and the MS Epitome both of them in His Majesty's Library, have it *Ταραντίον*, which may seem the better Reading: though Eustathius<sup>6)</sup>

1) Plin. viii, 48 [73]. 2) Columella, vii, 4. 3) vii, 2. 3) Athen. p. 522 [D]. 5) Id. p. 622 [B]. 6) Eust. ad Dionys. v. 376.

seems to have found neither of them in his Copy, but *Ταραντιδίον*. In all probability then had the true *Zaleucus* design'd to restrain the Luxury of Apparel, he would rather take notice of his next Neighbors, the *Tarentines*, whom all the *Locrians* knew, than of the *Milesians* whom few of them had so much as heard of; and instead of *Ἰσομλήσιον*, he would say *Ἰσοταραντῖνον*. But the counterfeit *Zaleucus*, being a *Græcian* Sophist, and knowing that the *Milesian* Cloths had the greatest Vogue in the *Greek* Markets, was so discreet, as to forbid Them by name, in a Body of Laws, which he cut out for *Italy*.

IV. The pretended Preface of *Zaleucus*, which *Stobæus* has described word for word, begins with this Sentence; *Every Member of a Commonwealth in the first place ought to believe, there are Gods*, *Ἀναβλέποντας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ΚΟΣΜΟΝ*, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διακόσμησιν καὶ ΤΑΕΙΝ, *which they will know, by looking up to Heaven and the World, and considering the Beauty and Order there*. Now I presume, I have proved already beyond all reasonable Exception, that *Zaleucus* lived some Generations before *Pythagoras*'s time: and if so, this Preface cannot possibly be His; because *Pythagoras* was the First that used the word *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ* to signify the *WORLD* or the *HEAVENS*. *Phavorinus* says, (they are the words of *Laertius*)<sup>1)</sup> That *Pythagoras* first named the *Heavens* *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ*. So *Plutarch*<sup>2)</sup> too *De Plac. Philos.* *Pythagoras* first call'd the whole Compass of the Universe *ΚΟΣΜΟΝ*, from the Order τῆς ΤΑΞΕΩΣ he observed there. And the very same words are in the *Philosophical History* ascribed to *Galen*.<sup>3)</sup> Add to these the *Scholias*<sup>4)</sup> on *Homer*, who says, *Ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ΤΑΞΙΣ*, the Order of the Universe was named *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ* by *Pythagoras*; and the Anonymous Author of that Philosopher's Life, *Πρώτος*, says he, *Πυθαγόρας τὸν οὐρανὸν ΚΟΣΜΟΝ προσηγόρευσε*. Is it not plain now, that the Writer of *Zaleucus*'s Laws was younger than *Pythagoras*? since he not only cites *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ* in the very same signification, that *Pythagoras* first put upon't; but subjoins too the word *ΤΑΞΙΣ*, which we see here was the

<sup>1)</sup> *Laert. Pythag.* [48]. Τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι Κόσμον.

<sup>2)</sup> *Plut. Pl. Phil.* ii. 1. <sup>3)</sup> *Gal. p. 429* [XIX 263 med. gr. ed. Kühn].

<sup>4)</sup> *Schol. ad Iliad.* i. v. 1.

wery Reason, why *Pythagoras* call'd the World *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ*. 'Tis true, in those Passages of *Plutarch* and *Galen*, there immediately follows, *θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον*. From whence perhaps, a Man of Mr. B's Sagacity and Learning may infer, that *Thales* too, who was a Generation before *Pythagoras*, and as many say, was his Master, call'd the Universe *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ*. But surely we must not think *Plutarch*, and the other Author so very stupid, as to contradict themselves in one and the same Line. We must understand them, that *Thales* spoke of the Thing signified by *Κόσμος*, but not that he used the Word: he might say, *ἐν τῷ πᾶν*, or *ἐν τῷ σύστημα τῶν ὄλων*, or some other Expression of the same import. And besides, we are informed by very good Hands, *Laertius* and *Themistius*; that *Thales* writ nothing himself: so that if *Κόσμος* had really occur'd in any Treatise ascribed to him; it had been a good Argument that the Treatise was spurious, but none at all, that *Pythagoras* did not first call the Universe *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ*.

V. In the same Preface it presently follows, *ὧς οὐ τιμᾶται θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, οὐδὲ θεραπεύεται δαπάναις οὐδὲ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙΣ τῶν ἀλισχομένων, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος*. Where instead of *ἀλισχομένων*, which in this place makes no tolerable Sense, the true reading seems to be *ἀλισγουμένων*;<sup>1)</sup> and then the meaning will be, *That God is not honour'd by a Wicked Man, nor pleased with the costly and pompous Sacrifices of polluted Persons, as if he was a vile Mortal*. Now this Paragraph alone is sufficient to detect the Imposture of these pretended Laws. For as I have shown above, the true *Zaleucus* lived before *Draco*, who made Laws for the *Athenians* at or before *Olymp. xxxix*: but the word *ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ* was not coin'd, nor the thing express'd by it invented, till *Thespis* won the Goat, the Prize of his Play, about *Olymp. lx*, above *lxxx* years after *Draco*. How then came the word *Τραγωδία* into the Laws of *Zaleucus*, which were written above *cxx* years before *Thespis*? I do not wonder now, that *Zaleucus* was so generally believ'd to have all his Laws from *Minerva*: for nothing less than a Deity could have foreknown the

<sup>1)</sup> ἀναλισχομένων Heyne Opusc. acad. II 20, referred to by D.

word *Τραγῳδία*, a whole Century and more before it came into being. But besides, that the very word was not at all heard of in *Zaleucus's* time; we must observe too, that it's used by him metaphorically for *Sumptuousness and Pomp*; which is a Sense that could not be put upon it till a long time after *Thespis*. For in the Infancy of Tragedy, there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the Stage; no Scenes, nor Pictures, nor Machines, nor rich Habits for the Actors; which, after they were introduced there, gave the sole occasion to the Metaphor. For the first Scene was made by *Agatharchus* for one of *Æschylus's* Plays, as *Vitruvius*<sup>1)</sup> tells us; *Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, & de ea commentarium reliquit*. This *Agatharchus* was a Painter, who learn'd the Art by himself without any Master; as *Olympiodorus* says in his MS. Commentary on *Plato's Phædo*, *Ἐχρόνασι τινες καὶ αὐτοδιδασχοὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος γεωργός . . . Φήμιος, Ἀγάθαρχος ὁ γραφεύς*. For it's most probable he means the same *Agatharchus*, that made *Æschylus's* Scene for him. And that all the other Ornaments were first brought in by *Æschylus*, we have the unanimous Testimony of all Antiquity. Now the first Play that *Æschylus* made was at Olymp. LXX, and the last at Olymp. LXXX; and in  
 355 what part of this XL years Interval he invented those Ornaments for Pomp and Show, we cannot now tell.<sup>2)</sup> But

1) *Vitruv. Præf. Lib. vii* [p. 154 Rode]. 2) But we may make a near guess at it from the accounts we have of *Agatharchus* the Painter, who first made a Scene, according to *Vitruvius*, whom I cited above. *Ἀγάθαρχος*, says *Harpocration*, *τοῦτου μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης· ἦν δὲ ζωγράφος ἐπιφανής, Εὐδδήμου υἱός, τὸ δὲ γένος Σάμιος*. The very same words are in *Suidas*. Now the passage, where *Demosthenes* speaks of him, is in his Oration against *Midias*, p. 360 [562]. But there's a larger account of him in *Plutarch's* Life of *Alcibiades*, and the largest of all in *Andocides's* Oration against *Alcibiades*. The substance of all their story is, That *Alcibiades* forcibly detain'd *Agatharchus* in his house, and would not let him stir out, till he had painted it. Now *Alcibiades* died Olymp. xciv, 1 (*Diodor. [XIV 11]*), when he was about XL years old (*Corn. Nepos* [10]). And we can hardly suppose him less than XX, when he had this frolick upon *Agatharchus*. Especially if what *Demosthenes's* Scholiast says be true, that the reason of it was, because *Agatharchus*



suppose, if you please, that he invented them at the very first Play; and that the Metaphor, that makes *Τραγωδία* signifie Pomp, came immediately into use upon the sight of them; neither of which are at all probable: yet even still it will be above *clx* years after the time of the true *Zaleucus*.

VI. The last Argument that I shall offer against the Laws of *Zaleucus*, is this, That the Preface of them, which *Stobæus* has produc'd, is written in the *Common Dialect*, as the old Grammarians have call'd it, whereas it ought to be in *Doric*; for That was the Language of the *Locri Epizephyrii*, as it appears from the Treatise of *Tīmæus* the *Locrian*, extant in *Plato*; and from the Epigrams of *Nossis*. I do not know, that it has yet been observ'd, that this *Nossis* was a *Locrian*; and therefore I shall make bold to give an Epigram or two of hers, which will shew at once both her Country and her Dialect.

ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τό γ' ἔπεις ποτὶ καλλίγορον Μιτυλάναν,  
 τᾶν Σαπφούς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,  
 Εἰπεῖν, ὥς Μοῦσαισι φίλα, τήνq τε Λόκρισσα  
 Τίχτεν ἴσας, δτι δ' οἱ τοῦνομα Νόσσις· ἴδι. <sup>1)</sup>

So this Epigram is to be read, which is faulty in *Holstenius* and *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Stephanus*; and the meaning of it is, that *Nossis* addresses herself to a Traveller, and desires him, if ever he go to *Mitylene*, where *Sappho* was born, to say, That a *Locrian* Woman writ Poems like hers, and that her name was *Nossis*. Ἰσας is the Accusative *Doric* and *Eolic* for ἴσας, i. e. χάριτας. And that this is the true sense of it, will be further evident from another Epigram of hers, not publish'd before, where she celebrates <sup>356</sup> the *Locrians* her Countrymen.

*tharchus* was taken in bed with *Alcibiades's* Miss. *Agatharchus* then was by this account alive still about Olymp. *lxxxix*, <sup>1</sup> which is *xxxvi* years after Olymp. *lxxx*, when *Aeschylus's* last Play was acted. It's plain then, he was but a young man, even at Olymp. *lxxx*; and if we consider he was αὐτοδίδακτος his own Master in Paintings, and took it up of himself, we can scarce suppose, he could invent the Painting of Scenes, till very near that Olympiad. — *Add.* p. 548 sq. See also *Dobree's* Adv. crit. vol. III p. 86 (*Calvary's* edition). — W.

<sup>1)</sup> Anth. Gr. I 129. Pal. I 526. See also *Gaisford* ad *Hephaest.* p. 10. — D.

Ἐντεα Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' αἰνομόρων βάλλον ἄμυν,  
 θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὑπ' ὤκυμάχων·

Ἦν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεύοντα, θεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορα κείμεναι·

Οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν πάχεας, οὐς ἔλπον.<sup>1)</sup>

The Import of which is, That the *Locrians* had obtain'd a Victory over the *Brutians* their Neighbors; and had hung up in the Temples of the Gods those Shields they had taken; which now did not desire to return to those Cowards that wore them before. And by this we may have some Discovery of *Noësis's* Age, which hitherto has been thought uncertain; for the *Βρέντιοι* or *Βρέττιοι*, whom she speaks of here, were not form'd into a Body, nor call'd by that Name, till Olymp. cvi, 1. in *Dionysius*<sup>2)</sup> the Younger's time. She cannot therefore be more ancient than Olymp. cvi; but that she was a little younger, is plain from her Epigram<sup>3)</sup> upon the Tomb of *Rhintho* the *Tarentine*, or as she calls him, the *Syracusian* her Contemporary, who lived in the time of that *Ptolemee*,<sup>4)</sup> about Ol. cxiv. Her Mother's name was *Theuphilis* the Daughter of *Cleocha*; as another Epigram of her's taught me, yet unpublish'd:

Ἦσα τιμήσσω, Λαχεῖνιον δὲ τὸ θυῶδες  
 Πολλάκις οὐρανόθεν νισσομένα καθορῆς,  
 Δέξαι βύσσινον εἶμα, τό τοι μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγαυᾶς  
 Νοσσίδος ὕφανεν Θεούφιλης ἡ Κλεόχας.<sup>5)</sup>

In the MS it is *Θευφίλης*. And we may observe, that even this too confirms it, that she was a *Locrian*; because she speaks of *Λαχεῖνιον*: for the famous Temple of *Juno Lacinia* was not far from *Locri*, in the Neighborhood of *Crotona*. She had a Daughter call'd *Melinna*, as another  
 357 MS Epigram seems to shew; though it's possible, she may mean there another's Daughter, and not her Own; however it deserves to be put here, for its singular Elegancy;

Ἀυτομέλινα τέτυκται· ἴδ' ὥς ἀγανὸν τὸ πρόσωπον  
 Ἀμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μειλχίως δοκέει.  
 Ὡς ἐτόμωξεν θυγάτηρ τῇ μητέρει πάντα ποτᾷκει·  
 Ἥ καλὸν, ὅκκα πέλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα.<sup>6)</sup>

1) Anth. Gr. I 128. Pal. I 229. — D. 2) Diod. p. 418.  
 [XVI 15]. Strabo, p. 255. Justin, xxiii, 1. 3) Anthol. iii, 6.  
 [Anth. Gr. I 129 Pal. 429]. 4) Suid. Πίνθ. 5) Anth. Gr. I  
 127. Pal. I 273. — D. 6) Anth. Gr. I 128. Pal. I 301. — D.

*Ἀυτομέλιννα*, that is, *Melinna her self*, not her Picture; 'tis so exactly like her; so *αὐτοζωή*, *αὐτοαλήθεια*. In the MS it's *ἃ με*, but the true Reading is *ἀμέ*, *Doric* for *ἐμέ*. For *ποτῶκει* the MS has it *προσῶκει*; but I have chang'd *πρὸς* into the *Doric* Preposition *ποτῶ*. From the Preterperfect Tense of Verbs the *Dorians* form a Present, as from *δέδοικα* they make *δεδοίκα*; from *δέδουκα*, *δεδύκα*. So that from *προσ-έοικε*, *to be like*, as a Picture's like the Original, our Female Poet forms *ποτ-εοίκα*; and then contracts it *ποτῶκα*. So much was necessary to be said, to make this Epigram intelligible. I return now to the *Locrian* Dialect, which a *Locrian Song*, *Λοχρικὸν ᾄσμα*, in *Athenæus*<sup>1)</sup> sufficiently proves to be the *Doric*.

*Μὴ προδῶς ἄμ' ἵκετεύω· πρὶν καὶ μολὲν κεῖνον, ἀνίστω·  
Μὴ κακὸν μέγα ποιήσης καί με τὴν δειλάκραν.*

*Ἀμέρα καὶ ἤδη τὸ φῶς, διὰ τᾶς θυρίδος οὐκ ἔσορῆς;*<sup>2)</sup>

So this Passage ought to be read, and the Version should be thus;

*Ne prodas me, obsecro: prius quam Ille veniat, surge.*

*Sunt verba mulieris ad mœchum suum, Ut surgere velit, priusquam Vir domum redeat & ipsum deprendat.* And 'tis now apparent, what good reason *Athenæus* had to call the *Locrian* Songs *μοιχικοί*: and we cannot doubt but he means the *Locrians* of *Italy*; if we consider what account<sup>3)</sup> he gives of the Women of that place. And now to bring this Argument to a conclusion: since it evidently appears, that the *Locrian* Language was *Doric*; without all question the Laws of that City were written in that Dialect, as certainly as *Solon's* Laws at *Athens* were written in *Attic*. These of *Zaleucus* therefore are commentitious, because they are not in *Doric*. Unless Mr. B. will be as zealous for *his King Zaleucus*, as he is for *his Prince Phalaris*; and contend that the *King's* Laws were *transdialected*, as well as the *Prince's* Epistles.

I. This Metaphor of *Τραγῳδία* for Solemnity and Pomp invites me to step out of my way a little, and to consider the Laws ascribed to *Charondas*; for we have there too

<sup>1)</sup> *Athen. p. 697* [B].    <sup>2)</sup> See Dobree *Advers. II 366* (orig. ed.).  
*Meineke exerc. in Athen. I 52.* — W.    <sup>3)</sup> *Athen. p. 516* [A].

the very same Metaphor. *Diodorus*<sup>1)</sup> speaks prolixly of these Laws, and the Proemia of them are recorded in *Stobæus*; <sup>2)</sup> where among others we have this, *That a man who is a Slave to Riches ought to be despised, as one of a mean Spirit, καὶ καταπληττόμενος ὑπὸ κτημάτων πολυτελῶν καὶ βίου ΤΡΑΙΩΔΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ*, since he's smitten so much with *Wealth, and a sumptuous and pompous Life*. This, as I observ'd already, is the very same figure of Speech with that in *Zaleucus*, and is borrow'd from the costly and gawdy Ornaments of the Stage. Now the Laws of the *Thurians* were made at Olymp. LXXXIV, which was the time when that Colony was planted: but I hardly think, that this Metaphor of *Τραγωδία* for Magnificence and Pomp was so early in use, as Olymp. LXXXIV. At that time *Æschylus* was newly dead, *Sophocles* was in his Prime at LIV years of Age, and *Euripides* had just enter'd upon the Province of Tragedy. Now the last of these Poets was so far from giving occasion to this  
 359 Metaphor by the rich Ornaments of his Scenes and Actors, that he was noted for the quite contrary way, as introducing his Heroes in mere Rags. So *Æschylus* accuses him in *Aristophanes*'s<sup>3)</sup> *Ranæ*;

Ὁ πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥαχισυρῆραπτᾶν.

And the Comedian himself in another of his Plays<sup>4)</sup> most pleasantly rallies him upon the same account; and reckons up Five of his shabby Heroes, that gave names to as many of his Tragedies, *Oeneus*, *Phœnix*, *Philoctetes*, *Bellerophon*, *Telephus*. 'Tis true, it appears from this very ridiculing of *Euripides*, that the other Tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing Beggars upon the Stage: but however even the Persons that They introduc'd were not clad so very gorgeously, as to make Tragedy become a Metaphor for *Sumptuousness*. For Money was at that time a scarce Commodity in *Greece*, especially at *Athens*,<sup>5)</sup> and the people were frugal; so that they had not much to lay out upon Ornaments for the Stage; nor much inclination, had they had it. Nay we are sure, that for

<sup>1)</sup> *Diod.* p. 79, to 84 [XII 11—19].

[44, 40].

<sup>3)</sup> *Arist. Ran.* p. 164 [v. 842].

p. 279, 280 [v. 418].

<sup>2)</sup> *Stob. Serm.* 42

<sup>4)</sup> *Id. Acharn.*

<sup>5)</sup> *Cic. Tuscul.* V. 32.

a hundred years after the beginning of the *Thurian* Government, the Expense and Furniture of Tragedy was very moderate: for *Demosthenes* in his Action against *Midias*, which was made Olymp. cvii, 4,<sup>1</sup>) has inform'd us, that the Charge of a *Tragic Chorus* was MUCH LESS than that of the *Chorus of Musicians*, which usually perform'd too at the same Festivals of *Bacchus*. *Τραγωδοῖς*, says he,<sup>2</sup>) *κεχορηγήκε ποτε οὗτος· ἐγὼ δὲ Αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι. Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πολλῶ πλεῖον ἐστίν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου.* i. e. *Midias was once the Furnisher of a Tragic Chorus; but I, of a Chorus of Musicians: and there's no body but knows that the Expense of this is MUCH GREATER than the Charge of that.* And yet the Cost even of a Music<sup>360</sup> Chorus was no very great matter; as we gather from this, that *Demosthenes* alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. 'Tis true, he magnifies it as much as he can, and questions whether he should call it *Generosity*<sup>3</sup>) or *Madness* in himself, to undertake an Expense above his Estate and Condition: but we ought to receive this as a Cast of his Rhetoric; for to be sure, he would never undo himself, by taking an Office, which no body forc'd upon him. But another Orator, *Lysias*, a little ancients than he, has given us a punctual account of the several Expenses of the Stage. When *Theopompus*, says he,<sup>4</sup>) was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 2). *I was Furnisher to a Tragic Chorus, and I laid out xxx Minæ. Afterwards I got the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and it cost me xx Minæ. When Glaucippus was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 3), I laid out viii Minæ upon the Pyrrhichists. Again I won the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended l Minæ. And when Diocles was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 4), I laid out upon the Cyclian Chorus ccc Minæ.<sup>5</sup>) Afterwards, when Alexias was Archon Olymp. xciii, 4), I furnish'd a Chorus of Boys, and it cost me above xv Minæ. And when Euclides was Archon*

<sup>1</sup>) *Dionys. Halic. de Demost.* [4]. [It was rather 108, 1. See Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* II. — R.]

<sup>2</sup>) *Demost. c. Midiam.* p. 362 [§ 156].

<sup>3</sup>) *Ibid.* p. 336 [§. 61. 69].

<sup>4</sup>) *Lysias in Ἀπολ. Δωροδοξίας* [21, 161].

<sup>5</sup>) The original edition has III. The number has been corrected by Blomfield *Mus. Crit.* II. 84. — W.

(Olymp. xciv, 2), *I was at the charge of xvi Minæ upon the Comedians, and of vii upon the young Pyrrhichists.* Now an Attic Mina being equivalent to three Pounds of English Money, it is plain from this Passage of *Lysias*, that the whole charge of a Tragic Chorus did but then amount to 10 Pounds Sterling. By the way, I shall correct a fault in the Orator *Isæus*.<sup>1)</sup> ὁὗτος γὰρ τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας, τέταρτος ἐγένετο, τραγωδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυρρῆταις ὅσταις. Correct it, τέταρτος ἐγένετο τραγωδοῖς, καὶ πυρρῆταις ὅσταις. This man, says he, being to furnish out Chorus's at the Festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly; that in the Tragic Chorus he came but the fourth, and in the Pyrrhichists he was last of all.<sup>2)</sup> And now I refer it to the Reader, whether considering this true account of the small charge of a Tragic Chorus, even in *Lysias* and *Demosthenes*'s time, he can think it probable, that at the lxxxivth Olympiad the Tragic Ornaments were so famous for their Richness, as to give Rise to the Metaphor of *Τραγωδία* for Sumptuousness: especially in *Italy*, where perhaps at that time no Tragedy had ever been acted. I must own, it seems to me a very unlikely thing, that this Metaphor should so quickly obtain even in common Conversation; much less be admitted into a Body of Laws, where the Language ought to be plain and proper; and where any Metaphor at all makes but a very bad Figure, especially a new one, as this must needs be then, which perhaps could not be understood at first hearing by one half of the Citizens. 'Tis true, when Tragedy was propagated from *Athens* into the Courts of Princes, the Splendor of the Tragic Chorus was exceedingly magnificent; as [at *Alexandria* and *Rome*, &c. which gave occasion to that Complaint of *Horace*'s, That the Show of Plays was so very gawdy, that few minded the Words of them.<sup>3)</sup>

*Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes  
Divitiæque peregrinæ: quibus oblitus Actor  
Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera lævæ.  
Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane. quid placet ergo?  
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 51 [or. 5 §. 36].      <sup>2)</sup> One may correct it also, *Πυρρῆταις*, which comes to the same thing. — *Add.* p. 549.  
<sup>3)</sup> Hor. Ep. II 1 [202—207].

And in another place he says, the Tragic Actor was, 362

*Regali conspectus in Auro nuper & Ostro.*<sup>1)</sup>

'Tis no wonder therefore, that in those Ages *Τραγῳδία* might be used metaphorically to signify Riches and Splendor; and so *Philo* and *Lucian*, and some others use it; but I do not find any example of it within a whole Century of the Date of *Charondas's* Laws.

II. But this Objection will be much more considerable, if *Charondas* really lived before the Original of the *Thurian* Government, and even before *Æschylus* himself the first Inventor of Tragic Ornaments: for it will then be of equal force against *Charondas's* Laws, as against those of *Zaleucus*. *Theodoret*<sup>2)</sup> tells us, That *Charondas* is said to have been the first Law-maker of Italy and Sicily. And if this be true, he must be Senior to *Zaleucus* himself, and before the very name of Tragedy; much more before the use of this Metaphor taken from it. Or if we allow of Their reckoning, that make *Charondas*<sup>3)</sup> the Scholar of *Zaleucus*; it's more than enough to our present purpose: for they supposed his Master *Zaleucus* to have been Contemporary with *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*: by which account they must place *Charondas* 300 years before *Thespis*. Nay even according to *Eusebius*, *Zaleucus's* Laws bear Date above 60 years before the Founding of *Thuri*; and above 6 before the Original of Tragedy. But we have a better Authority than these: I mean *Heracides* in his Book of Governments; who informs us,<sup>4)</sup> That the *Rhegiens* of Italy were govern'd by an Aristocracy; for a thousand men, chosen out according to their Estates, manag'd every thing: and their Laws were those of *Charondas* the *Catanian*: but *Anaxilas* the *Messanian*, made himself Tyrant there. Which account is confirmed in 364 the main by *Aristotle*,<sup>5)</sup> when he says, The Oligarchy of *Rhegium* was chang'd into a Tyranny by *Anaxilas*. Here I conceive *Heracides* has very plainly asserted, that *Charondas's* Laws were made before the time of *Anaxilas*: but

<sup>1)</sup> *Id. in Arte Poet.* [228].    <sup>2)</sup> *Theodoret. c. Græc. Serm. 9*  
[p. 608 C].    <sup>3)</sup> In *Arist. Pol. ii, 12.*    <sup>4)</sup> *Heraclid. de*

*Polit. [XXV]* Νόμους ἐγρῶντο τοῖς Χαράνδου τοῦ Καταναίου.

<sup>5)</sup> *Arist. Pol. v, 12.* [VIII 12 p. 1316 Bekk.]

we are sure this *Anaxilas*<sup>1)</sup> died at Ol. LXXVI, 1. after he had reigned at *Rhegium* and *Messana* XVIII years at the least, which commence from Olymp. LXXI, 3. Now the first Victory, that *Æschylus* won at the Stage, was at Olymp. LXXIII, 3.<sup>2)</sup> and we may fairly suppose, because he never got the Prize till then, that he had not invented Scenes and Machins and the other Ornaments before. If *Charondas*'s Laws therefore were made but the very year that *Anaxilas* usurp'd the Government; yet they are older by VIII years than the original of Tragical Scenes. But without question, *Charondas*'s Form of Government had been a good while in *Rhegium*, before *Anaxilas* subverted it: for the City had been built then CC years: and the very account in *Heraclides* clearly implies, that the Aristocracy was of some Continuance.

III. And if this be allow'd, we may safely infer, that *Charondas* was no THURIAN; as some of the later Authors call him, *Valerius Maximus*,<sup>3)</sup> and *Themistius*,<sup>4)</sup> and particularly *Diodorus*, where speaking of the founding of the City *Thurii*, he says, the *Thurians* chose *Charondas*,<sup>5)</sup> τὸν ἀριστον τῶν πολιτῶν, the best and wisest of the Citizens, to draw up a Body of Laws for them. For since he made Laws a considerable time before *Anaxilas*'s Tyranny Olymp. LXXI, he could hardly be alive still at *Thurii* Olymp. LXXXIV, which was L years after. And indeed, there's not one of the old Writers, that I know of, who either says he was a *Thurian*, or that he made Laws for the *Thurians*. *Plato*<sup>6)</sup> tells us, That Italy and Sicily profited by the Laws of *Charondas*, but the Cities he does not name. We must learn those of his Scholar *Aristotle*, who expresses himself more particularly, That *Charondas* the Catanian, gave Laws to his own City and the other Chalcidic Cities in Italy and Sicily. Now the Chalcidic Towns in Sicily<sup>7)</sup> were *Zancle*, *Naxos*, *Leontini*, *Catana*, *Eubœa*, *Mylæ*, *Himera*, *Callipolis*: in Italy there was *Rhegium*; and if any other I know not.

1) See here Sect. iv. 2) *Marm. Arund.* 3) *Val. Max.* vi, 5. 4) *Themist. Orat.* xiv [II p. 31 Hard.] Καὶ τοῦ Θουρίου Χαράνδα. 5) *Diod. p.* 79 [XII 11]. 6) *Plato Polit.* x [599 E]. Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία. 7) See *Scymnus Chius*, [276—290] and others.



But that neither *Thurii* nor *Sybaris* before it, was a *Chalcidic* Colony, is most certain. *Heracledes* therefore agrees with his Master *Aristotle*; where he tells us, as we have cited before, *That Charondas was a Catanian, and Law-giver to the Rhegians*. Now what could be the reason of this difference between all the Old and some of the Later Writers; but that in the interval of time between them, which was about 300 years, these pretended Laws of *Charondas* came abroad, as directed to the *Thurians*, and calling him a *Thurian*? But we see the true Laws of *Charondas*, which *Aristotle* and *Heracledes* had, were made for the *Chalcidic* Towns, not for *Thurii*. How could these be the Same then? Unless perhaps some may suppose, that the *Thurians* agreed to take the Laws of *Charondas*, which were ready made to their hands; as those of *Mazaca* in *Cilicia* did:<sup>1)</sup> so that *Charondas's* Laws might be given at *Catana* and *Rhegium* a good while before Olymp. LXXI, and yet given too at *Thurii* at Olymp. LXXXIV, 1. This Supposition indeed may serve to shew, how *Charondas's* Laws might possibly be *Thurian*; but it cannot excuse *Diodorus* and the rest, who call *Charondas* himself a *Thurian*; <sup>365</sup> since by this account he was dead before *Thurii* was ever heard of. But in the next place, what if I prove, that neither Himself, nor his Laws were received by the *Thurians*: then I humbly conceive, that Copy of them which *Diodorus* used, will be allowed to have been a Cheat.<sup>2)</sup>

1) *Strabo* p. 529. 2) After this was committed to the Press, I recollected a Passage of *Laertius*, which at that time was quite out of my mind. This author tells us from *Heracledes Ponticus*, *That Protagoras the Sophist was Law-giver to the Thurians*. *Ἡρακλείδης*, says he, *ὁ Ποντικός, Θουρίους νόμους γράφαι φησὶ Πρωταγόραν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον* (*Laert. in Protag.* [IX 8, 50]). The same Author tells us that *Protagoras* flourish'd *κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηχοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα*, at Ol. LXXXIV, the very time that the *Athenian* Colony went to *Thurii*. It's very probable he was then at *Athens*; for he was twice there: his second coming was between Olymp. LXXXIX, 1 and LXXXIX, 3, as *Athenæus* proves, p. 219. This as I take it, is a great Confirmation of what I have said about the spurious *Charondas*. — *Add.* p. 549. [Lennep in his Latin translation, Dyce and Ribbeck place this additional observation at the end of the dis-

III.<sup>1)</sup> If we will take *Athenæus's*<sup>2)</sup> word, *ZALEUCUS* was *Law-giver* to the *Thurians*: though a little before, he had quoted a Law of his to the *Locrians*.<sup>3)</sup> Which is a sign, that he did not out of ignorance mistake the one City for the other. By the *Thurians* here, he seems to understand the *Sybarites*, who were afterwards called *Thurians*: and we may suppose, that at their Settlement Olymp. LXXXIV, they continued their old Constitution of Government, made at first by *Zaleucus*, for that the ancient *Sybarites* once used his Laws, appears from *Scymnus Chius*; who assigns this for one of the Causes of their Ruin, that they did not adhere to them:

Λέγεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς μήτε τοῖς νόμοις ἔτι  
τοῖς τοῦ Ζαλεῦκου τάχολουθα συντελεῖν.<sup>4)</sup>

And that the *Thurians* at their first Plantation received<sup>5)</sup> them again, though they refined and multiplied them even to excess, we may gather from *Ephorus*; who speaking of *Zaleucus's*<sup>6)</sup> Laws, which he made for the *Locrians*, and commending them for their Simplicity, *But the Thurians*, says he, *afterwards aiming at exactness in every thing, grew more famous by it, but were worse govern'd*. For the fairest Exposition of this Passage seems to be this, That the *Thurians* had once the Laws of *Zaleucus*, which afterwards they refined upon. And if we consider those Passages of *Athenæus* and *Scymnus*, it may pass too for the Truest.

366 IV. But however, whether *Zaleucus's* Laws were receiv'd or not by the *Thurians*; those of *Charondas* we may justly believe were not, by the accounts we have of both His and Theirs. There's a large Fragment<sup>7)</sup> of *Theophrastus's* (I suppose, out of his Tracts about Laws) which gives us some Notices about the *Thurian* Laws concerning Buying

---

quisition concerning the laws of *Charondas*, in spite of the authority of the original edition which assigns it to this place].

<sup>1)</sup> This error is due to Bentley himself, as appears also from the succeeding numbers. — W. <sup>2)</sup> *Athen.* p. 508.

<sup>3)</sup> *Id.* p. 429.

<sup>4)</sup> *Scymnus Chius*, v. 345. <sup>5)</sup> It may be conjectured that for »received« we ought to read »revived« (and Lennep translates the word »instaurasset«); but compare the first line of the next section. — D.

<sup>6)</sup> *Strabo* p. 260

<sup>7)</sup> *Stob. Serm.* 48 [42].

and Selling.<sup>1)</sup> *The Buyer was to give Earnest to the Seller presently, and a piece of Money to Three of the next Neighbours, that they might remember and bear witness of the Bargain:*<sup>2)</sup> *and then the same Day he was to pay the whole Price, and if he fail'd to pay it, he lost his Earnest.*<sup>3)</sup> *And if the Seller did not stand to his Bargain,*<sup>4)</sup> *he lost as much Money as the Thing was sold for: which, says Theophrastus, was a very unequal penalty; that the Buyer should forfeit the Earnest only, and the Seller the whole Price: the one being so much more than the other. But Charondas*<sup>5)</sup> *and Plato, says he, went another way to work; for they enact, That all Buying and Selling shall be with ready Payment: and if any man trust, it shall be at his own peril. The Law shall give him no remedy if he's cheated; for by Trusting he brought the Cheat upon himself.* Now that *Theophrastus* reports this truly of *Plato*, it appears from *Plato* himself in the xi Book of his *Laws*;<sup>6)</sup> where this very Order about Buying and Selling is still extant. We may fairly suppose therefore, that *Theophrastus* is as exact in what he says of *Charondas*.<sup>367</sup> And I conceive it's as plain here, that *Charondas's* Laws were different from the *Thurians*; as that Ready Payment is different from Giving Earnest and being Trusted. The Passage of *Theophrastus* is both faulty in the Original, and mistaken by the Interpreter; but the Reader may easily see, how it ought to be corrected and translated, by the places I have cited in the Margin.

V. We have very good Evidence, that the Form of Government which *Charondas's* Laws were adapted to was an Aristocracy or Oligarchy. *Many of those Law-givers, says Aristotle,*<sup>7)</sup> *that design to establish Aristocracies, mistake themselves.* Then he reckons up Five Artifices, by which they impose upon the People: and to One of them he adds, *Ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδα νόμοις, As it is in the Laws*

1) Οἱ δὲ Θουριακοί, &c. 2) Ἐν τοῖς Θουρίων τὸν μὲν ἀρραβῶνα παραρῆμα, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν αὐθήμερον. 3) Στέρησις τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Θουριακοί. 4) Ἐκτισίς ὅσου ἂν ἀποδῶται· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Θουρίων ἢ ἀνισὸς ζημία. 5) Χαρώνδας καὶ Πλάτων παραρῆμα κελεύουσι δίδοναι καὶ λαμβάνειν· ἐὰν δὲ τις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ εἶναι δίκην· αὐτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας. 6) [915 D]. 7) Aristot. *Po.* iv, 12, 13 [VI 12. 13. p. 1297 Bekk.]

of Charondas: and he concludes the whole with this, *Ταῦτα μὲν ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας*, *These are Oligarchical Artifices in making of Laws*. This passage is a most plain intimation of what I asserted above: but *Heraclides* says it down right in his Account of the *Rhegians*, who formed themselves, says he,<sup>1)</sup> into an Aristocracy, being govern'd by *χίλιοι*, a Thousand of the wealthiest Citizens, and using the Laws of Charondas. Add the other places of *Aristotle*<sup>2)</sup>, where he says, *The Rhegian Government was changed from an Oligarchy to a Tyranny by Anaxilas*; nay, and that the *Thurian Government*<sup>3)</sup> was *ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα* a sort of Oligarchy: and then I suppose this Point will be sufficiently prov'd. But *Diodorus* from the Copy of Charondas which he used, represents the Constitution to be a Democracy: as when he says,<sup>4)</sup> *A man that proposed a New Law, must*  
<sup>368</sup> *have a Rope about his Neck, till ὁ ΔΗΜΟΣ the PEOPLE determined for or against it*: and again,<sup>5)</sup> *That a Woman without any Fortune, κατέφυγεν εἰς τὸν ΔΗΜΟΝ, appealed to the PEOPLE, and the PEOPLE*<sup>6)</sup> *τοῦ δὲ ΔΗΜΟΥ voted to make a new Law for her*: and lastly,<sup>7)</sup> *That a Blind Man advised τοῖς ΠΑΗΘΕΣΙ the MULTITUDE to alter a Law*: add to these his express Declaration,<sup>8)</sup> that the *Thurians form'd Πολίτευμα ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ a Democratical Government*; and then I suppose it will appear very probable, That *Diodorus's* Copy of Charondas's Laws was not the same with that of *Aristotle* and *Heraclides*.

VI. Charondas, says *Aristotle*<sup>9)</sup>, *had οὐδὲν ἴδιον nothing peculiar in his Laws, except One*. On the contrary, *Diodorus*<sup>10)</sup> tells us from His Copy, *That he had πολλὰ ἴδια, many things peculiar*; and reckons half a score of them: and yet that Single thing observ'd by *Aristotle* does not appear among them. Does not this look as if the Laws they speak of were quite different? This is One shrewd suspicion, that *Diodorus's* Copy was not genuine. But let us consider the Philosopher's words, *Χαρώνδου ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν, πλὴν αἱ δίκαι τῶν ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ*. πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν

<sup>1)</sup> *Heraclid. de Polit.* [XXV].

<sup>2)</sup> *Arist. Pol.* v, 12.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.* v, 7 [VIII 7 p. 1307 Bekk.]

<sup>4)</sup> *Diod. p. 82* [XII 17].

<sup>5)</sup> *P. 83.*

<sup>6)</sup> *P. 84* [c. 18].

<sup>7)</sup> *P. 83* [c. 17].

<sup>8)</sup> *P. 78*

[c. 11].

<sup>9)</sup> *Aristot. Pol.* ii, 12.

<sup>10)</sup> *Diod. p. 79* [XII 11].

**ΕΠΙΣΚΕΨΙΝ.** So the passage is read in the common Editions, and the Interpreter translates it, *Primus his de rebus accurate consideravit*: which is quite beside the Sense of the Author. There are two Faults in the Greek, that must first be corrected, before we can come at the right meaning. First for *ψευδομαρτύρων* we must read *ψευδομαρτυριῶν*: because *δίκη* is joined with the Name of the Things, and not of the Persons; as *δίκη ἀσεβείας*, *ἀγαμίου*, *ὀφθαλμίου*, &c. not *δίκη ἀσεβῶν*, *ἀγάμων*, *ὀφθαλμῶν*. *Demosthenes*<sup>1)</sup> *contra Euergetum*. *Ταῖς δίκαις τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν*.<sup>369</sup> *Isæus*,<sup>2)</sup> *Τὴν τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην ἡγωνίζετο*. And again, *Ἡ τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη εἰσῆει*.<sup>3)</sup> 'Tis a fault therefore in the same Orator, where we read<sup>4)</sup> *Τὴν τῶν ψευδομαρτύρων δίκην εἰλομεν*; and in *Pollux*<sup>5)</sup> *Κατὰ τῶν ψευδομαρτυρούντων δίκη, ὃ καὶ ἐπισκήψασθαι καταματόριον ἐλέγετο*; we must correct it, *ἐπισκήψασθαι ψευδομαρτυριῶν*: as the excellent MS of the late Learned *Isaac Vossius* has it. The other fault in *Aristotle* is *Ἐπίσκηψις*; the true Emendation of which is *Ἐπίσκηψις*, which signifies an Action at Law against False Witnesses. For if a man was cast in a Trial by false Testimony, he might enter his Plea to have another Trial to prove the Witnesses perjur'd. *Charondas* therefore, according to *Aristotle*, first ordain'd this *Ἐπίσκηψις*: and if we could know the first Date of it, we might then arrive at the true Age of *Charondas*. The *Athenian* Orators often mention this *Ἐπίσκηψις* as a Law in force at *Athens*; so *Demosthenes*, *Isæus*, *Lysias*,<sup>6)</sup> and out of them the Lexicographers, *Pollux*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Etymolog*. But whether it was one of *Solon's* Laws, or at what time made after his Death, I am not able to tell. But there's a probability, that it was made before the Founding of *Thurii*, rather than after. For *Lysias*, who in his youth was one of that Colony that founded *Thurii*, speaks we see of this *Ἐπίσκηψις*, and without any hint, that it was a New Law. And He return'd from *Thurii* to *Athens* at Ol. xcii, 1. Take the Middle therefore between the Institution of *Solon's* Laws Olymp. xlvi, 3. and the Pleadings of *Lysias*; and it will fall upon Olymp. lxix, 2.

1) P. 638 [1139].

5) *Pollux* viii, 6 [36].

2) P. 38.

3) P. 52.

4) P. 38.

6) *Lysias* c. *Pandoleonem* [23, 14].

which is LIX years before the founding of *Thurii*. So much  
 370 odds are there, that the *Ἐπίσκηψις* was enacted at *Athens*  
 before *Thurii* was founded; and consequently that *Charon-  
 das* the first Author of the *Ἐπίσκηψις* was more ancient  
 than that Colony; and by consequence that the Copy of  
 his Laws, which *Diodorus* used, was supposititious.

VII. The Case of *Charondas* in *Stobæus* is the very  
 Reverse of *Zaleucus*'s: for he has made *Zaleucus* write  
 his Laws in the Common Dialect, who as a *Locrian* ought  
 to have used the *Doric*; and he has introduced *Charondas*  
 in the *Doric* Dialect, who either as a *Catanian* or a *Thurian*  
 would more probably have used another. For *Catana* and  
 the other Cities, that *Aristotle* says he gave Laws to, were  
*Chalcidic*, that is, *Ionic* Colonies: and the *Thurians*, whose  
 Law-giver he was according to *Diodorus*, were a mixture  
 indeed of several Nations, but principally *Attic*. *Diodorus*<sup>1)</sup>  
 says, That *Lampon* and *Xenocritus*, both of *Athens*, were  
*Κτίσται* the *Founders* of *Thurii*; and that when the *Sybarites*  
 sent to *Sparta* and *Athens* to desire a Colony, the *Spartans*  
 refused them; but the *Athenians* undertook it, giving leave  
 to any of the *Peloponnesians* to share with them if they  
 pleased. *Plutarch*<sup>2)</sup> also ascribes the Colony to the *Athe-  
 nians*; and names one *Hiero*<sup>3)</sup> an *Athenian* for the Founder.  
*Dionysius Halicarn.*<sup>4)</sup> attributes it to the *Athenians* and the  
 rest of Greece; making the *Athenians* to be the Principal.  
 'Tis true indeed, *Scymnus Chius*<sup>5)</sup> makes *Thurii* a Colony  
 of the *Achæans*; but this can hardly be true, unless we  
 understand it of *Sybaris*, which was afterwards called *Thurii*:  
 for That indeed was an *Achæan* Colony. *Diodorus*<sup>6)</sup> adds,  
 371 That at Olymp. LXXXVI, 3. Ten years after the first Sett-  
 lement, the *Thurians* debated whose Colony they were, and  
 who should he call'd their Founder. The *Athenians* claim'd  
 it, because the greatest<sup>7)</sup> Number of Inhabitants came from  
*Athens*: but those of *Peloponnesus* oppos'd it, because many  
 came from thence too. At last they agreed to send to  
*Delphi*, that the Oracle might determine the Point; and

<sup>1)</sup> *Diod. p. 77, 78 [XII 10].* <sup>2)</sup> *Plut. v. Lysia [835 C].*  
*& v. Periclis [c. 11].* <sup>3)</sup> *Idem. v. Nicia [c. 5].* <sup>4)</sup> *Dionys.*  
*v. Lysia [1].* <sup>5)</sup> *Scymnus v. 325.* <sup>6)</sup> *Diod. p. 93 [XII 35].*  
<sup>7)</sup> *Πλείστους οικήτορας.*

they were answer'd, That *Apollo* himself was to be counted their Founder: and so the matter ended, no Nation pretending to that Honour. But however, that the *Athenians* had the greatest Party and strongest Interest there, appears doubly; both because in the *Athenian Invasion*<sup>1)</sup> of *Sicily*, the *Thurians* adhered to the *Athenians* against the *Sicilians* and *Spartans*; and because the *Thurian Money*<sup>2)</sup> had a *Pallas's Head* with a *Helmet*, exactly like the *Attic*. I am not ignorant, that after the Defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, Ol. xci, 4. the *Thurians* too among the rest of their Confederates, deserted them; and ccc *Athenians*<sup>3)</sup> were banished from the Colony. But the Laws of *Charondas*, as *Diodorus* relates, were made upon the first Establishment there, above xxx Years before that Overthrow: and I leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if at that time the great Number and Power of the *Athenians* at *Thuri* do not make it more probable, That their Laws, if then made, would have been in the *Attic Dialect* rather than the *Doric*.

VIII. There's a very odd Passage in *Stephanus Byzantius*; <sup>4)</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆς Κατάνης Χαρώνδης, ὁ διάσημος τῶν ἐν Ἀθῆναι νομοθετῶν, *Of Catana was Charondas, that celebrated Lawgiver at Athens*; and another in *Suidas* more odd than that; Νομοθεταὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο Δράκων, καὶ μετὰ <sup>372</sup> τοῦτον Σόλων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Θαλῆς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Αἰσχύλος, *The Lawgivers to the Athenians were first Draco, then Solon, then Thales, and then Æschylus*. What shall we say to these Passages? we must own there were many Νομοθεταὶ Makers of Laws at *Athens* after *Solon's* time; but yet I can hardly believe, that *Charondas*, and *Thales*, and *Æschylus* are to be reckon'd of that number. As for *Suidas*, I am persuaded, that for Αἰσχύλος, the true Reading is Ζάλευκος: so that putting a full stop after Νομοθεταὶ, as it is in the Paragraph just before, the meaning of *Suidas* will be thus: LAWGIVERS. The first was *Draco* at *Athens*; after him *Solon*, after him *Thales*, after him *Zaleucus*.<sup>5)</sup> Where he does not assert, that *Thales* and *Zaleucus* were *Athenian Lawgivers*;

<sup>1)</sup> *Thucyd.* [VI 61]. *Diodor.* [XIII].

<sup>2)</sup> *Goltzius.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Dionys. & Plutarch. v. Lysia* [l. c.].

<sup>4)</sup> *Steph. v. Kat.*

<sup>5)</sup> Bentley's emendation is contested by Wesseling, in his preface to *Petit's Leges Atticæ*, referred to by D.

but only that their Laws were more recent than *Draco's* and *Solon's*. We have seen already from *Aristotle*,<sup>1)</sup> how some maintain'd that *Zaleucus* was *Thales's* Scholar; meaning *Thales the Cretan*, who was almost 300 Years before *Solon's* time: but *Suidas*, or his Author, confounding *Thales the Cretan* with the Philosopher *Thales the Milesian*, has by consequence put him after *Solon*. This perhaps may be no unlikely account of the Passage of *Suidas*: but the other of *Stephanus* is very hard to make out. For even *Plato* and *Aristotle* forbid us to allow of the Vulgar Reading, *Ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι*; for speaking of this *Charondas*,<sup>2)</sup> they make him Lawgiver in some Towns of *Sicily* and *Italy*; but say not one word of his Laws at *Athens*. Add to this, that *ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι*, which all the Editions and MSS. seem to agree in, is not Greek: for they ever say, *Ἀθήνῃσι* without the *Præposition*; as they will find, who please to examine it.<sup>3)</sup> These things seem to warrant a Conjecture; that *Hermolaus* the Epitomizer of *Stephanus*, or some of his Copiers, mistook, and put *ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι* for *ἐν Σικελίᾳ*. And yet on the other side, that *Charondas's* Laws were famous at least, if not in force, at *Athens*,<sup>4)</sup> we have a good Authority, *Hermippus* in his Treatise Of Lawgivers; who informs us, That *Charondas's* Laws used to be sung at Athens over a glass of Wine, *Ἦδοντο Ἀθήνησιν οἱ Χαρώνδου νόμοι παρ' αἶνον*. For the very Title of the Book shews, that *ΝΟΜΟΙ* here do not signify Songs and Tunes, as *Ὀλύμπου νόμοι*, *Μαρσύου νόμοι*, but really Laws. Now *Aristotle*<sup>5)</sup> puts a Problem, Why are Tunes called *Νόμοι*? and he answers, *Is it, because before the use of Letters, men sung their Laws, that they might not forget them? as the custom continues yet among the Agathyrsi*. Which Passage I think will go a great way towards putting an end to our debate about *Charondas*. For if Laws were sung before the knowledge of Letters, as *Aristotle* says; and if *Charondas's* Laws were sung at *Athens*, as *Hermippus* says: then the consequence seems fair and natural; that they were first sung at *Athens*, before the Date of *Solon's* or *Draco's* Laws, which were

1) See here P. 340.  
 II 366. — D.  
*περὶ Νομοθετῶν*.

2) P. 364.  
 4) *Athen. p. 619* [B]. *Ἑρμιππος ἐν ἔκτῳ*  
 5) *Arist. Prob. XIX, 28* [p. 919sq. Bekk.].



written upon wooden Tables, and fixed up for the public view. And by this account *Charondas's Laws* must be sung 50 years before the very naming of *Thurii*. Besides this, we may justly infer, that his Laws were written in some sort of Verse, or tunable Measure: for otherwise how they should be sung over Wine, I do not understand. And to confirm us in this suspicion, there's a passage in *Strabo*, of which his Learned Commentator has said nothing; but from this View it will be plain and easie. *The Mazacenes*<sup>1)</sup> of Cappadocia, says he, use the Laws of Charondas, αἰρού-<sup>374</sup>μενοι καὶ Νομῶδον, and appoint some person to be their LAW-SINGER, who is among Them the Declarer of the Laws, as the Lawyers are among the Romans. Now how comes it to pass, that *Charondas's Laws* required a Law-Singer ΝΟΜΩΔΟΣ, a Word and Office never heard of but in this passage of *Strabo*? Unless there were something peculiar in them, that whereas other Laws were in Prose, They were in Verse, and to be sung by the People. To give an instance, how they might be sung at *Athens*; One of the Laws of *Charondas*, as *Diodorus*<sup>2)</sup> says, was Περὶ τῆς Κακομιλίας About avoiding Ill Company: Now the Athenians had a Scolion or Catch which they used to sing παρ' οἶνον over a glass of Wine:<sup>3)</sup>

Ἀδμήτου λόγον, ὦ ταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει·  
Τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, γνούς ὅτι δειλῶν ὀλέγη χάρις.

The Measure of it is neglected in the vulgar *Athenæus*, but it's like that in *Alcæus* and *Horace*,

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem.<sup>4)</sup>

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω.<sup>5)</sup>

Now if instead of Ἀδμήτου λόγον, one should say thus;

Χαρώνδου νόμον, ὦ ταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει·

he would have the very Law, that *Diodorus* speaks of, About evil Conversation. But we have One of his Laws really extant in Verse, though not of *Charondas's* own making, but of one of the Comic Poets:

<sup>1)</sup> *Strabo* p. 539.    <sup>2)</sup> *Diod.* p. 79 [XII 12].  
& *Schol.* p. 356 [Vesp. 1239]. *Athen.* p. 695 [b].  
carm. I 18.]    <sup>5)</sup> [Alc. fr. 44 Bergk.].

<sup>3)</sup> *Arist.*  
<sup>4)</sup> [Hor.

Τὸν νομοθέτην φασὶν Χαράωνδαν ἔν τινι  
 Νομοθεσίᾳ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ ταυτὶ λέγειν·  
 Ὁ παῖσιν αὐτοῦ μητρὶαν ἐπεισάγων,  
 Μῆτ' εὐδοκμεῖσθω, μήτε μετεχέτω λόγου  
 Παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις· ὥς ἐπείσακτον κακὸν  
 375 Κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων πεπορισμένος.  
 Ἐτ' ἐπέτυχες γάρ, φησι, γήμας τὸ πρότερον,  
 Εὐημερῶν κατὰπαυσον· εἰτ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες,  
 Μανικὸν τὸ πείραν δευτέρας λαβεῖν πάλιν.

So these *Iambics* are to be read in *Diodorus*.<sup>1)</sup> In the common Editions the two first Verses are taken for Prose, and supposed to be *Diodorus's* words, not the Poet's. But it's now evident, that they belong to the rest, and I have only chang'd ταῦτα into ταυτὶ for the sake of the Measure. Even the great *Grotius*<sup>2)</sup> was in the common mistake, and believ'd them to be Prose; and upon that account, he alter'd the *vii*th Verse thus,

Ἐτ' ἐπέτυχες γάρ τὸ πρότερον γήμας, φίλε;

because, I suppose, he could not apprehend what *φησί* belong'd to: but now it's plain, that it refers to *Charondas*. In the last Verse both the Editors of *Diodorus*, and *Grotius* too, admit of the vulgar reading, *πείρας δευτέρας*, the *second Experiment*: but at that rate, it is not true Greek; for *λαβεῖν* here will not bear a Genitive Case. I have corrected it therefore, *πείραν δευτέρας*, the *Experiment of a second Wife*. Well; if it appear probable from these several Particulars, that *Charondas's* Laws were drawn up in some kind of Verse or Measure fit to be sung: we need no other proof to detect the Imposture of *Stobæus's* Writer. For all the Fragments that are produced there, are flat and down-right Prose, without the least footsteps of poetical Measure. For example, this very Law, which we have now cited from the Comic Poet, is thus express'd in *Stobæus*.<sup>3)</sup> Ὁ μητρὶαν ἐπιγαμῶν μὴ εὐδοξεῖτω· ἀλλ' ὀνειδιζέσθω, ὥσπερ αἴτιος ὢν οἰκείας διαστάσεως. He that marries a

376 *second Wife to be Stepmother to his Children, let him be disgrac'd, as being the Author of his own Disquiet.* This Law

<sup>1)</sup> *Diod. p. 80 [XII 14]. [Meineke, Com. IV 618.]* <sup>2)</sup> *Grotii Excerpta ex Trag. & Com. p. 919.* <sup>3)</sup> *Stob. Serm. xlii. [40].*

the Writer might meet with in the Poet cited above, or some other Author now lost; and therefore he inserted it into his Collection, to make the Cheat pass the more easily. But I appeal to those that are skill'd in the ancient Poetry; if there be any Musical Measure of any sort whatsoever in the words that he has given us. He seems to have heard too, that *Charondas's Laws* were used to be sung, as we have shewn from *Hermippus* and *Strabo*; he concludes therefore with this. Προστάσσει δὲ ὁ νόμος, ἐπίστασθαι τὰ προοίμια τοὺς πολέτας ἅπαντας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς μετὰ τοὺς παιᾶνας λέγειν ὃ ἂν προστάσῃ ὁ ἐστιάτωρ, ἵνα ἐμφυσιῶνται ἐκάστῳ τὰ παραγγέλματα: *The Law enjoins, that all the Citizens shall learn these Proœmia; and at their Feasts, some Person appointed by the Master of the Feast shall say them, after the Hymns are sung; that the Laws may become familiar to every body.* He is so far in the right indeed, that these Laws, that he has put upon us, are to be said, and not sung: for there's nothing of Harmony in them: nor do they need a *Law-singer*, Νομῳδός, as the true Laws of *Charondas* did: nor would the *Athenians* have sung These παρ' οἶνον at their Merriments; for the very Laws of *Solon* have as much of Tune and Verse in them. But the sagacious Reader may observe too a very odd and peculiar usage of the word Ἐμφυσιῶνται; which this Writer puts here to signifie *being natural, as it were, and familiar.* And that we may not think it a fault of the Copier, there's the same word in the Page before, Ἐμφυσιῶνται ἐκάστῳ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σπερματωδέστατον τῆς ἀρετῆς; *That the best and the most seminal Virtue may become natural to them:* 377 though in both places even common Syntax requires, that we should read it, ἐμφυσιῶνται. Now in all the Authors that I can think of, it has quite another meaning, *To be puffed up, and be proud,* from φυσάω, to blow: but this mock *Charondas* believ'd it came from φύσις, *Nature:* which is mere Barbarism; for the first Syllable of φύσις is short, and the first of φυσάω long.<sup>1)</sup> This, with some other words, both in *Charondas* and *Zaleucus*, and the Matter too of each of them, makes me suspect the Author was no Native of Greece: but I do not pretend to determin that; neither

1) Cf. Heyne, Opusc. acad. II 82, referred to by D.

do I assert any thing positively on either side of this whole Debate about the two Law-givers. I rather desire to stand a Neuter, till the matter shall be decided by some abler Hand: and if I might have the Nomination, it should be He, whom the whole Learned World will allow to be the best able, his Excellency Mr. *Ezekiel SPANHEMIUS*.

I Return now to our Learned Examiner, and I find him still at his old work of Cavilling and Mistaking. He has spent two miserable Pages<sup>1)</sup> in ridiculing me, as he thinks, for saying *Empedocles* wrote an *Epic Poem*; a Name which he thinks belongs to no Poems, but such as the *Ilias* and *Aeneis*. What will he say then to *Athenæus*, who calls *Archestratus's Gastronomía*, a small Poem about Fish and Cookery, an EPIC POEM. *Ἐπικὸν δὲ*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> τὸ ποίημα? What to *Quintilian*,<sup>3)</sup> who among (EPICOS) the *Epics* reckons *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Nicander*? Is not *Empedocles*, as much an *Epic*, as these are? What will he say to *Laertius*, *Plutarch*, and others, who usually say *Parmenides's* 378 *Ἔπη*, and *Xenophanes's* *Ἐποποιῖαν*, and the *Pythagorean's* *Χρυσᾷ Ἔπῃ*? What to *Suidas*, who says *Orpheus* wrote *ᾠδοῦσιν Ἐπικῶς*; and *Timotheus* about *Quadrupeds*, *Birds*, *Fishes*, &c. *Ἐπικῶς*; and *Tribonianus* upon *Ptolemy's Canon* *Ἐπικῶς*? Are not these Poems *Philosophical*, as well as *Empedocles's*? But what will he say to *Aristotle*,<sup>4)</sup> *Plutarch*<sup>5)</sup> and *Simplicius*,<sup>6)</sup> who expressly call *Empedocles's* Poems *ΕΠΗ*? For pray what difference between *Ἔπη* or *Ἐποποιῖα*, and *Ποίημα Ἐπικόν*? *Athenæus* plainly shews us, that they have all the same Importance; for the same Poem of *Archestratus*, which in one place he calls *Ἐπικὸν ποίημα*, in another,<sup>7)</sup> he calls *Ἐποποιῖαν*; and in a third<sup>8)</sup> he calls the Author *Ἐποποιός*. But let us see Mr. B's happy address in managing this Cavil. If the Dr. says he,<sup>9)</sup> has met with an account of *Empedocles's* writing an *Epic Poem*, he knows more of his Works than *Laertius* did, who was so absurd as to pass it over in silence. A noble Paragraph indeed;

<sup>1)</sup> P. 45, 46.<sup>2)</sup> Athen. p. 4 [2].<sup>3)</sup> Quint. X, 1 [55sq.]<sup>4)</sup> Arist. Nicom. VII 3 [5 p. 1147, 20 Bekk.]<sup>5)</sup> Plut. de<sup>6)</sup> Aud. Poet. [cap. 2 p. 16 C.]<sup>7)</sup> Simplic. ad Phys. Arist. p. 1.

&amp; 258.

<sup>8)</sup> P. 104.<sup>9)</sup> P. 335.<sup>10)</sup> P. 45.

to come from such a Master of Sense and Style. If *Laertius* did not know of that Epic Poem, how was he *absurd* in not speaking of it? Mr. B. may please to explain this, who at least is answerable for the Language of his Book. But his Assistant perhaps *that consulted Books for him*,<sup>1)</sup> is to blame here for the Matter; and the next time that Mr B. sees him, he may justly call him to account for deceiving him about *Laertius*. For that Author reckons up among other Poems of *Empedocles's*<sup>2)</sup> *ΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΙΣ*, *The Expedition of Xerxes*; which he afterwards calls *ΠΕΡΣΙΚΑ*. And I dare appeal to Mr. B. himself, if That was not an *Epic Poem* in his own sense of the Word. 'Tis true, *Laertius* adds, that *Empedocles's* Sister is reported to have burnt that Poem. But that's nothing to the pre-<sup>379</sup>sent point; for Mr. B. challenges me to produce any Voucher for *Empedocles's* writing an Epic Poem: and that I have now done. Nay if *Aristotle's* Copies do not deceive us, that *Epic Poem* was extant in His time, for he quotes a fragment of it,<sup>3)</sup>

Ἄλφιτον ὕδατι κολλήσας ———

But I own, that for *Περσικοῖς*, I would there read *Φυσικοῖς*, as others have done before me; because the very same Fragment is quoted by him in another place out of *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς*:<sup>4)</sup> and the very Sense of it, *A Past made of Meal and Water*, shews it rather belongs to *Physics*, than to the *Expedition of Xerxes*.

But can the Dr. be so wretchedly ignorant, says Mr. B.<sup>5)</sup> as to think every large Copy of Hexameters is an Epic Poem? On whose side the wretched Ignorance lies, the present Age and Posterity will judge. But it's plain, Mr. B. supposes, that *Empedocles's Physics* were but a large Copy of Verses. And yet *Laertius* would have taught him, that those *Physics* consisted of 5000 Verses, which are above twice as many as are in all *Virgil's Georgics*. Nay they were divided into several Books; and *Simplicius*<sup>6)</sup> cites the FIRST and SECOND of them; *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν*

1) *Præf.* 2) *Laert. Emped.* [VIII 2. 57]. 3) *Arist. Probl.* XXI, 22 [p. 929 Bekk.]. *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς*.

4) *Meteor.* IV, 4.

5) P. 45.

6) *Simplic. Phys.*

*Arist.* p. 34.

Φυσικῶν, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν.<sup>1)</sup> Mr. B. seems to have as false a Notion of *Empedocles's* ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ, Treatise of *Expiations*: for he compares it with *Theocritus's* *Pharmaceutria*;<sup>2)</sup> as if they resembl'd one another both in Bigness and in Subject. Now the one has but 166 Verses in it; and the other, as *Laertius* says, had 5000: is not Mr. B. then very exact in this first way of Comparison?

380 As for the Subject of them, the *Pharmaceutria* of *Theocritus* is nothing but the Charms and Philtres of a Woman to make a man in love with her: and what is that to *Καθαρμοὶ* the *Expiations* of *Empedocles*? which were either the Lustrations of Cities and Countries from Plagues, Earthquakes, Prodigies; or of private Persons from Diseases, Dreams, Murders: or rather (if Mr. B. say true,<sup>3)</sup> That the Subject of that Treatise was in great measure drawn from the Pythagoreans) the *Καθαρμοὶ* must signifie the Purification of the Mind in the *Pythagorean* way; which *Hierocles*, *Jamblichus*, and others speak so much of. Mr. B. goes on, That we have a large Fragment of His directed to the people of Agrigent his Townsmen; so that the Subject was no higher, than an Account of Himself to his own Countrymen: and may not Doric then be proper for little Poems, where men of ordinary rank are addressed to? Here he supposes this Fragment to be a different piece from the *Καθαρμοὶ*, being a little Poem, says he, to the *Agrigentines*: whereas *Laertius* twice tells us, that the Fragment is out of the *Καθαρμοὶ*, the beginning of which work was thus,

ὦ φίλοι, οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος  
Ναίετε ———.<sup>4)</sup>

So that a Book of 5000 Verses is again dwindled into a little Poem. And then to infer from the first Verses of it, that the Subject of the whole was nothing but an Account of himself to his Countrymen, is just as if he should argue from the first Verses of the *Georgics*, that the Subject of them is nothing but *Virgil's* account of Himself to *Mæcenas*.

To shew that *Phalaris's* Epistles might be writ in  
381 Doric at first, but afterwards be translated; he instances in the Pieces of *Perictyone*, and *Aristoxenus*, and *Zaleucus*,

1) P. 86. 2) P. 46, 47. 3) P. 47. 4) [Laert. Emp. 54]

three Pythagoreans,<sup>1)</sup> who in all probability wrote in Doric; and yet in Stobæus's time some part of the Writings of the One were in Ionic, and those of the Others in the Common Dialect. Now as for his King Zaleucus, I have endeavour'd to shew above, that he was no Pythagorean, and that the Writings ascribed to him are a Cheat: and the second Writer Aristoxenus was at first indeed a Scholar to Xenophilus a Pythagorean, and wrote the Lives of Pythagoras and his Followers; but he was afterwards Aristotle's Scholar: neither did he reckon himself among the Pythagoreans, as appears from Laertius and Diodorus: The last of the Pythagoreans, says Laertius,<sup>2)</sup> were Xenophilus and five others, whom Aristoxenus saw. And Diodorus<sup>3)</sup> places τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς τελευταίους, the last of the Pythagorean Sect, at Olymp. ciii, 2, which was xliiv Years before Aristotle's Death, whom Aristoxenus expected to have succeeded; but Theophrastus was preferr'd before him. Why should Aristoxenus then write in Doric, who both liv'd at Athens, and was no Pythagorean? Mr. B's third Writer is Perictyone, who, though a Pythagorean writ in Ionic. Mr. B. declares more than once, that He despises the mean Employment of Index-hunting; but his Assistant and He, as we have seen in several Instances, are not always of the same Opinion. For the hint of this Ionic Fragment of Perictyone was taken out of Stobæus's Index: but if he had read the Author, and not dip'd into the Index only, he would have found in the very first Chapter two Fragments of Perictyone's Book, Περὶ Σοφίας, and both of them in the Doric. The Ionic Fragment is spurious therefore: 382 for why should she write Philosophy in two Dialects? Nay, to deal freely and openly, I believe all her Fragments are spurious; as most of those of Pythagoric Treatises are justly suspected to be: for they appear'd but late in the World, and long after the times of their pretended Authors. Porphyry in his MS Commentary upon Ptolemee's Harmonics (which I am glad to hear the very excellent Dr. WALLIS<sup>4)</sup> is now publishing at Oxford) cites a Passage of Archytas the Pythagorean, Οὐ μάλιστα, says he, καὶ γνήσια εἶναι λέγε-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 53.  
[XV 75].

<sup>2)</sup> Laert. in Pyth. [46].

<sup>4)</sup> [Wallis Opera Mathem. III 236. fol. 1699].

<sup>3)</sup> Diōd. p. 386

ταὶ τὰ συγγράμματα, whose Writings in particular are supposed to be genuine. Few of the rest will be thought so in the Judgment of knowing Persons: and particularly this *Perictyone* will be exploded for a mere Forgery. For who ever heard before of this *Pythagorean Lady*? *Jamblichus* has given us a List of all the Women of the Sect, that He ever heard of; and there's no such among them. *Stobæus* is the only man, that mentions Her, or her Writings: and I am perswaded, that the Forger of them design'd to have them pass in the name of that *Perictyone*, who was *Plato's Mother*. For they thought it a point of Decorum, to make even the Female Kindred of Philosophers copy after the Men. So in the counterfeit *Socratic Epistles* we have *Socrates's Wife Myrto* setting up an Academy for the Ladies. And among the *Pythagoric Writings* we have a Book *About Humane Nature*,<sup>1)</sup> Ἀλοάρας Πυθαγόρου Λευκάνας, which the Learned *Canterus* translates *Aresæ Pythag.* He seems to take it for *Aresas*, one of the Successors of *Pythagoras*: but the true Version is thus, *Æsara Pythagoræ F. Lucanæ*,<sup>2)</sup> By *Æsara Pythagoras's Daughter*, the *Lucanian*. And yet neither *Jamblichus*, nor *Porphyrus*, nor *Laertius*, when they give us an account of that Philosophers's Daughters, take any notice of *Æsara*. But there's a late Author in *Photius*<sup>3)</sup> that mentions her; though the Passage is so corrupted, that the Lady is lost in't. *The Sons of Pythagoras*, says he, were *Mnesarchus* and *Telauges*; καὶ Σάρα καὶ Μυία αἱ θυγατέρες, and *Sara* and *Myia* his Daughters. Correct it, καὶ Ἀλοάρα: the Syllable *At* was lost here, because the same in *KAI* preceded it: so that henceforward they may register this *Æsara* in the List of the *Pythagorean Women*, and blot out *Sara* whom no body ever heard of.

I must now consider half a Dozen<sup>3)</sup> of Mr. *B's* Pages by the Lump. A very Learned Person,<sup>4)</sup> in excuse for the *Attic Dialect* of *Phalaris*, had objected to me,<sup>5)</sup> That *Ocellus the Lucanian*, though a *Dorian* by his Country, had not written in *Doric*, as appear'd by his Book yet extant,

<sup>1)</sup> *Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 105* [v. I p. 846 sqq. Heer.]

<sup>2)</sup> [Phot. Bibl. p. 438 b 30 Bekk.]

<sup>3)</sup> *P. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.*

<sup>4)</sup> [Joshua Barnes].

<sup>5)</sup> *Eurip. Ed. Cantab.*

*Tom. II. p. 523.*



*De Natura Universi*. Now when I was drawing up the former Edition of this Dissertation, I observ'd *Stobæus*<sup>1)</sup> quoted some passages of *Ocellus* in *Doric*, which are extant word for word in the present Book, the Dialect only alter'd: whereby I knew the whole Treatise was writ originally in the *Doric* Dialect. I can truly say, I observ'd this my self without knowing that any other had done it before me. And I was induced to think, that no body had done't, from this very Objection about *Ocellus Lucanus*; which was made by a man of very great Reading, and yet plainly implies, that He had no where met with the Observation. And I was confirmed further in the belief of it from the *Cambridg* Edition of *Ocellus*, which was the only one I had then by me; for the First Annotation printed there is a <sup>384</sup> Question, *Why, since Archytas, and Timæus Locrus, and Theocritus wrote in the Doric Idiom, Ocellus should write in Attic?* to which no Answer at all is given. Were not these things enough to perswade one, that the Observation had not been made before? I must confess, I was not ignorant that one *Vizzanius* had set out an Edition of *Ocellus*; but being an Editor of no great esteem (the Editor of *Phalaris* must pardon this freedom) I had not purchased the Book, nor knew at all that he had said this thing before me: neither did I think it worth the while to let the Press stand still, while I sought for it; because I knew the *Cambridg* Edition was latter than *Vizzanius's*, and would probably have had the Observation in it, if *Vizzanius* had lit upon't. Besides that I was prone enough to believe, that the Learned Greek Professor, the Author of the Objection, could not be a stranger to *Vizzanius's* Edition; so that I concluded from His not knowing it, that *Vizzanius* had not said it. This is a true Account of this matter about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and I hope it is so fair a one, that all ingenuous Persons, not ting'd with Envy and Malice, will be satisfied with it. I shall now make some Remarks on the Examiner's Harangue, wherein he has labour'd to make the World believe, that I stole the Observation, which I gavè out for my own, out of *Vizzanius's* Preface. Which being about Matter of Fact, and within the reach

1) *Stob. Phys. c. 24.*

of my own knowledge, I do averr to be a Calumny; and that the Account I have here given is true in every part of it. But let us see how he makes out his Indictment.<sup>1)</sup> *He finds the same places in Stobæus named by Vizzanius and Me: therefore I stole the Observation from him.* Wonderfully argued! But are not those Passages in *Stobæus* the only Ground, that the Observation is bottom'd on? If two Persons therefore, without concerting together might hit upon the Observation, which I presume Mr. B. will not deny, is it not necessary that they must both hit upon those Proofs, which the Observation solely depends on? If I had concurr'd with *Vizzanius* in some incidental matters not at all necessary to the main Point; it might then look a little more probable, that I had pillaged them from him: but since the Observation in general might be found out without *Vizzanius*'s help; the citing of such places as it's entirely founded on, is no further proof that I made use of his help. But Mr. B. argues further:<sup>2)</sup> *That the Dr. says it was agreed and covenanted among the Scholars of that Italian Sect, φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρίᾳ,*<sup>3)</sup> *to use their own MOTHER TONGUE: which, says he, he found in Vizzanius, who says the same thing, and quotes the same Authority for it; Tum quia Pythagoreos*<sup>4)</sup> *quoslibet Doricæ Dialecto studuisse comperio; tum quia id Pythagoræ suadeant instituta, qui semper Idiomatum Græcorum Doricum maxime voluit sectari: i. e. All the Pythagoreans used the DORIC, according to Pythagoras's institution, who prefer'd that Dialect before all the rest; as Jamblichus says.* Now to see the acuteness of our Examiner; he has brought here such an Argument to shew me a *Plagiary*, as is a manifest proof that I am none. For how could I find that in *Vizzanius*, which is not in him? and how does He say the same thing, who says the very contrary? The thing, as I said it, is thus; The *Pythagoreans* injoin'd all the *Greeks*, that enter'd themselves into the Society,<sup>5)</sup> to use every man his *Mother-Tongue*: *Ocellus* therefore, being a *Dorian* of *Lucania*, must have writ in

<sup>1)</sup> P. 57.  
[§ 241].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 55.

<sup>4)</sup> *Vizzan. Præf.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Jamblich. Vit. Pyth. p. 202*

<sup>5)</sup> *Jamb. Φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρίᾳ ἐκάστοις παρήγγελλον, ὅσοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήλθον πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν ταύτην· τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν οὐκ ἐδοξίμαζον.*

the *Doric*. This I took to be *Jamblichus's* meaning. But *Vizzanius* has represented it thus: That they injoin'd all that came to them, to use the *Mother Tongue* of *Crotona*, which was the *Doric*. Now this is quite contrary to what I make it. For if an *Athenian* or an *Ionian* had listed himself among them, they must both have spoken *Doric*, according to *Vizzanius*: but in my Interpretation, they must each have retain'd his own Country Dialect. Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true meaning of *Jamblichus*, perhaps all competent Readers will not be of a mind; but I dare say, they will unanimously agree in this, that *Mr. B.* though he would prove Me a *Plagiary*, has taken such effectual care, that no body will ever be a *Plagiary* from Him.

But I had said, *If a man had publish'd a Book, not in his Mother tongue, he had been banish'd the Society.*<sup>1)</sup> Which is an Inference, says *Mr. B.* that *Vizzanius* did not make. How then have I taken all word for word out of his *Preface*? But *Mr. B.*<sup>2)</sup> gives four Reasons, why *Vizzanius* did not make the Inference. First, *Because this Injunction was not observed by Empedocles.* Have I not justly observ'd once before, That there's a sort of Fatality in *Mr. B's* Errors? Could he possibly have brought an Instance more directly against himself? For *Empedocles* was really turn'd out of the Society for writing that Book, that *Mr. B.* refers to: and a Law<sup>3)</sup> was made upon't, that no *Epic Poet* from 387 that time should be admitted into the Company. Secondly, he says, *The Author of the Golden Verses wrote not in Doric*; and yet was not expell'd the Society. But can *Mr. B.* prove, that the Society was in Being, when those Verses were first made? We are sure *Pythagoras* was not the Author of them; but we know not who was. And I believe, no mention is made of them, till above 60 years after the extinction of that Society. Much weaker therefore is *Mr. B's* Third Reason, *That Jamblichus, even while he is writing this account of the Pythagoreans, did not observe the Injunction.* For *Jamblichus* was a *Platonic*, and not a *Pythagorean*: and the Society had been dissolv'd above 20 years before His time. The Fourth is, *That Pythagoras himself did not*

---

<sup>1)</sup> *P. 55.*

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 54.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Laert. Emped. [VIII 2, 54].*

observe this Injunction; for an Epistle of his is in *Ionic*. True indeed, *Pythagoras* did not observe it, as *Vizzanius* explains the Injunction; but as I have done it, he did observe it; for his *φωνή πατρίᾳ* Mother-Tongue was *Ionic*, he being a Native of *Samos*. Besides this, I might tell Mr. B. that the Epistle is spurious; so that every way this last Instance is worthy of his Wit and Learning.

There are yet one or two Cavils about this business of *Vizzanius*, which I cannot let pass without an Answer. He says,<sup>1)</sup> *The scarcity of Vizzanius's Book, and the probability of not being trac'd, encourag'd the Dr. to pillage from him: which is spoken with so much Sense and Truth; that the very contrary may be fairly concluded from't.* For how is his Edition so scarce, that has been twice printed within Fifty years,<sup>2)</sup> and may be purchas'd at a small value? And where could I expect to be more easily trac'd than here, if I had  
 388 really stolen from him? The Discovery that I thought I was the first Author of, was about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and would not any Person, that was minded to sift it, first of all look into the Editions of *Ocellus*? Certainly if I was disposed to be a Plagiary, I would steal with a little more discretion: and not pretend to tell News of *Ocellus*, out of the common Editions of him. And without question there was no improbability of my being trac'd: since it appears that the Examiner was able to trace me. But I had said, *If I may expect thanks for the Discovery, I dare engage to make out, that Ocellus wrote in Doric.* This by a Just and Candid Reader would be thought to imply, that I believ'd the Discovery scarce worthy of Thanks: but Mr. B. would not slip the opportunity of shewing his Good Nature and his Ability at Farce and Banter;<sup>3)</sup> so that he discovers in the Expression an extraordinary Air of Satisfaction. And yet this Air is not quite so discernible, as that of Mr. B's a little before; when having offer'd at a slight Correction of *Strabo*,<sup>4)</sup> *Ἀκράγας Γελῶν ἀποιχος*, for the vulgar Reading *Ἀκράγας Ἰώνων*; which *Casaubon* and *Cluverius*, who knew well enough that *Agrigentum* was a Colony of the *Geloans*, had let pass as an Error of the

1) P. 138.

2) [Bologna 1646. Amsterd. 1661].

3) P. 54.

4) [Strabo 272].

Author's, not of the Copyers; because in some other accounts of the *Sicilian Colonies*, as well as in this, that Author differs from all the rest: the Examiner, I say, admiring and pluming himself for that glorious Emendation, *I wonder*, says he,<sup>1)</sup> *how this escap'd the most learned and acute Casaubon's Observation*. Now here's an Air of suspicion, that these fine Epithets were sprinkled here upon *Casaubon*, to elevate some body the higher; and to hint to us, that he was *as learned and more acute than He?* But for my own part, I am so far from valuing my self upon a Discovery of *Ocellus's Doric*; that I have expung'd it out of this second Edition; though it was as really my own Discovery, as if no body had hit on't before me. Such a Discovery is but a business of Chance, or at the best of bare Industry; neither is there any Sagacity or Judgment required to it: and it has so little of Difficulty, that not only *Vizzanius*, but even the Editor of *Phalaris* might easily have stumbled on't.

I have run through the Examiner's Authorities, which he has produced on this head: let us now take a short view of his Reasonings. The result of what he has said about Poets that chang'd their Country Dialect, is this: *That they chose such a Dialect as was then in fashion,*<sup>2)</sup> *when they wrote. For there was a fashion in Dialects, and the chief of them had severally their course and period, in which they flourished.* Now I must frankly acknowledge, that let *Phalaris* or *Æsop*, or whoever you will, be spurious; this Reasoning is a genuine piece, and the Examiner's own: for it carries his peculiar Mark and Signature upon it, in that it proves directly against himself. For it's so far from being an account why *Phalaris* should use the Attic Dialect, that it's almost a Demonstration, that he would not have used it. Because in the time of the true *Phalaris* the Attic Dialect was not yet in fashion: there was no Attic Prose then, besides *Draco's* and *Solon's* Laws; and but one Piece or two in Verse. I had expresly urg'd this against the Epistles, *That Phalaris would not write Attic;*<sup>3)</sup> *especially since in those early Times, before Stage-Poetry,*<sup>390</sup> *and Philosophy, and History had made it famous over Greece,*

1) P. 51.

2) P. 42.

3) See here p. 311.

that *Dialect* was no more valued than any of the rest. Where it is not only intimated, that there was a *Fashion* of *Dialects*: but the very Causes are assign'd, that brought the *Attic* into Fashion. *Phalaris* therefore would never forsake his own native Tongue for the *Attic*, at a time when neither Stage-Poet, nor Philosopher, nor Historian had writ in't.

But the Examiner has come off worse, if possible, in his Account of Prose Writers; that exchang'd their Native *Dialect* for some other. For *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, though he was born in a *Doric* Country, yet lived in another: and in the Age of *Augustus*, when the *Attic* Idiom had been famous for *cccc* years. What's this then to *Phalaris's* case, who never stirr'd, that we know of, out of *Sicily*, and liv'd at a time, when the *Attics* were as unlearned as their Neighbours. We may apply the same, with a little allowance, to his other Prose Authors. But he should have instanc'd in familiar Epistles, never intended for publick View, such as *Phalaris's* are; and show'd that even in those cases men have deserted their own *Dialect*; and this had been something to the purpose. But he'll tell us, he has not been wanting here; for to come closer to the point, says he,<sup>1)</sup> we have a Letter of *Dion* of *Syracuse* to *Dionysius the Tyrant*, and a piece of one of *Dionysius's*, both preserv'd among *Plato's Epistles*; and written in such a *Dialect*, as if both Prince and Philosopher (to use the Dr's Phrase) had gone to School at *Athens*. Here he fancies, he was very smart upon me; but as it generally happens with him, he lashes himself. For, to use the Examiner's  
 391 Phrase, the *Philosopher* did really go to School at *Athens*, and liv'd with *Plato* and *Speusippus*: and though the *Prince* did not go to *Athens*, yet *Athens*, as I may say, went to him; for not *Plato* only, but several other Philosophers, were entertain'd by him at his Court in *Syracuse*.

But to shew Mr. B. what a difference there is between Poems, or Philosophical, or Historical Tracts, designed for the Public; and private Letters about Family Affairs, never intended to be sent abroad; and that an Argument about the *Dialect* must not be drawn from the one to the other; I'll give him an instance in one of his own List, *Epimenides*

1) P. 43.

the *Cretan*. Mr. B. would prove out of *St. Paul*, that this *Cretan's* Poems were not in *Doric*: but though his Argument fail'd him, I supplid him with a better, which plainly shews they were in *Ionic*. Neither will I upon account of this *Ionicism* impeach those Poems as supposititious: because in those days it was the fashionable Dialect for all *Epic* Poetry. For as *Hermogenes*<sup>1)</sup> observes, the *Ionic* is sweet and naturally Poetical, ποιητικὴ φύσει καὶ ἡδέϊα. But if Mr. B. should produce a private Letter of this *Epimenides*, not written in the *Cretan* Language, then the case would be quite alter'd; for the Letter I should tax as a Cheat, though I did not the Poem; and I have a great example to warrant me in't. *There's an Epistle goes abroad*, says *Laertius*,<sup>2)</sup> of *Epimenides* to *Solon*, about the Form of Government that *Minos* gave to the *Cretans*: but *Demetrius* the *Magnesian* endeavours to prove it spurious, because it is not written in the *Cretan* Dialect, but in the *Attic*. Mr. B. may see by this instance, that the Inference will not hold from Poems to Epistles. For I hope he'll allow this *Demetrius*<sup>392</sup> to be a competent Judge here. He was *Cicero's* Præceptor in Rhetoric, an Acquaintance of *Pomponius Atticus*, and an excellent Critic and Historian. And if He thought it an absurdity for a *Cretan* to write *Attic* Letters, though directed to an *Athenian*; how much more absurd may We think it in *Phalaris* a *Sicilian*, to write *Attic* Epistles to other *Sicilians*? There's another Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon*,<sup>3)</sup> which is truly in the *Cretan* or *Doric* Idiom; but for all that, I shall not believe it genuine. For one Forger may be more skillfull than another: and one of the most ignorant of them all is the mock *Sicilian Prince*.

## XIII.

BUT since Tyrants will not be confined by Laws; let us suppose, if you will, that our *Phalaris* might make use of the *Attic*, for no reason at all, but his own arbitrary humour and pleasure: yet we have still another Indictment against the credit of the Epistles.

<sup>1)</sup> *Hermog.* p. 315.

<sup>2)</sup> *Laert.* in *Epimen.* [I 10, 112].

<sup>3)</sup> *Laert.* [113].

For even the *Attic* of the true *Phalaris's* age is not there represented; but a more recent Idiom and Stile, that by the whole thread and colour of it betrays it self to be many Centuries younger than He. Every living Language, like the perspiring Bodies of living  
 393 Creatures, is in perpetual motion and alteration; some words go off, and become obsolete; others are taken in, and by degrees grow into common use; or the same word is inverted to a new sense and notion, which in tract of time makes as observable a change in the air and features of a Language, as Age makes in the lines and meen of a Face. All are sensible of this in their own native Tongues, where continual Use makes every man a Critic. For what *Englishman* does not think himself able, from the very turn and fashion of the Stile, to distinguish a fresh *English* composition from another a hundred years old? Now there are as real and sensible differences in the several ages of *Greek*; were there as many that could discern them. But very few are so versed and practised in that Language, as ever to arrive at that subtilty of Tast. And yet as few will be content to relish or dislike a thing, not by their own Sense, but by another man's Palate. So that should I affirm, That I know the novelty of these Epistles from the whole body and form of the work; none, perhapy would be convinced by it, but those that without ms, indication could discover it by themselves. I shall let that alone then, and point only at a few particular marks and moles in the Letters, which every one that pleases may know them by. In the very  
 394 first Epistle; ὧν ἐμοὶ προτρέπεις, which you accuse me of, is an innovation in language; for which the Ancients used προφέρεις. In the cxlii, among other Presents to a Bride, he sends θυγατέρας τέτταρας ὁμήλικας; which would anciently have signified *Daughters*: but he here means it of *Virgins* or *Maidens*;



as *Fille* and *Figlia* signifie in *French* and *Italian*: which is a most manifest token of a later *Greek*. Even *Tzetzēs*,<sup>1)</sup> when he tells the story out of this Epistle, interprets it *Maids*, *ὑεραπαίνας*. In the LXXVII, πολλοὶ παίδων ὄντες ἐρασταί, *many that are fond of their children*; for that is his sense of the words; which, of old, would have been taken for a *flagitious love of Boys*; as if he had said, πολλοὶ ὄντες παιδερασταί. They that will make the search, may find more of this sort; but I suppose these are sufficient to unmask the recent Sophist under the person of the old Tyrant.

WHAT the Examiner has been pleas'd to animadvert upon this Article, is comprehended under two Heads; his general Reflexion upon the Purity and Stability of the Greek Tongue, and his particular Exceptions to the Words, that I had mark'd out as Tokens of a Recent Writer.

In his general Harangue,<sup>2)</sup> he first spends a whole Page to inform us of a great piece of News, that our *English* Tongue has undergon very considerable Changes: then he asks me these pertinent Questions,<sup>3)</sup> *Do you take* 395 *the Greek of Lucian to be as different from that of Plato, as our English now is from that which was spoken soon after the Conquest? are not Homer and Oppian much nearer one another in their Language, than Chaucer and Cowley, though in time they are far more distant?* As if I had supposed, that the gradual Alteration of the Greek Language was as great in every Centrury while it lasted, as that of our *English* Tongue this last hundred years: whereas it's as plain, as words can make it, that I compar'd the Changes of the Greek during the whole Interval between the true *Phalaris* and the Sophist, which I call'd in a round number a *Thousand Years*, with the changes of our *English* in the last *Hundred*. Then he commences a formal and Sophistical Declamation about the *Reasons*,<sup>4)</sup> *that made the Greek*

1) *Chiliad. p. 196.* [V 915 p. 192 ed. Kiessl.]

2) *P. 69.*

3) *P. 70.*

4) *P. 70.*

*Language so fix'd and unalterable:* where he gives us some shining Metaphors, and a polish'd Period or two; but for the Matter of it, it is either some common and obvious Thought, dress'd and curl'd in the Beauish way; or some new Mistake, which now at last has its happy Birth from the fertil Genius of our Examiner. The Reader shall judge between us, whether I pay him in his own Coin, that is, misrepresent him; when he has consider'd what I shall now say.

The Accusation, that I brought against the Epistles, was this; *That the Author has writ them in the New and Recent Attic; not that which was in use in the Age of the true Phalaris; whom the Examiner himself owns to have been Contemporary with Solon.* So that if we can make any Discovery what the *Attic Language* was in *Solon's* time: 396 we may be sure that the true *Phalaris* would have spoken in the same way, had he a mind to have used that Dialect. There's an Oration ascribed to *Lysias*,<sup>1)</sup> against *Theomnestus*; which *Harpocration* once or twice questions if it be genuine: but whether it be *Lysias's* or not, it's all one to our present purpose: for we know the Time that it was made, and by that account it may well enough be *Lysias's*.<sup>2)</sup> That Orator died at Olymp. c, 2. or c, 3. and this Oration appears to be made three or four years before at Olymp. xcix, 4. For the Person, who speaks it, tells us; Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔτη εἰσὶ τριάκοντα· ἐξ ὅτου ὑμεῖς κατεληλύθατε, εἰκοστὸν τοῦτ'· φαίνομαι οὖν τρισκαίδεκέτης ὢν, ὅτε ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ τῶν Τριάκοντα ἀπέθνησκε. *I am now*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> xxx years old: and this is the xxth year, since you Athenians return'd hither: so that I was xiii years of Age, when my Father was kill'd by the Thirty Tyrants. This is the common Reading of that Passage; but if we examin it, it will be found to be a manifest Depravation. For the Thirty Tyrants began Olymp. xciv, 1.<sup>4)</sup> and in fear of them half of the *Athenians* forsook their Country: then at Olymp. xciv, 4. the Thirty were deposed, and those that had left *Athens* (κατεληλύθασιν)

1) *Lysias Κατὰ Θεομνήστου* [or. 10].  
in *Lysia*. [c. 12].

3) *Lys. p. 116.*

2) *Dionys. Halic.*  
4) *Diod. [XIII 3]*  
and others. [Bentley was misled here by Diodorus; see Clinton's *Fasti Hellen. from LV to CXXIV Ol. p. 84 sec. ed. — D.*]

return'd again. If the Person then, that spoke this Oration, was xxx years old in the xxth year after the return of the Athenians: he could not possibly be xiii years old, nor above x, when the Thirty Tyrants murder'd his Father. But the true Correction of this place may be had from the next Oration, which is called *The Second against Theomnestus*,<sup>1)</sup> but is really nothing else but the rough Draught of the other: where the Person's Age is thus set forth: Ἐγὼ ἔσμι μοι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. ἐξ οὗ δ' ἡμεῖς κατήλθετε, εἰκοστὸν τοῦτ'· φαίνομαι οὖν δωδεκαέτης ὢν, ὅτε ὁ πατήρ 397 ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθνησεν. I am now, says he, xxxii years of Age; and this is the xxth year since your Return: so that I was xii years old, when my Father was kill'd by the Thirty. Now this account is agreeable to History and Truth: for if the xxxii year of this person's Age was coincident with the xxth after the return of the Athenians: then his xii<sup>th</sup> falls upon the last year of the Thirty Tyrants; and in that we must suppose his Father was kill'd. So that in the other Oration, for ἔτη λ. we must read, ἔτη λβ. and ἰβέτης for ἰγέτης; for the numbers being thus written in numeral Letters were very liable to be mistaken. Upon the whole therefore, as I said before, this Oration must have been written at Olymp. xcix, 4. which is ccxiii years after the Archonship of Solon, when he made his Body of Laws. Now by the Laws of Athens, if a man call'd another Ἀνδροφόνον, a Murderer, it was penal: so that the Person, who speaks this Oration, brings an Action against Theomnestus, for saying, He had kill'd his Father, Τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτονέναι. The Defendant makes his Exception to the Indictment, because he did not call him Ἀνδροφόνον, which was the Word that was penal by Law. But the other replies, that the Sense and Meaning of the Laws was to be regarded, as well as the Words: For though Things, says he,<sup>2)</sup> continue the same; yet we do not use some of the same Words, that our Ancestors<sup>3)</sup> did. Let the Crier<sup>3)</sup> read some of the old Laws of Solon. ΔΕΔΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝ ΘΗ ΠΟΔΟΚΑΧΗ. Here what was Ποδοκάχη, the Stocks in Solon's time, is now called Τὸ ξύλον. ΕΠΕΓΓΑΙΝ ΕΠΙΟΡΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ

<sup>1)</sup> *Lys.* p. 119.  
§ 20].

<sup>2)</sup> *Lysias* p. 118. [§ 26].

<sup>3)</sup> *P.* 117

398 ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΔΕΔΙΟΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΔΡΑΣΚΑ-  
 ΖΕΙΝ. Here is Ἐπιορκεῖν to swear, which we now call Ὑμῶσαι;  
 and Δρασκάζειν to run away, which is now Ἀποδιδράσκειν.  
 ΟΣΤΙΣ ΑΠΙΛΛΗΘΙ ΘΥΡΑΙ. Here's Ἀπύλλειν to exclude,  
 for which we now say Ἀποκλείειν. ΤΟ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ ΣΤΑΣΙ-  
 ΜΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ. Here Στάσιμον does not signify, To weigh  
 Money in Scales, as we now use the word; but to let it out  
 at Use. ΟΣΑΙ ΠΕΦΑΣΜΕΝΩΣ ΠΩΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΗΟΣ.  
 Here Πεφασμένως signifies openly, which we now call Φανε-  
 ρῶς; and Πωλεῖσθαι is to walk, now Βαδίζειν; and Οἰκῆος  
 is a Servant, now Θεράπωντος: and there are many more  
 such as these. The ingenious Reader may please to observe  
 the last words of *Lysias*; <sup>1)</sup> That there are Many more such  
 as these: and then he will have a just apprehension of the  
 great change of the Attic Tongue between *Solon* and *Lysias*'s  
 time. Some of those words of *Solon* that our Orator has  
 produc'd here, are mention'd too by others: as *Ποδοχάκη*  
 is quoted from *Solon* by *Demosthenes*; <sup>2)</sup> and *Πεφασμένως*  
*πωλούνται* by *Plutarch*, <sup>3)</sup> which he interprets as *Lysias*  
 does, Ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσιν. And if a proportionable number  
 of such antiquated words do not occur in the other Frag-  
 ments of *Solon*'s Laws: the reason is, because the Writers  
 do not cite the very Words, but only express the Sense  
 of them. As when *Plutarch* <sup>4)</sup> relates the Law, That who-  
 ever Βιάσεται ravish'd a Free-Woman, should pay a Hundred  
 Drachms: We know from *Hesychius*, that the original word  
 of *Solon* was not Βιάσασθαι, but Βειεῖν. <sup>5)</sup> But in another  
 place, where he declares, that he cites the Law αὐτοῖς  
 ὀνόμασι, word for word, <sup>6)</sup> ΕΠΙ ΦΟΝΩΙ Η ΣΦΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ, we  
 do not fail to meet with the old obsolete Idiom, as Σφα-  
 γᾶσιν here for σφαγαῖς.

399 Now I suppose it's sufficiently plain from these Speci-  
 mens, that the Attic Dialect was not so very stable and  
 immutable, as the Examiner imagines. There were only  
 two Centuries betwixt *Solon* and *Lysias*: and the Alteration  
 seems to be almost as great, as what has happen'd in  
 our own Language within the same space. For as to the

<sup>1)</sup> Πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἐστίν.

*Timoc.* [XXIV 105 p. 733].

*Sol.* [ibid.]

<sup>5)</sup> *Hesych.* in *Βειεῖν*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Demost.* c.

<sup>3)</sup> *Plut.* *Solon*. [23].

<sup>4)</sup> *Plut.*

<sup>6)</sup> *Plut.* *Sol.* [19].

changes of entire Words, the Instances here alledg'd are a plain proof of it: and for the Orthography or way of Spelling, which is the principal variation of the Modern *English* from the Old; we should find as considerable a Difference between *Solon's* and *Lysias's* Spelling, if we had a sight of the Original *Κύρβεις* Tables of his Laws. For in *Solon's* time there were but XVIII Greek Letters<sup>1)</sup> in all, the rest being invented afterwards by *Epicharmus* and *Simonides*: and we are sure, that the whole XXIV were not in Public<sup>2)</sup> Use at *Athens* till the Archonship of *Euclides*, Olymp. xciv, 2. So that some of the words cited above by *Lysias* and *Plutarch* were by *Solon* spell'd thus: ΔΕΔΕ-ΣΤΗΑΙ· ΤΕΙ ΘΥΡΑΙ· ΠΗΟΝΟΙ Ε ΣΠΗΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ. Upon all accounts therefore the *Attic* was no more privileged from change than the other Languages of the World are. Nay, we may suppose, there was a greater change in it betwixt *Theseus* and *Solon*, than between *Solon* and *Lysias*: the former Interval being three times as long as the latter. For we know, that the *Attic* and *Ionic*<sup>3)</sup> were originally the very same Language; and yet afterwards we find them to differ exceedingly. I make no question, but the *Ionians*, who were *Attic* Colonies, had a gradual Change in their Dialect, as well as *Athens* their common Mother had. For *Herodotus*<sup>4)</sup> informs us, That the *Ionians* had four quite 400 different Idioms of Language: so that it's evident that They too had varied from the Ancient *Attic*. But yet it's pretty observable, that several of those antiquated words of *Solon's* are what we now call *Ionic*: as *Πωλοῦμαι* for *βαδίζω* is very frequent in *Homer*,<sup>5)</sup>

Οὐτέ ποτ' εἰς ἀγορὴν πωλέσκετο κυδιάνειραν.

And so *Οἰκῆς* for *θεράποντος* is doubly *Ionic*; both as to the whole Word, and as to the Termination of it, *ῆς* for *έως*: and this too is several times in *Homer*,

Ἐξ ὕπνου γούωσα φίλους οἰκῆς ἐγέροι. <sup>6)</sup>

And this illustrates, and is it self illustrated by *Dionysius*<sup>7)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> See here p. 241, 242.

<sup>2)</sup> See *Meursius Fort. Attic.*

p. 63. *Vales. Harpocrat.* p. 101.

<sup>3)</sup> See here p. 314.

<sup>4)</sup> *Herod. I 142. Χαρακτήρες γλώσσης τέσσαρες.* <sup>5)</sup> [A 490].

<sup>6)</sup> [E 413].

<sup>7)</sup> *Dionys. de Thucyd. p. 147. [c. 23,3]. Μικράς τινας διαφοράς.*

*Halicarn.* who asserts clearly and fully to our purpose, *That the Ancient Attic Dialect had but some small variations from the Ionic.* Now to apply this to the Epistles of *Phalaris*; I would crave leave to ask the Admirers of them, if the *Attic* Dialect there be after *Solon's* Example; as it would certainly be, if the Tyrant had writ them? Is the Formation of Nouns after *Solon's* Model, *Αἰσι* for *αις*, and *ηος* for *εως*? Are there any antiquated words there, as *πωλεῖσθαι*, *δρασκάζειν*, *πεφρασμένως*, &c? And yet the Sense of some of them occurs there, but express'd in a more recent way. Though if we consider what *Lysias* says, *That there were πολλὰ τοιαῦτα* MANY such in *Solon's* Laws; it must be own'd, that the True Epistles of *Phalaris* had been full of such Words, as perhaps would have puzzled a better Scholar (if there can be one) than the late Editor of the False ones.

401 The Examiner seems to take pains to perswade us, that the *Attic* Dialect was of such a fix'd and durable nature; that it's in vain to pretend to distinguish any different Ages of it. But the Greeks themselves were of another Opinion; if They may be allow'd in their own Language to be as knowing, as Mr. B. Some of them were so nice, as to distinguish a middle Age of that Dialect between the times of *Solon* and *Lysias*. *Dionysius Halicarn.* <sup>1)</sup> tells us, *That Lysias was the best Pattern of the Attic Tongue, not of that Ancient one, that Plato and Thucydides used, but of the Fashionable one in his own time.* So that here are three sorts of *Attic* specify'd within the compass of two Centuries: for I suppose it's plain, that *Thucydides's* Language is as different from that of *Solon's* Laws, as from that of *Lysias's* Orations. *Demetrius Magnes*, in the passage above cited, calls a pretended Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon* an Imposture, because it was written in the *Attic Tongue*, and even in the *New Attic*. <sup>2)</sup> Do but substitute the name of *Phalaris* instead of *Epimenides*; and 'tis exactly the same Indictment that I have made to the Epistles. All the three, *Epimenides*, *Solon* and *Phalaris* were Contemporaries; and if *Epimenides's* Letter was detected to

<sup>1)</sup> *Dionys. v. Lys.* [c. 2].    <sup>2)</sup> *Laert. in Epim.* [I 10, 112].  
Γεγραμμένην Ἀττικῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ταύτῃ νέῃ.

be a Cheat, because it was the New Attic; by the same rule we must discard *Phalaris's*: for *Demetrius* could know of no Newer Attic, than that of *Phalaris's* Epistles. Nay there's nothing more common in the Greek Writers than this distinction of the Old and New Attic;<sup>1)</sup> as may be seen in *Etymologicon* M. Eustathius, *Prolegom. ad Aristoph.* Syne-sius *de Insomniis*, &c. The Attic Language, says *Lucian*,<sup>2)</sup> has in tract of Time undergone many changes, but the word *Ἀποφρὰς* has had the luck to continue all along. So far was he from believing it so fix'd and enduring, as the Examiner dreams it was.

The Causes of the Changes in the Attic Language are 402 not so secret and abstruse, but that a Man of less Sagacity than Mr. B. might easily have found them out. For if we consider the great conflux of Strangers to that City; the vast numbers of Slaves from all Nations; and of Foreigners that settled there; the frequent Wars that they had abroad, and the Hired Troops that they often maintain'd at home; and their mighty Trade both in their own Port and all over Greece: we shall rather admire,<sup>3)</sup> that the Alterations in their Dialect were so few, than affirm with Mr. B. that there were none at all. In *Demetrius*<sup>4)</sup> *Phalereus's* time, at Olymp. cx. the Inhabitants of Attica were 21,000 Citizens, 10,000 Foreigners Naturaliz'd, and 400,000 Slaves. Now if there were above XIX Slaves and Strangers to one Citizen, as by this account it plainly appears; this Cause alone is more than sufficient to introduce a great Change in their Dialect.

But the ingenious M. B.<sup>5)</sup> tells us, *That the Empire of the Greeks did not a little contribute to the stability of their Language*; that is, as he afterwards expresses it; *to the keeping it entire and unmix'd*. Now I am of opinion, that if another man had been to name some of the Causes of the Change and Mixture of the Greek, or indeed of any other Tongue, he would have pitch'd upon Empire in the

1) Ἀρχαία καὶ Νέα Ἀτθίς.

2) *Lucian de Apoph.*

[Pseudol. 14]. Πολλὰ ἐκτροπῶντων. [ἐντροπῶν.]

3) Bentley

uses *admire* in the sense of *wonder*. Readers of Elizabethan literature will remember many instances of this peculiar confusion of the two words. — W.

4) *Athen. p. 272. [c.]*

5) P. 71.

first place. For even Common Sense will tell one, that if a Nation extends its Conquests over other Countries of a different Speech, and retain them in subjection by standing Armies and Garrisons, and by keeping all the Civil Power and Publick Offices in its own Hands; it may extinguish indeed by this means, the Ancient Language of  
 403 the Conquer'd; but its Own too must needs have a little mixture, and imbibe something from the Tongue that it destroys: as by pouring a great quantity of Water to a little Wine,

Ἀλώλεσας τὸν οἶνον, ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ,<sup>1)</sup>

you may quite destroy the Wine, but yet the Water will tast of the mixture. It is evident from the Laws of *Numa*, and the XII Tables, and the Inscription on the *Columna Duiliana*, compared with the Plays of *Terence*; that the Roman Language had a greater Change in the last c years between *Duilius* and *Terence*; than in the cccc between *Numa* and *Duilius*. And the true Reason of this was *Empire*; for before *Duilius*'s time in the first *Punic War* the Romans had got nothing beyond *Italy*: but in the following Century they carried their Eagles almost all over *Europe*. So that the vast Confluence of People from all the Provinces, the introducing of Foreign Artificers and Captive Slaves from every Quarter, and the Natives that return'd home from the Expeditions, made an Innovation of Language at *Rome* it self. And if *Alexander*'s Conquests in *Asia* had not altogether as great an effect upon the Greek Tongue; the Reason was, because the Empire was soon divided into so many Branches. But if *Alexander* had return'd out of *Asia*, and plac'd the Seat of his Empire in some City of *Greece*, and transmitted it entire to Posterity, the vast Crouds of those that would have come to Court from the furthest parts of the Monarchy, would have made the same Alteration of the Language there, as afterwards happen'd at *Rome*.

But Mr. B. is in great admiration at the Stability of  
 404 the Greek Tongue; *It was incomparably*, he says,<sup>2)</sup> *the most*

<sup>1)</sup> From the Cyclops of Aristias. Suid. v. Ἀλώλεσας. — D.  
<sup>2)</sup> P. 70.



*fix'd and enduring of any that we are generally acquainted with.* What Languages *We*, that is the Examiner and his Assistant, *are acquainted with*, I know not: and therefore I have nothing to say against this Proposition. But when he goes on, and tells us,<sup>1)</sup> *That no other Language, that has been of known and familiar use in the World, has been as durable as the Greek; and that it was absolutely the most Holding Tongue in the World;*<sup>2)</sup> the Examiner had better have *holden his Tongue*, than have talked so crudely and erroneously. For we are sure from the Names of Persons and Places, mention'd in Scripture before the Deluge, not to insist upon other Arguments, that the *Hebrew* was the Primitive Language of Mankind; and it continu'd pure for above 3000 years, till the Captivity into *Babylon*. Even from the Date of the *Mosaic Law* to the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, there's a distance of 900 Years: yet the Language of the two Writers is the very same.<sup>3)</sup> What can the Examiner shew like this, either for Continuance or Purity, in the Greek Tongue? I will mention one Language more, and that is the *Syriac*. The Holy Scripture informs us, that *Laban the Syrian*, when he made a League with his Son-in-law *Jacob*, call'd the heap of Stones, that after the Custom of those times was erected for a Memorial of it, *יגר שחרותא* *Igar Sahdutha*,<sup>4)</sup> *The heap of Witness*: which we are sure, from the *Syriac* Versions of the *Old and New Testament*, continued to be pure and *Vulgar Syriac* for 2000 Years: nay the very same Language is said to be preserv'd and spoken to this day by the *Maronites of Mount Libanus in Syria*; so that the *Syriac* has lasted for above 3400 Years with little or no variation.

The Examiner makes a mighty flourish about the *Sweetness, and Smoothness, and the Music of the Greek Tongue*;<sup>5)</sup> and assigns that as the reason of its lasting so long. But at that rate he must make another Speech about the *Sweetness and Smoothness* of the Eastern Tongues, since They lasted much longer. But the true reason of that long continuance both of *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, was be-

1) P. 71.      2) P. 73.      3) It is almost superfluous to add that these observations would not stand the test of modern criticism. — W.      4) *Genes. 31. 47.*      5) P. 70.

cause the Nations continued unmixt and separate from Strangers: and the Preservation of the Greek Language, though not in the same degree of Purity and Duration with the two other, is wholly owing to the same cause. For till the time of *Alexander*, the Wars and the Business of the Greeks were for the most part among one another, and not with foreign Nations. So that though the particular Dialects were perpetually chang'd and diversif'd by their mutual Conquests and Commerce, yet the same Language for the main continued still. But when the Roman Government was establish'd among them, immediately the Latin names of Offices, and Terms of Law, &c. overrun the old Greek Language; so that we have Dictionaries of Barbarous Words of *Greece*, almost as voluminous as those of the True ones.

Mr. B. avers,<sup>1)</sup> *That we have Greek Books writ by Authors at almost 2000 years distance, which disagree less in Phrase and manner of Speech, than any two English ones at 200 years distance:* But Mr. B. is not aware, that the Reason of this was not, because the same Phrases and Manner of Speech continued all that while in Civil and Popular use: but purely because the Later Writers would imitate the Old ones: as the Moderns now imitate *Cicero* and 406 *Virgil*. This is evident from the innumerable Greek Lexicons and Scholiasts, some yet preserv'd, but most of them lost; the Design of which was to explain the obsolete words in the Old Writers of Verse and Prose by such other Greek words as were then in use. For *Homer* and *Archilochus*, *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, were not thoroughly understood by the vulgar Greeks in *Oppian's* time, but only by the Learned. Nay even *Oppian* himself, who took the allow'd privilege of using antiquated Words (as among Us *Spencer* and *Milton* did, though a little more sparingly) could not be understood in his own Town, except by the Learned. And to shew farther, that it was Imitation only, that makes the Greek Books of different Ages so alike; that general manner of Speech call'd *Koinē Diálektos*, *The common Dialect*, which the Writers after *Alexander's* time commonly used, was never at any time or in any place

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 71.

the Popular Idiom: but perfectly a Language of the Learned, almost as the Latin is now. I say *almost*, because they did not tie themselves up so strictly to imitation; but that still their Style had some Leaven from the Age that each of them liv'd in. 'Tis the Felicity therefore of the Latin Tongue, that it's no longer in popular use; and it's more fitted upon that very account to be the Universal Language of Learning: because it's no longer liable to those Changes, to which living Languages are naturally obnoxious; but by being Dead, it's become Immortal. The Greek indeed would have done as well for that purpose: but there ought to be but One such Language, and the Latin has already got the Possession. As for our *English* Tongue, the great Alterations it has undergone in the two last Centuries are principally owing to that vast Stock <sup>407</sup> of Latin words which we have transplanted into our own Soil. Which being now in a manner exhausted, one may easily presage that it will not have such Changes in the two next Centuries. Nay it were no difficult contrivance, if the Publick had any regard to it, to make the *English* Tongue immutable; unless hereafter some Foreign Nation shall invade and over-run us.

I have now examin'd Mr. *B*'s general Reflexions upon the Stability of the Greek Tongue; which he has made so sinistrously, and with so very little Judgment, as if he aspired after the Character of *Homer's Margites*,

Ὅς μὲν ἐπίστατο πολλὰ, κακῶς δ' ἡπίστατο πάντα.<sup>1)</sup>

*who knew a great many things, but all of them wrong.* But let us see what Exceptions he has made to my particular Instances of *Phalaris's* recent Language.

I. The first that I had produc'd is out of the first Epistle, *προτρέπω, to accuse*; which Mr. *B.* perhaps believes he has answer'd in an Harangue of four Pages.<sup>2)</sup> But if I may be allow'd to speak freely, 'tis such miserable Chicanry, 'tis so much below even himself (*I complement him when I say so*;<sup>3)</sup> to return him his own Civility) that I cannot abuse my Reader's Patience in winnowing and sifting

<sup>1)</sup> [Plato Alcib. II. 147B].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 208, 209, 210, 211.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 54.

it, since the whole is nothing but Chaff. He had translated *προτρέπειν*, to exhort: but I observ'd, that in this place neither Sense nor Syntax would allow of that signification. As for the *Syntax*, he has not so much as offer'd any Example either Greek or Latin, where *προτρέπειν* in the sense of *Exhortation* admits a Dative Case after it, as it has here: Yet however he still contends, that the Sense  
 408 of the Passage will admit that meaning of the word. And to give him his just Commendation, he has taken the right way to put an end to any Dispute: for a man that talks at that rate resolves not to be confuted. If I say that Grass is green or Snow's white, I am still at the Courtesy of my Antagonist: for if he should rub his Forehead, and deny it, I do not see, by what Syllogism I could refute him. So if the Learned Examiner shall still insist upon't, that the Sense of the place is to exhort: I have nothing further to urge, but must leave him either to be laugh'd at, or pitied, or admired, as his Readers are disposed towards him.

I had observ'd, that the *Latin Version* of Phalaris, which is falsely ascribed to Cujacius (for both Original and Translation of this Book have the luck to be father'd upon wrong Authors) interprets *προτρέπειν* to accuse; so that Mr. B. might have learn'd from thence the true meaning of this Passage: but it so happen'd, that that Edition, though in the publick Library at Oxon, lay all the while conceal'd from our late Editor, that then lived there. Upon this Mr. B. commences a very heavy Charge against me; 'tis a greater blemish to me, he says, than want of Judgment; I'm a man of extraordinary Confidence,<sup>1)</sup> that can so boldly assert what it's impossible I should know; that would face him down, that he never saw, what he knows himself to have often seen and used: (that is, before he finish'd his Edition of *Phalaris*) and at last he avers, That indeed the Edition of Cujacius was one of those Printed Copies he meant in his Preface. Now this is a very tender Controversie, and I'm afraid the very softest handling of it will touch somebody  
 409 to the Quick. Honour and Reputation are nice things; and if once they happen to receive a Flaw, they are not

---

1) P. 212.

easily repair'd. I will not make my self an Arbitrator here, but the Reader shall judge between Mr. B. and Me. The words of his Preface are these;<sup>1)</sup> *There are two Versions of Phalaris, that I had before me; the one by Naogeorgus, publish'd in the year 1557; the other, as it seems, by a certain Jesuit, for the use of their Schools, in the year 1614. The Jesuit is pretty elegant in his Language, but he is too loose and diffuse: so that he always differs from the Style of the Author, and often from the Sense. There's a third Version too by Francis Aretine. Now I must own, that at that time, when I first publish'd my Dissertation I had not seen this Edition of the Jesuit, that Mr. B. here speaks of; and I believ'd it had a Translation peculiar to it. For I trusted to Mr. B's account, that the Jesuit had made it; and consequently, that it could not be the same with Cujacius's. I concluded therefore he had never seen Cujacius's Version: because he expresly says, he made use of Three only, that of Naogeorgus, and the Jesuit's, and Aretine's. And where now was my extraordinary Confidence, in saying he had not seen the Edition of Cujacius? and how was it impossible, that I should know it? I believ'd my Inference to be true and Logical, and I'll put it into the form of a Syllogism, that Mr. B. may examin whether it agree with His System of Logic.*

Mr. B. made use of Three Versions only, one made by Naogeorgus, another by a Jesuit, and a third by Aretine:

But Cujacius's Version was neither made by Naogeorgus, 410 nor by a Jesuit, nor by Aretine:

Therefore Mr. B. made no use of Cujacius's Version.

If it be such a Blemish to me, and such extraordinary Confidence, to pretend by virtue of this Syllogism, that Cujacius's Edition was then unknown to Mr. B; I shall have the worse opinion of all Books of Logic for't, not excepting Mr. B's own System. I had a small suspicion too besides, that the Editor had not seen that Edition in the Publick Library; because it is not enter'd in the Catalogue under the Title of *Phalaris*; but of *Epistolæ*, and

---

1) *Versiones duæ, altera à Naogeorgo edita An. 1557. Altera à quodam, ut videtur, Jesuita in usum Schol. Soc. Jes. 1614. Jesuita in dictione non inornatus est, sed laxus, &c.*

*Cujacius*. So that a Person that does not otherways know of that Edition, cannot find it in that Catalogue, unless by a great chance, or by reading it all over. I believed likewise, that Mr. B. had not seen the Edition of Aldus: because Aldus's Text is sometimes better than that which Mr. B. has follow'd. I had that opinion then of his Judgment; that I supposed he had not seen those things, because he did not give them the Preference: as indeed it was a third Argument to me, that he had not seen *Cujacius*'s, because he did not follow him in the true Translation of the word *προτρέπω*. Thus I reason'd at that time; but I am now sensible, that I argued weakly enough: for I have found by tedious Experience, that he can stumble upon things without seeing them, and see and handle things without understanding them.

The Reader has now a fair and ingenuous account on my part: let us see if Mr. B's have the same Characters of Candor and Veracity. He affirms with great Warmth and Vehemence, that he had (*præ manibus*) before him and  
 411 in his hands both the Edition of the Jesuit, and that of *Cujacius*: and he adds too,<sup>1)</sup> that the Version ascribed to *Cujacius* is exactly the same with that put out by the Jesuit. Which is very true, for the Jesuit only reprinted it. Give me leave now, without calling Mr. B's Honour in question, to argue a little for Dispute's sake, that notwithstanding his repeated Asseveration, yet he had not *Cujacius* by him. *Cujacius* was printed at Geneva in the year 1606. And the Jesuit's Edition, that Mr. B. used, was printed at Ingolstad, 1614. Now Mr. B. tells the world in his Preface, That the Jesuit made that Version; and the Jesuit, he says, is elegant in his Latin, but differs from the Style of the Original. But how could Mr. B. suppose, that the Jesuit made it at Ingolstad 1614; if he then knew that exactly the same Version was printed VIII years before at Geneva? If he had both the Books before his Hands, he could not possibly make such a horrible Blunder. Those that have a just esteem of his Wit and Sagacity, will never believe, no not upon his own word, that he could be guilty of such wretched Stupidity. There must needs be some

1) P. 212.

other way then for solving this difficulty, tho' I confess it's too hard for me. I refer it therefore to the Reader's Consideration; and if he find it gravels Him too, it may call a certain Verse to his Memory,

*Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab uno  
Disce omnes — — 1)*

II. Another word of a recent Stamp was *θυγάτηρ*, which in *Phaluris* signifies a *Maiden*: and I took that to be a manifest token of a later Greek: and that it might not be suspected, that I put a wrong meaning upon the <sup>412</sup> word, I observ'd, that even *Tzelzes* took it in the same sense that I do. But Mr. B. with the assistance of two Concordances, which shewed him the word *θυγάτηρ* in the Old and New Testament, has found out an Answer. For he says,<sup>2)</sup> that in *Prov. xxxi, 29. Πολλὰ θυγατέρες ἐκτήσαντο πλοῦτον, Many Daughters have got Riches; θυγατέρες* must mean *Women* or *Maidens*. Now the Original here is בָּנִי *Daughters*; and it's well known to any one, that ever perused the Septuagint, that they often translate word for word; though the Phrase that results from it, be against the Genius of the Greek Tongue. This has so fill'd that Version with Hebraisms, that one may affirm, *Demosthenes* himself could not have thoroughly<sup>3)</sup> understood it: and the Greek Fathers oftentimes mistook the sense of it for want of skill in the Hebrew. What does Mr. B. mean then by this Instance out of *Proverbs*? For if his *Sicilian Prince* have Hebraisms in his Style, here's a new Argument to shew him a cheat: and we must impeach him not only for Atticizing, but for Hebraizing too. But I'll leave Mr. B. to manage this new Topic: and go on to his instances from the New Testament; where our Saviour says to the Woman,<sup>4)</sup> *θάρασει θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε, Daughter, be of good comfort, thy Faith hath made thee whole.* Where Mr. B. supposes *θύγάτηρ* means not properly *Daughter*, but *Woman*. Now if we view this Argument on every side, we shall find it in all respects worthy of its Author. For

---

1) [Verg. Aen. II 65].                      2) P. 67.                      3) Once more, Dyce corrects thoroughly. See above p. CXL. — W.                      4) P. 67. Mat. ix. 22. Mark v, 34. Luke viii, 48.

were it true here, that *θύγατερ* means *Woman*, it would be another Hebraism or Syriasm: which instead of supporting *Phalaris's* credit, is enough to overthrow it. Nay were it a genuine Greek Phrase, this would still come very short of being a good Answer. For I accuse this Sophist of a Recent Style, much later than the Language of the true *Phalaris's* time: and Mr. B. in justification of him, brings a passage of the Evangelists, that come 30 Years after *Phalaris*. But if it will give him any satisfaction, I'll allow that the Sophist himself was as ancient as the Evangelists: no wonder then if the same use of the word *θυγάτηρ* should be found both in Him and Them. But yet I humbly conceive, it would not follow, that the Old *Phalaris* would use it so. But the worst of all is still behind, That *θύγατερ* in the *Gospels* does not signify *Woman*, but properly and strictly *Daughter*. For it was the common way in Conversation, not only in the *Eastern* Countries, but every where else, when Persons of Age and Authority spoke kindly to their Juniors, to say, *Son*, or, *Daughter*; and the others again used to say, *Father*, or, *Mother*: though there was no Kindred at all between them. So *Helena* in *Homer* calls *Telemachus*, *Son*:

Δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγὼ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι.<sup>1)</sup>

And her Husband *Menelaus* too accosts him in the same Language:

Ἀἴματος εἰς ἀγαθοῦ, φίλον τέκος, οἱ ἀγορεύεις.<sup>2)</sup>

On the contrary, *Euryalus*<sup>3)</sup> greets *Ulysses* with the title of *Father*:

Δεῦρ' ἄγε καὶ σὺ, ξεῖνε πάτερ, πείρησαι δέδλων.<sup>4)</sup>

And so *Bacchis* says to *Chremes* in *Terence*;

Asperum,  
Pater, hoc est; aliud lenius sodes vide.<sup>5)</sup>

There are other Instances innumerable of this custom in Conversation. Our Saviour therefore call'd the *Woman*<sup>414</sup> *Daughter*, as *Eli* said to *Samuel*, *My Son*. But must we infer from thence, that the words *Son* and *Daughter* may

<sup>1)</sup> [o 125].

<sup>2)</sup> [δ 611].

<sup>3)</sup> [properly *Laodamas*].

<sup>4)</sup> [δ 145].

<sup>5)</sup> [Haut. III 1, 49].



signify absolutely *Man* and *Woman*, as *θυγάτηρ* does in *Phalaris*? 'Tis an Inference that may become Mr. B. but if other Authors should follow his Fashion, it would sit but scurvily upon them. But he has another Invention yet in reserve; and it's best to make way for him; for he seems to be in a Rapture with it.<sup>1)</sup> 'Tis probable, he says, that in the more ancient MSS of *Phalaris* it was written contractedly *θερας*, which may be read either *θυγατέρας* or *θεραπαίνας*. And being full blown with the opinion of his wonderfull Acuteness in discovering this rare Expedient, He will ask, he says, an INSULTING Question; If our great Dealer in MSS did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he observ'd it, without owning it, where is his Sincerity? Why they are just where they were before this Question was put: and I dare warrant that neither of them are in danger of being hurt by't. For I deny that there's any such Abbreviation used in any Greek MSS, as *θερας* for *θεραπαίνας*. This the Examiner should have first prov'd, before he pretended to argue from it. But he'll never be able to do that, nor to produce one single Instance, no not out of all the MSS of the *Bodley*. For Abbreviations were never made use of, but in words that come frequently; so that both Labour and Room was saved by their repeated Contractions: as *πρ* was written for *πατήρ*, *ανος* for *άνθρωπος*; and in the old Copies of the Bible *θς*, *κς*, *χς* for *θεός*, *κύριος*, *χριστός*; because those words come in almost in<sup>2)</sup> every Verse. But if a Writer should abbreviate such words as *θεραπαίνας*, which scarce comes once in a whole Book, he would save himself but one moments La-<sup>415</sup>bour, and make his Copy unintelligible. 'Tis a mere Dream then of our Examiner, to think *θερας* may stand for *θεραπαίνας*: and 'tis just as if he should say, that *πρ* may stand for *πρηστήρ* or *ανος* for *άνθρίκος*. So seasonably has he put his *Insulting* Question; at a time, when he may think he comes very well off, if Himself be not insulted on.

III. Another Instance of Language, which the true *Phalaris* would not have used, was *παίδων έρασται*: for the

<sup>1)</sup> P. 67.

<sup>2)</sup> This *in* should perhaps be omitted, as a mere fault of the press. — W.

Sophist speaks of *Parents who love their own Children*; but in the old time those words had a lewd signification. But to this the Gentleman replies,<sup>1)</sup> that to Him the Argument seems to lie quite the other way. For in later times the words were Scandalous; so that a Sophist would not have put 'em in Phalaris's mouth, but in Phalaris's time the Expression might be innocent. True, a Sophist of Learning and Good Sense would have put proper words in the Tyrant's mouth: but this sorry Declamer, as he has committed many worse blunders, so he might be guilty of this. We may know his character from that wretched ignorance of History and Antiquity which he so often discovers: and 'tis a just punishment upon him to have such Translators and such Defenders. But let us see, how Mr. B. proves, that in the true Phalaris's time the words had an innocent meaning. When Phalaris, he says,<sup>2)</sup> would express the scandalous Love of Boys, he does not use this word, as later Authors do: for he calls Lycinus πόρνον ἐν παισὶ, but not παιδεραστήν. Here our Learned Examiner takes πόρνος ἐν παισὶ<sup>3)</sup> to be equivalent to παιδεραστής; and so indeed his Translation expresses it, *Cum pueris scortatorem esse*. But his Assistant  
 416 methinks might have taught him better, that Πόρνος is not Scortator, but Scortum, Cinædus. Had he ever read *Æschines's* Oration against *Timarchus*, he would have met with a Dozen instances: and indeed it's never taken in any other Sense. The true Version therefore of πόρνον ἐν παισὶ is *Inter pueros Cinædum, A Catamite, when you was a Boy*. So that this Argument, instead of shewing that the Sophist would put proper words in Phalaris's mouth, has only shewn, that a late Editor puts improper words in the Sophist's mouth.

To convince Mr. B. that παιδεραστής had no innocent meaning, even so early as Phalaris's time; *Solon* a Contemporary of the Tyrant's, forbad it by Law to all Servants. He made a Law, says *Plutarch*,<sup>4)</sup> Δούλον μὴ ξηραλοιφεῖν, μηδὲ παιδεραστεῖν, That Servants should not love Boys. And that the vile Practice of it was in *Sicily* then, as well as in *Athens*; Mr. B. who believes the Epistles genuine, may be

<sup>1)</sup> P. 65.  
*Solone* [1].

<sup>2)</sup> P. 65.

<sup>3)</sup> Ep. iv.

<sup>4)</sup> *Plut.*

satisfied from the *iv*, which we have newly cited: for if *Lycinus* was *πόρνος*, there was somebody else *παιδευαστής*. And they that have a lower opinion of those Epistles, may be convinc'd of it by another token; because *Chariton* and *Melanippus*, two *Agrirentines* and Conspirators against *Phalaris*, are infamous for *παιδευαστία*: though the Devils Oracle celebrated them for it,<sup>1)</sup>

*Εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφν,  
θείας ἡγητῆρες ἐφημερίοις φιλότιτος.*

But Mr. *B.* further objects, That *Παίδων ἐρασταὶ* and *Παιδευασταὶ* sound very differently.<sup>2)</sup> Musically argued indeed! there's a very *sounding* Syllable *ων*, that makes them differ extremely. But we'll allow Mr. *B.* to be a good Judge of *Sounds*; if he'll allow others to be tolerable Judges of *Sense*: and in That the words are so exactly alike, that the nicest Writers never thought of distinguishing them. *Æschines*<sup>3)</sup> therefore, when he speaks of the same Law of *Solon*, does not use *παιδευαστεῖν*, as *Plutarch* does, but *παιδὸς ἐρᾶν*: and even *Plutarch*<sup>4)</sup> himself in another place expresses it so, *Δούλοισ ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων παιδων ἀπειπε*. Let them sound then never so differently, they are equivalent we see in signification.

Mr. *B.* concludes this point with what he thinks to be his strongest defense;<sup>5)</sup> That *παιδευαστής* is used in *Plato* in a *virtuous Sense*. True perhaps; but let us see how he proves it. Why, he brings a Passage out of *Plato's Symposium*, *Πάντως ὁ τοιοῦτος παιδευαστής τε καὶ φιλεραστής γίγνεται*. But Mr. *B.* has once shown us already,<sup>6)</sup> how very skillfull he is in *Plato's* Writings; and his second Essay upon them does not degenerate from his first. The matter lies thus: The subject of that Dialogue of *Plato's* is an *Encomium of Love*; and each of the Guests makes a set Speech in its Commendation. But we must not suppose that all the Speeches are Philosophical, and becoming the mouth of *Socrates* or *Plato* himself; but they are suited to the Characters of the several Persons that speak them. Some of

<sup>1)</sup> See *Athenæus*, [602c] *Ælian*, [var. hist. II 4] *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* <sup>3)</sup> *P. 65.* <sup>3)</sup> *Æschin. c. Timarchum.*

[§ 138] *Δούλον ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς μὴ ἐρᾶν.*

*Ἐρωτικῷ* [4 p. 12].

<sup>5)</sup> *P. 66.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Plut. in* <sup>6)</sup> See here p. 279.

them therefore are lewd enough, according to the company. For even *Agatho* himself, the Master of the Feast, was a Catamite; as appears by the Dialogue it self, and by the old Comedians and others. Among the rest then, *Aristophanes* the Comic Poet is introduc'd making an Oration about Love. And he tells a long Fable, that at first Mankind were all made double, with two Heads, four Arms, four Legs, &c. and there were three sorts of them, some were  
 418 double Men, some double Women, and some Hermaphrodites. Afterwards upon some offense they had committed, *Jupiter* split them all into Two's: from whence arises now in Mankind that natural Desire of some Companion, as his other Half to perfect his Being; and even all the Varieties of that Desire proceed from the same cause. For of those that in the former State were Hermaphrodites, the Male Half still desires the Woman, and all such are now Lovers of Women and Adulterers: and the Female Half desires the Man; and such are Lovers of Men and Adulteresses. But of those that in the original State were double Men, both the Halves now are Lovers of Males; so that when young, they are Catamites; and when grown up, they are *παιδερασταί*, Lovers of Boys: and of those that were double Women, both are now *ἐτραυλότριαι*, Women Lovers of Women. This is the Substance of *Aristophanes's* Speech; and as it's observ'd by some of the Ancients, that *Plato* in his *Symposion* makes *Aristophanes* have a drunken Hiccough; taking that revenge upon the Poet for abusing his Master *Socrates*: So I am persuaded, that from the same Motive he has put such a Speech in that Poet's Mouth, as shews him to be, what he really was, a very debauch'd Fellow. And is not Mr. *B.* now a man of wonderful Judgment, to produce a passage out of this Speech of *Aristophanes*, as an instance that *παιδεραστής* has a virtuous Sense? What sort of Sense was in himself then, I leave  
 • others to judge. For if the *παιδερασταί* there has an innocent meaning; by the same rule the *μοιχοί*, and *μοιχεύτριαι*, and *ἐτραυλότριαι*, must be harmless names too: which per-  
 419 haps Mr. *B.* will not be willing to affirm. But he says,<sup>1)</sup> That the Speaker himself professes afterwards, that he meant

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 66.

*not those words of a lascivious Love:* which is just after his usual way, to defend one Error by another. For the very words that he cites there prove the contrary to what he draws from them. *Aristophanes*, to make the Fable he had told look probable, describes some instances of such vehement Lovers, that the one cannot live at ease one moment out of the other's Company. In which cases, says he, the Pleasure of Venery does not seem a competent cause of it; but the true reason is, that every such Couple were the Numerical Halves, that made up one compleat Person in the former State: whereby they have such a natural Propension to one another, that, if it were possible, they would be one Body again. Is it not evident here now, that a *lascivious Love* is supposed; only it is not allow'd as an adequate cause? Read but *Aristophanes's* own Plays, and the Character that's given of him in this very *Symposion*,<sup>1)</sup> and then say, if his Meaning can be so chaste here.

We have seen now what a rare Commentator upon *Plato* our Learned Examiner is, and *I shall leave him to be scourg'd*,<sup>2)</sup> not only by the *Platonists*, as he did Me, but by every one that understands good Sense and Decorum. But yet after all, I am far from asserting that *παιδεραστῆς* and *παιδικά* are never innocently meant in *Plato* and other Socratical Writers. For the word was used by them metaphorically; and though it had better been let alone, and no Scandal been given by it, yet in it self the Metaphor was proper and just. For a Philosopher may be said to be the true *Παιδων ἐραστῆς* in opposition to the others: since what They admire in Beauty out of impure Lust,<sup>420</sup> He loves and reverences as an Image of the Divine Beauty. But even This is a certain Argument, that *Παιδων ἐρασταὶ* could not in those Ages signifie *Lovers of their OWN Children* (as it does in *Phalaris's* Epistles), no not metaphorically. Because there was nothing to take such a Metaphor from: for, though Sodomy was an Epidemical Vice in those unhappy Ages of the World: yet the Abomination of a Father with his own Son, such a horrid mixture of Sodomy and Incest, was never spoken of even then, nor had any

1) Ἀριστοφάνης, ὃ περὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην πᾶσα [ἡ] διατριβή. [Sympos. 177 E]. 2) P. 66.

Name. Nay, though we should suppose, that such a complicate Wickedness had been practised among them; yet the Name would have been even then accounted too foul and abominable, to be employed for a modest Metaphor.

IV. Mr. *B.* has had the Privilege of committing a great number of Mistakes; and upon a review, I do not find he has yet made out, that I have writ one single word amiss; except where by a small slip of the Memory *Buda* was put for *Belgrade*. Four hundred Pages then have been all spent in refuting his Abuses and Errors; a very great exercise both of Patience and good Nature. For a Recompense of all which tedious Labour, I desire but one small favour of him, *That he'll give Me leave to make the next Mistake*: I'll promise him it shall be no shamefull one, and it shall be the only time I'll trouble him in this way, in all the Controversie that I have with him. Among the Words that I believ'd had an innovated Sense in the Epistles of *Phalaris*, there were *Προδίδωμι* to give before hand, and *Διώχω* to follow as a Friend, not  
 421 as a Pursuer. I could not call to mind at that time any old Writer, that had used them so: and the Press staying for more Copy (for the whole Dissertation was carried thither Leaf by Leaf, while the Ink was scarce dry on them) I had no leisure to make any search. I will freely own therefore to Mr. *B.* that my Memory, which is none of the best, deceiv'd me here. For I had formerly read those very Passages, that he produces; and when I read them, I understood them in the same Meaning, that he does; though at that time they were quite out of my mind.

But though I was mistaken by a deceitful Memory; yet the Glory, that Mr. *B.* acquires by correcting the Error, is too light, to be put in the balance against his Faults. Though I shall not go about to make it less; but give Him and his Admirers leave to magnify it as much as they can. He has told me,<sup>1)</sup> *That I expose my self to be corrected by every one, that can turn an Index or a Lexicon.* And to explain himself he adds in his Margin this passage of *Quintilian*;<sup>2)</sup> which serves for no other purpose there,

1) *P. 68.* 2) *Quint. x, I [57]. Nec sane quisquam est tam procul a cognitione eorum remotus, ut non Indicem certe ex Bibliotheca sumptum transferre in Libros suos possit.*

but to shew he understood it not. For *Quintilian* does not speak of such *Index's* as Books have now-a-days: but after he had nam'd several of the Greek Poets, *Homer*, *Antimachus*, *Euphorion*, &c. *I pass over the Names of the rest*, says he, *for there's no body so destitute of the means of knowing them, but he may copy the Catalogue of them out of a Library.* This shews us, that in those days too, the Libraries had Catalogues of the Books belonging to them; but what Relation has that to *Lexicon's* and our Modern *Index's*? Mr. B. presently excuses himself for the *Multitude of Quotations*, that fill the Margin of that *Odd Work of his*.<sup>422</sup> And indeed after such a Citation from *Quintilian*, it was very seasonable to beg that pardon, though upon another account than He was aware of. But to forgive our Examiner this Blunder, 'tis very true what he says, *that a Man that can turn an Index or a Lexicon might easily correct those mistakes of mine.* For those significations of *διῶξαι* and *προδίδωμι*, which I had then forgot, are taken notice of in the *Greek Concordances* and *Constantine's Lexicon*.<sup>1)</sup> Mr. B. then has taught the World nothing, nor improv'd Learning in any sort; for the Things were known, we see, a hundred years ago. And it's pretty remarkable, that after all the Clamour of the Examiner, and some inferior Tools that have seconded him, *That I know nothing but out of Index's and Lexicons*;<sup>2)</sup> yet the Only Mistake, that their united Learning could convict me of, had been avoided, if I really were such a Turner of *Index's* and *Lexicons*.

A Mistake through mere Forgetfulness, and but once or very seldom committed, has been always esteem'd one of the Best sort, and to leave the least Blemish upon the Author. For if That were enough to disgrace a Writer, no body could escape the Infamy, except those that were inspir'd. If I do not make false Judgments of Things, and if I reason truly from Premises: for a bare Error of the Memory I shall not be solicitous, but fairly trust my

1) Roberti Constantini lexicon Graeco-Latinum. Genev. 1592. fol. — R. The first edition was Basle 1562; see Hallam II 14. — W. 2) *Virum in volvendis lexicis satis diligentem.* [From the Preface to Alsop's *Fabularum Aesopicarum Delectus*: see Introđ. p. XII. — W.]

Reputation to the present Age and Posterity. Whatever the World shall think of my Performances, I shall acquiesce in the Censure. As I do not write Books for Fame; so I am not concern'd about the Reception they shall meet with:

433

——— *Valeat res Ludicra, si me*

*Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.*<sup>1)</sup>

However, when I consider what the Things are, that among the best Judges raise or depress the Character of a Man of Letters; I had much rather be found guilty of forgetting those unusual Significations of *προδιδωμι* and *διώχω*, than of managing the Matter as Mr. B. has done. For of Eight Examples, that he has brought of the latter of those words, Six are nothing to the purpose. The thing that I had said was this; That *διώχω* then only signify'd to *pursue*; when that which fled, fear'd and shun'd the Pursuer: as where *Achilles* pursues *Hector* in *Homer*;

*Τῇ ῥα παραδραμέτην, φεύγων, ὃ δ' ὀπίσθε διώκων.*

*Πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, διώκε δέ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων.*<sup>2)</sup>

And Mr. B. in refutation of this has produc'd Six Instances, where *διώχω* does not at all mean to *pursue*, but in a metaphorical sense to *desire*, to *court*, to *seek*. And what are all these to the Point? I spoke of that Sense of *διώχω*, when it signifies to *pursue*. 'Twas the very Supposition, that it had the meaning of *Pursuing*; which Notion, when it belong'd to it, was accompany'd, as I then thought, with another of *being shun'd*. As for the figurative Sense of *desiring* and *seeking*, That I had not forgot; for 'tis the most common acceptance of it. The only true way then to answer me, was to bring an Instance, where it means a *Pursuit*, but yet without being *shun'd*; as when one Friend *pursues* or *follows after* another. And I own that Two of his Instances plainly prove this; but the other Six, that are all Metaphor, among which are those out of Scripture, are not at all pertinent to the business: and  
434 they are a greater Evidence of His bad Judgment, than Mine are of My bad Memory.

Mr. B. makes a mighty out-cry,<sup>3)</sup> as if my forgetting

<sup>1)</sup> [Hor. Epist. II 1, 180].

<sup>2)</sup> [X 157].

<sup>3)</sup> P. 62, 63.



a Greek word in the *Septuagint* or the *New Testament*, was to subvert the Authority of them; and he has an *Enquiry* to make of me, *Whether I think my Philosophical Lectures serve more to the establishment of Religion, than my Criticisms do to overthrow it?*<sup>1)</sup> The Gentleman has told us, what disposition he's of; for he thinks *Ridicule the most diverting thing in the World.*<sup>2)</sup> But I humbly conceive, that he had better employ his Talent at *Grimace* and *Banter* upon other occasions, than where the Scripture is concern'd. For it shews no great reverence to those Sacred Writings, to bring them, though it be but as Accessaries, into Farce and Ridicule. And perhaps it's no great Discretion in him to cast such an oblique slur upon my *Lectures against Atheism*. They were preach'd upon an Establishment of the Great and Good Mr *Boyle*, to whom this Gentleman has the honour to be related; and though they are much below what I could wish them, and what the Subject of them deserves; yet the World has receiv'd them favourably, and they are translated into more Languages than one. He had better therefore have omitted this little Affront upon those Sermons; lest the Readers calling to mind the Founder of that Lecture, should be invited to make a Comparison between Him and another of his Name.

The most excellent Bishop *Pearson* had design'd a new Edition of *Ignatius's* Epistles with an ample Commentary: a specimen of which Posthumous Work has been publish'd by the Learned Dr. *Smith*; and the whole is earnestly expected from him. For though it has not pass'd the last <sup>425</sup> Hand of the Author; yet it's every way worthy of him, and the very Dust of His Writings is Gold. In that publish'd Specimen there is this Annotation upon the words of *Ignatius*, ΤΟΝ ΥΜΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΖΑΝΤΑ. *Vox Paulina*, ex 2 Tim. 3. 15. Τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν. Quæ te possunt sapientem reddere. Neque ante eum vox activa eo sensu reperitur cum accusativo Personæ. Where the Bishop positively affirms, That *Σοφίζειν* in the acceptation of making wise is a word of St. Paul's framing: for before Him no body used it in that Sense. But in this his Memory deceiv'd him; for, as Dr. *Smith* observ'd to me, there is the very

---

1) P. 67, 68.

2) P. 285.

same Use of the word in *Psalm* XVIII, 8. *Ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου πιστή, σοφίζουσα νῆψα*; and *Psalm* CIV, 22. *Καὶ τοὺς προεβγνέτους αὐτοῦ σοφίσαι*. What shall we say now to this? for the Bishop's case is exactly Mine. His Lordship had forgot one word in the *Bible*, and I had forgot another. Will the Examiner insult upon that Great Man, as he has done upon Me? I will only change the Persons, and we'll see how his *Insulting* and *Grimace* becomes him. The Bishop avers that St. Paul is the First, that uses *Σοφίζεν* for making wise. What shall we do then for the Septuagint?<sup>1)</sup> At this rate that Translation must come after St. Paul: So that the Writings that carry their Names must be 600 years younger than we Christians suppose 'em. And that Version ascribed to the LXX cannot be an ancient Work, but was penn'd by some recent Sophist. What shall we say to this? Shall we allow Bishop Pearson to be a scurvy Critic, or shall we in Tenderness to his Honour give up our Greek Bibles? Perhaps the Bishop may for this once be mistaken; but I have  
426 one Enquiry more<sup>2)</sup> to make of him on this occasion, and that is this, Whether he thinks his Exposition of the Creed serves more to the Establishment of Religion, than his Criticisms do to overthrow it? For is he not positive, that *Σοφίζεν* in that sense was first used by St. Paul? And is not the very same Word in the same Sense to be met with twice in the Septuagint? Should not so profound a Grecian and Divine, as He is, have look'd a little into the Old Testament, before he had pronounc'd such rash and groundless Assertions? Could men imagin One  
281 who writes at this rate, to have any Meaning, they would think he had a very ill one: but the whole management of his Controversies clears him from all suspicions of Meaning and Design. These are the very words of Mr. B. only the Bishop and his Writings are substituted for Me and Mine: not that I make any Comparison of my poor Papers with that Great Man's incomparable Works: but I would shew, that Mr. B's Argument holds alike against us Both. And Mr. B. must needs acknowledge now, that I have One good Page<sup>3)</sup> in This Edition of my Dissertation, as well as I had in the Former: for being his Own, I think I know his humor so well, that he cannot but be pleased with it.

1) P. 60.  
 282

2) P. 67. 382 3) Pref.

But to put an end to this Article. The only thing that Mr. B. has said well upon this Head, is about the meaning of Two words: which may prove indeed, that I was mistaken; but it does not at all defend his *Phalaris*. For of the Five words, that I instanc'd in, the greater Part do still keep their Ground: and if Two Strings be broken, here are Three yet left, that will hold as strongly as all the Five. If the *Sicilian Prince* therefore has no better a Champion, than Mr. B. is; his Case will still appear to be desperate. For the wild Question that the Examiner puts to me; *How do you know, but those Words might be in use in Phalaris's time, and be drop'd afterwards when the Learned Age came on, and be reviv'd again, as that declin'd?*<sup>1)</sup> though it deserve no answer, yet it has one. For we know from the Laws of *Solon*, who was *Phalaris's* contemporary, that the Language of the Epistles was not the Language of that Time. Nay though we had not those Remains of *Solon's* to shew, Mr. B's Suppositions would still be very infirm ones. For here are Three Revolutions of the same words, *Used, Drop'd, Reviv'd*, that are all precariously suppos'd without any manner of Proof. A way of Argumentation that some *Young Writers*<sup>2)</sup> may make a Dust with; but then their Works will hardly live to be Old ones.

## XIV.

BUT should we connive at his using the *Attic* Dialect, and say not a word of those flaws and innovations in his Stile; yet there is one thing still, that, I fear, will more difficultly be forgiven him; that is, a very slippery way in telling of Money. This is a tender point, and will make every body shy and cautious of entertaining him. In the LXXXV Epistle he talks of a *Hundred Talents*, *τάλαντα ἑκατόν*; of Fifteen more, in the CXVIII; Eight, in the CXXXVII; Seven, in the CIV; Five, in the CXLIII; and Three in the XCV. These affairs being transacted in the

---

1) P. 61.

2) *Præf.*

middle of *Sicily*, and all the persons concerned being natives and inhabitants there; who would not be ready to conclude, that he meant the *Talent* of the Country? since he gives not the least hint of his meaning a foreign Summ. If a bargain were made in *England*, to pay so many Pounds or Marks, and the party should pretend at last that he meant *Scots* Marks, or *French* Livres: few, I suppose, would care to have Dealings with him. Now this is the very case in so many of these Letters. In the LXXth indeed he is more punctual with *Polyclitus* his Physician; for he speaks expresly of *Attic* Money, *Μοριάδας Ἀττικὰς πέντε*, 50,000 *Attic* Drachms. But this is so far from excusing him, that it is a plain condemnation out of his own mouth. For if it was necessary to tell *Polyclitus*, that he meant the *Attic* Money, and not the *Sicilian*; why had he not the same caution and ingenuity towards all the rest? We are to know, That in *Sicily*, as in most other Countries, the Name and Value of their Coins, and the way of reckoning by Summs, were peculiar. The Summ *Talent*, in the *Sicilian* Account, contained no more in Specie than Three *Attic* Drachms, or *Roman* Denares; as plainly 429 appears from *Aristotle*,<sup>1)</sup> in his now lost Treatise of the *Sicilian* Governments. And the words of *Festus* are most express, *There are several sorts of Talents: the Attic contains 6000 Denares, the Syracusan 3 Denares.*<sup>2)</sup> What an immense difference! One *Attic* Talent had the real value of Two Thousand *Sicilian* Talents. Now, in all these Epistles the very Circumstances assure us, that by the word *Talent* simply named, the *Attic* Talent is understood. But should not our wise Sophist have known, that a *Talent*,

1) *Pollux, lib. ix. c. 6. [87].*  
*genus: Atticum est sex millium denarium, Syracusanum trium denarium.*

2) *Talentorum non unum genus: Atticum est sex millium denarium, Syracusanum trium denarium.*

in that Country where he had laid the Scene of his Letters, was quite another thing? Without question, if the true *Phalaris* had penn'd them, he would have reckon'd these Summs by the *Sicilian Talents*, encreasing only the Number: Or should he have made use of the *Attic Account*, he would always have given express notice of it; never saying *τάλαντον* alone, without the addition of *Ἀττικόν*.

THE Examiner enters upon this Article with such an Air of Satisfaction, as carries in it an Assurance of Victory. *If the Dr. says he, can make this out, I promise to renounce the whole Set of Epistles.*<sup>1)</sup> Now here's fair encouragement for me to take pains; since if I can carry this Single Point, I shall have the honour of making by it so Illustrious a Proselyte. But if we consider that extraordinary Zeal, <sup>430</sup> that he shews all along for his *Sicilian Prince*; we may look upon This as a *Defiance* rather than a *Promise*. Nay I am inform'd, that this Part in particular is by some others, as well as by himself, believ'd to be unanswerable; nay that some have proceeded so far in its Commendation, as to suspect that it was not written by the same Hand, that made the rest of the Book. But I shall do the Examiner that piece of service, to clear him of that hard Censure upon account of this admired Chapter; for I will prove it's no better than the rest of the Performance; but every Paragraph in't either Mistake or false Reasoning, from beginning to end.

Before he comes to the business it self, he will shew us how captious he can be, and how expert at Chicanry. He would ridicule my Comparison of the *Sicilian Talent* in *Phalaris* to the *Scots Marks* and *French Livres*. For the Case, he says,<sup>2)</sup> is just contrary. Now the ground of my Comparison was this: By the spurious *Phalaris* the Reader is made at first to believe, that great Summs of Money are expended, Ten Talents and a Hundred Talents: but when he comes to look narrowly into the matter, he finds he's deceived; for the

---

1) P. 73.

2) P. 74.

*Sicilian* Talent must be intended, if he be the true *Phalaris*; and by that means the account will fall and dwindle from a Hundred Pounds Sterling to a single Shilling. Let the Reader be judge now, if the comparison was not just. But he asks me, *What cloudy Author had I been conversing with, that could give this perverse turn to my Imagination?* If conversation with a cloudy Author would necessarily confound  
 431 a man's head; Mr. B. might be secure, for his Book could never be answer'd. But I hope, that notwithstanding that dangerous *Conversation*, that I have had with it for some time, I can yet be able to *clear up* all the puzzling and perplex'd Stuff, that he has brought or can bring against me.

But first it may not be improper, for the satisfaction of such as read not *Phalaris's* Epistles, to shew the *Attic* Talent must be meant there, value 180 *l. English*; not the *Sicilian* Talent, which is no more than Five Groats. I suppose here, as I did above,<sup>1)</sup> that the *Attic* Pound weight of XII Ounces is equal to an *English* one: so that a *Mina* weighing XII Ounces of Silver may be reckon'd equal to three Pounds Sterling. There's no need of greater exactness in our present Calculations. Now the Tyrant is introduc'd complaining, that the *Catanians*<sup>2)</sup> by an Incursion into his Territories had plunder'd him of VII Talents; which if they be supposed *Attic* Talents, make 1260 *l. Sterling*; but if *Sicilian*, but 12 *s. 7 d.* too small a Summ for a *Prince* to be concern'd at. In another place,<sup>3)</sup> out of great Liberality he gives V Talents for a Lady's Portion; which in *Attic* is 900 *l. Sterling*; but in *Sicilian*, 9 *s.* too small a Fortune for a Lady of her Quality. There are more instances of this sort; and in several places too he names *δραχμαί*, *Drachms*, which were no *Sicilian* Money.

Mr. B. begins with an attack against the Credit of my Witnesses, *Pollux*, *Festus*, and *Aristotle*.<sup>4)</sup> And first he cavils at my calling *Aristotle's* Book a Treatise of the *Sicilian Governments*. He owns *Aristotle* wrote an account of the Governments of the *Sicilian Cities* (as the *Πολιτεία Συρακουσίων*, *Ἱεραίων*, *Ἀκραγαντινίων*, *Γελώνων*, &c.) but it

<sup>1)</sup> See here p. 360.

<sup>2)</sup> Ep. 104.

<sup>3)</sup> Ep. 143.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 75, 76.

does not appear that the Book bore such a Title. But if that <sup>432</sup> do not appear, something else plainly does, That Mr. B. was in great want of Arguments, when he descended to such trifling Exceptions. Among which I must reckon what he says against the Authority of *Pollux*; That one of *Seberus's* MSS wanted those Pages whence this Passage is cited: so that there's room to doubt, whether it be genuine.<sup>1)</sup> But it was extant in the MS from which *Aldus* first printed the Book; and in a MS of the late *Is. Vossius's*, a Transcript of which I have by me; and in the *Palatine* MS used by *Salmasius*.<sup>2)</sup> The same *Seberus* informs us, that one of his MSS wanted all the *iv* last Books, and two of them wanted *viii*: will Mr. B. therefore discard all those, and leave us Two only of the Ten? And is it not something like a Riddle, that so small a hole will make room for him to doubt, if *Pollux's* passage be genuine: and yet no room is wide enough to let him doubt, if his *Phalaris* be genuine?

But allowing the Passage to be *Pollux's* own; yet we are told there, he says,<sup>3)</sup> that a Sicilian Talent is equal to *xii* Νοῦμμοι, and a Νοῦμμος equal to three Ὀμόλια; which Ὀμόλια is a corrupted word, and must be help'd out by a Correction: so that all that we can talk from *Pollux* about the Nummus and the Talent, is bottom'd upon a mere Conjecture. But this Objection of the Examiner is bottom'd upon a mistake of his own: for the MS of *Vossius* has it plainly ἡμισόλια. Nay though all the Copies were corrupted here, they would do the Examiner no service; because our Accounts with *Phalaris* about his Talents are not so nice as to depend upon Ὀμόλια or ἡμισόλια, a Penny or three half Pence. For we know from another Passage, which is not corrupted, <sup>433</sup> that the Νοῦμμος was a single piece of Silver.<sup>4)</sup> Let the Piece then be as big as the Examiner dares suppose it: yet if the Sicilian Talent contained but *xii* of them; it is still vastly too low to be meant in the Epistles.

The next Page<sup>5)</sup> is spent in telling us, »That those »who would settle the value of the Sicilian Talent from »its adjustment to *xii* Νοῦμμοι, seem to take it for granted, »that Νοῦμμος there means the Roman Nummus or Sester-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 76.

<sup>2)</sup> *Salmas. De modo usur. p. 257.*

<sup>3)</sup> P. 77.

<sup>4)</sup> *Pollux p. 436. [IX 72].*

<sup>5)</sup> P. 78.

»*tius*: but it cannot be so, because the words are not »*Pollux's*, but *Aristotle's*, who lived before the *Roman Sester-* »*tius* was coin'd. So that the ground, upon which the »Computation of the Talent seems to be made, plainly »fails.« What may seem to Mr. B's Imagination is too wide to be measured and comprehended by mine. But I am persuaded, there's not one Writer extant, that has given the least Hint, that he believ'd the *Nummus* here was compared by *Aristotle* to the *Roman Sestertius*. This is a dream therefore of the Examiner's: for he tells us, 'Tis no wonder if he should not be awake sometimes;<sup>1)</sup> and he seems now to have been in one of his sleepy Fits. The value of the *Sicilian Talent* may be gather'd from this Passage thus: A Talent was  $\text{xii}$  *Noûμμοι*, and every *Noûμμος* was an *Obolus* and a Half. Now six *Oboli* make a Drachm: So that four *Noûμμοι* and a Drachm are equivalent. If a Talent therefore contain  $\text{xii}$  *Noûμμοι*, it must contain three Drachms. Thus we see the *Sicilian Talent* is adjusted in its value; as I had reckon'd it before, without any consideration of the *Roman Sestertius*.<sup>2)</sup>

But after all, he says,<sup>3)</sup> I have imposed upon People  
 433 in my Valuation. »For *Aristotle* mentions two sorts of »*Sicilian Talents*: the Old one consisting of  $\text{xxiv}$  *Noûμμοι*, »the New one of  $\text{xii}$ : which small one I have follow'd in »my Computations, though *Phalaris* must be supposed to »reckon by the most Ancient.« This indeed is very material, and I know not how to come off; for I have sunk the *Prince's Expenses* half in half. Let them be stated then, as Mr. B. will have them: and so the *Catanians* plunder'd *Phalaris* of 1 l. 15 s. 2 d. and the Lady's Fortune, that he paid out of his Coffers came to 18 s. both which Bills I had cut off in the middle. And is the matter now mended by this, or is my Argument at all the weaker for't? Mr. B. shews himself to be a better Steward of his Master *Phalaris's* Revenue, than of his own Reputation: for he owns the point is not worth contending for. But however it serves to fill a whole Page, which is no inconsiderable service. The reason, why of the two Accounts, that were

1) P. 203. 2) On *Sicilian money* see *Hultsch, Metrologis* p. 290 sqq. — W. 3) P. 79.



both equal to my main purpose, I chose to follow the latter, was, because *Festus* reckons the *Syracusan* Talent by *Aristotle's* lower Rate: So that two Authors concurring in't, I gave it the Preference.

Mr. B. grows at last angry with *Pollux* himself;<sup>1)</sup> and will give him no credit in this matter. For he cites such things here out of *Aristotle*, as cannot be admitted, no not upon *Aristotle's* own Testimony. »As where he tells us, That the »*Sicilians* reckon'd δύο Χαλκοῦς, two brass Pieces to be »equal to Ἑξάλιτρα, six Litrae: and six brass Pieces to be »equal to half a Litra. But how can two be xii times as »many as six?« Again, says he, to confound us the more, he tells us from the same *Aristotle*, »That ἑξ τάλαντα, six »Talents are equal to two brass Pieces, and that τρία <sup>435</sup> »τάλαντα, three Talents are equal to three brass Pieces. »But how can three be more than six?« Now if this Argument have any force in't, it must prove that *Aristotle*, or *Pollux* at least, could not count Three, nor knew the difference between Two and Six. Mr. B. I dare say, is the first man that disputed at this rate: and till such another *Aristotle*, as he describes here, comes into the world, perhaps he will be the last. The whole Banter is only founded upon three false Readings of *Pollux*,<sup>2)</sup> Ἑξάλιτρα, and Ἑξ Τάλαντα,<sup>3)</sup> and Τρία Τάλαντα. The two first belong to one and the same thing, and must both be corrected Ἑξάνα; and the third Τριάντα. So slight an Emendation makes the whole Passage consistent: and I shall shew by and by, that it's both necessary and certain. The Examiner now give me leave now and then to ask him one of his own Questions, though I will not give it as he does, the Epithet INSULTING; If our great Dealer in spurious Authors did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he observ'd it without owning it, where is his Sincerity?<sup>4)</sup> One of the two will be very hard press'd: but for his Sincerity I'll be Voucher in this particular; because its plain by his miserable offer at a Correction, to be consider'd anon, that his Sagacity was not awake here.

But he says,<sup>5)</sup> *Pollux* in the same place informs us,

<sup>1)</sup> P. 80.

<sup>2)</sup> *Pollux* p. 216. [IV 174].

<sup>3)</sup> P. 436.

[IX 81].

<sup>4)</sup> P. 67.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 81.

»That the Talent of every Country was divided into  $\text{lx}$  Minæ, and each of those Minæ into  $\text{c}$  Drachms. If the »Sicilian Talent then was but three Attic Drachms, the »Sicilian Mina was no more than one English Farthing and a half, and the Drachm not the  $\text{lxvith}$  part  
 436 of a Farthing, and yet in Silver too;« a Species of Money not to be counted without the help of Microscopes: so that when we have occasion hereafter to express the Value, or rather Worthlessness, of any contemptible Performance, we shall say, it is not worth a Sicilian Drachm. I like the Gentleman's Motion well; and since we can never have a better occasion of using this new Saying, I must crave leave to tell him, that his own Performance in this very Paragraph is contemptible, and not worth one of his imaginary Sicilian Drachms. For there's no such thing in Pollux, as what the Examiner tells us from him, That the Talent of each Country was divided into  $\text{lx}$  Minæ. I will set down that Author's words: As the Mina, says he,<sup>1)</sup> at Athens contained  $\text{c}$  Attic Drachms, so the Minæ of other Countries contained  $\text{c}$  Drachms of each Country: which Drachms were in value to the Attic Drachm in the same proportion, as the Talent of each (above-mention'd) was to the Attic Talent. Here it's evident from Pollux, that the Mina of every Country contain'd  $\text{c}$  Drachms, and the Drachm of every Country was the 6000th part of the Talent of that Country: but here is not the least hint, that the Talent of every Country contain'd  $\text{lx}$  Minæ. These two, I humbly conceive, are very different Propositions: though the Examiner, with his Logic System in his head, confounded them. Where-ever there were such names of Money as Minæ and Drachms, there was a Talent: Pollux therefore observ'd truly, that in every Country these two bore the same Proportion to Attic Minæ and Drachms, as Talent did to Talent. But then it is not true in the Reverse,  
 437 That where-ever there was a Talent, there were Minæ and Drachms: for in Sicily and the Doric Colonies of Italy, Tarentum, Rhegium, Neapolis, there was a Talent, but no

<sup>1)</sup> Pollux p. 437. [IX 86]. Ἡ μὲν δὲ ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἑκατὸν εἶχε δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς ἐπιχωρίους, δυναμένας πρὸς λόγον τοῦ καθ' ἑκάστου τάλαντου, κατὰ τε προσθήκην καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν.

such Name, nor Species, nor Summ, as either *Mina* or *Drachm*. The Talent there was not divided into *Minæ* and *Drachms*, but into *Νόμμοις*, *Λίτρας*, *Οβρυχίας*. *Pollux*<sup>1)</sup> therefore has quite separated his account of the *Sicilian Money* from that of other Nations: but if the *Sicilian Talent* had been divisible into *Minæ* and *Drachms*, as the other Talents he there speaks of; he would certainly have included That too in his general Estimation of Talents. Let the Reader now be Judge, if the Examiner's Performances here do not deserve his own new invented Expression, *Not worth a Sicilian Drachm*. Let him take it then to himself; for he tells us, that his *Sicilian Prince* was celebrated for his Justice, when he made *Perillus* handsel his own Invention.<sup>2)</sup> Mr. B. therefore cannot complain, if He gives the first Handsel to His: though the Phrase carries a lower *Worthlessness* in't, than he was aware of. For he computed the *Sicilian Drachm* to be the *lxvith* part of an *English Farthing*: whereas now it plainly appears to be Nothing at all; and exactly of the same value with an *Utopian Drachm*.

Mr. B. in his Margin quotes two very Learned Men, *Brerewood* and *Gronovius*;<sup>3)</sup> who affirm, he says,<sup>4)</sup> that every Talent contains 6000 *Drachms*. Now if this had really been their Opinion; yet it had signified nothing here: for we do not go by Authorities, but by Truth. If they believ'd so, they were certainly mistaken: neither do *Pollux* and *Suidas*, the Authors cited by *Brerewood*, say any such matter. But if Mr. B. had either been diligent or inge-<sup>438</sup>nuous here, he would have seen; that it was only a loose Expression of those two Learned men, that drop'd from them unawares: for *Brerewood* in the same Page, and *Gronovius* in the same Chapter, that Mr. B. has quoted, expressly affirm on my side, that the *Sicilian Talent* was anciently Six, and afterwards Three Denares. Mr. B. we see has another obligation here to excuse himself to the Reader for his multitude of Quotations.<sup>5)</sup>

His next Attempt is upon the Passage of *Festus*,<sup>6)</sup>

1) *Pollux* p. 437. [IX 87]. 2) *Præf. Phalar.* 3) *Brerewood de nummis* p. 26. *Gronovius, de Pec. vet. c. 3.* — R.

4) P. 81, 82.

5) P. 68.

6) P. 83, 84.

*Talentum Syracusanum trium Denarium*: which he ushers in with an Harangue about *Festus's* Abridgment of *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Paulus Diaconus's* Abridgment of *Festus*: a Story known to every Body, that have once look'd into *Festus*. But what was this to his Purpose? Let *Paulus* be as mean a Writer, as Mr. B. pleases: yet this Passage is not cited from His Epitome, but from *Festus* himself. But Mr. B. will now tell us something, which is more to his purpose; That all the Editions of *Festus* take care to warn us, that for *Syracusanum trium Denarium*, we ought to read, *Syracusanum trium Millium Denarium*: and thereupon, to make a Show and a Noise with, he crams his poor Margin with half a dozen Citations. Now the thing is no more than this: The first Editor of this Passage of *Festus*, not understanding how a Talent could be so little a Summ as Three Denares, put that Conjecture in the Margin for an Emendation, as he thought it: and so it has been continued since, and some of the Editors have espoused it: for all Editors, Mr. B. knows, are not infallible. But the MS Copy of *Festus*, and the Text of all  
 439 the Editions, represent it as it's quoted by Me: and all the best Writers about Money have for this Hundred years embraced it, *Scaliger*, *Brerewood*, *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, &c. and before this Section is ended, it will be made out to be the True Reading.

But he'll prove now<sup>1)</sup> out of *Sicilian* Writers, and those that speak of *Sicilian* Affairs; that the Talent of that Country had not such a low value as I would assign to it out of *Festus* and *Pollux*: but of all his Authors there's but One, that writes in the *Sicilian* Dialect, and that is *Theocritus*; and he indeed mentions a *Mina* as the price of a Woman's Gown, and vii Drachms paid for v Fleeces of Wool; which cannot be of that low and small sort of Drachms, that Mr. B. has now discover'd by the help of his Microscope. Now allowing, what Mr. B. supposes, that *Theocritus* speaks here of *Sicilian* Money: yet it ought to be consider'd, that he lived near ccc Years after *Phalaris's* time; in which interval the Species of Money might be alter'd in *Sicily*. That the Money of Sy-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 85, 86, 87, 88.

*racuse*, where *Theocritus* was born, was recoin'd in that time, is very certain. *Aristotle*<sup>1)</sup> informs us, That *Dionysius* the First got all the Money and Riches of *Syracuse* into his hands in Five years time. And that having borrow'd money of the Citizens at Interest; upon their demanding it, he order'd every man upon the pain of death to bring in all the money he had; and when the money was brought in, he recoin'd it, and made every piece of New money pass for double the former value, and so paid them out of their own Silver.<sup>2)</sup> So the *Romans*<sup>3)</sup> in the first *Punic* War recoin'd all their Brass money; and made every Ounce go for vi times as much as it did before. But *Dionysius* perhaps did not only recoin the money of *Syracuse*; but alter the Species too and the Names of it: for *Aristotle* there says, he coin'd a *Drachm* which he put off for a double *Drachm*.<sup>4)</sup> Now we may gather from *Aristotle* himself, as *Pollux* has cited him, that among the old *Sicilian* money there was no such Name as a *Drachm*. *Dionysius* therefore, or some body before him, had alter'd the money at *Syracuse*, and had introduc'd the *Greek* Species there. But perhaps we ought not to take *Aristotle*'s words so strictly and literally in this place. In his Accounts of the *Sicilian* Governments, whence *Pollux* has his Citations, he was obliged to use the words of the Country: but in his *Oeconomics* he might take the common Liberty of Writers, to reduce the *Sicilian* money to some Equivalent of the *Attic*. By the *Drachm* therefore of *Dionysius* he may mean perhaps the *Sicilian* *Δεκάλετρον* or Denare, and express it by the Name of *Drachm* as known among the *Græcians*, and about the same value. But let this be as every one pleases: I suppose it will be allow'd, that in ccc years time the Species of money might be alter'd in *Sicily* as in *England* by the late great Restitution of our Coin, the Species call'd Nine-pences and Four pence half-penies are gone, and perhaps may never be reduc'd into use again. What *Aristotle* therefore tells us about the Old *Sicilian* Money cannot be refuted from the Species of *Theocritus*'s time, or any that come after him.

<sup>1)</sup> *Arist. Polit.* v. [VIII] 11 [p. 1313 b]. <sup>2)</sup> *Arist. Oecon.* ii 20, [20 p. 1349 b]. <sup>3)</sup> *Pliny xxxiii*, 3. <sup>4)</sup> *Δραχμήν δύο δηνάρην δραχμάς.*

Besides this I have another Answer to this Instance from *Theocritus*; for the Poet does not speak of *Sicilian Money*. The Passages that Mr. B. cites are out of the xvth *Idyllium*;

- 441 Γο. Πραξινύα, μάλα τοι τὸ καταπτυχὲς ἐμπερόναμα  
 Τοῦτο πρέπει· λέγε μοι, πόσσω κατέβα τοι ἀφ' ἰσθῶ;  
 Πρ. Μὴ μνάσῃς, Γοργοῖ· πλέον ἀργυρίῳ καθαρῷ μῶν  
 Ἦ δύο ——— and again,

Χῶμος ταῦτά γ' ἔχει, φθόρος ἀργυρίου, Διοκλείδας·  
 Ἐπὶ δραχμῶν κυνάδας, γραιῶν ἀποτίλματα πηρῶν,  
 Πέντε πόκως ἔλαβ' ἐχθές, ἅπαν ρύπος, ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργῳ.

where it's own'd, that *Minæ* and *Drachms* are spoken of: but who are the Persons, that speak? Mr. B. tells us, *They are Syracusan Ladies*. No wonder, that he has made *Ladies* of two Women of low Rank, for he made a *King Zaleucus* from a Shepherd: and to go to the Palace to see a Sight there, like the King's Fine Coach, is in Mr. B's Language, *To appear at Court*. But to let that pass; pray, where are these *Ladies*, when they say this? I must declare here my Astonishment at the Conduct of our Examiner: and it seems to Me to be wholly unaccountable, unless I have recourse again to that Fatality of mistaking, that he seems to lie under. What, was he *not awake* here neither; that he could not see, the Scene of this *Idyllium* was not at *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, but at *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*? The *Idyllium* it self, had he ever read it, would have told him this over and over;

Βᾶμες τῷ βασιλεῖς ἐπ' ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ.

- Let's go to King Ptolemee's Court*, says one Woman to the other; and so away they foot it, and return home before *Dinner*. Now if they lived in the same City, this Journey of theirs is feasible: but to go from *Syracuse* to *Alexandria* and back again in a Morning, and on foot too over the Sea, is a stretch something extraordinary. To be short with the Examiner, they were Natives indeed of *Syracuse*,  
 442 but they had remov'd to *Alexandria*, and there they had Husbands, and Children, and Servants, and Dwelling-houses. All this appears from the very Poem; and that Mr. B. may not say, that the *Minæ* and *Drachms* here were laid out upon Cloaths at *Syracuse*, before their Departure from

thence; the very Verse that he cites will teach him the contrary, Πέντε πόκως ἔλαβ'ΕΧΘΕΣ — YESTERDAY my Husband laid out VII Drachms upon Wool. But if Mr. B. shall pretend to have known that the Scene of all this was at Alexandria; where was his Sagacity, that he could not see the Alexandrian money must be meant, and not that of their old Country Sicily? If a French Refugee drives a bargain here at London with Sixpences and Shillings; will Mr. B. infer from it, that those Species are the money of France too? Here's another of his Performances, not worth a Sicilian Drachm;<sup>1)</sup> and his facetious Computation, that the VII Drachms in Theocritus must be short of the Eighth part of a Farthing, if they were paid in the Dr's money, must, like the rest of his Assertions, be interpreted backwards, and then it will be true. For in the Dr's account they were Alexandrian Drachms; and consequently not lower than the Common Attic Drachms, but double their value.

But Mr. B. will scatter his Learning occasionally, besides what he bestows upon his main Subject. He acquaints us, that in the first Passage — Πλέον ἀργυρίῳ χαθαυῶ μνᾶν Ἡ δύο — H. Stephanus in the Margin reads it Μνᾶς:<sup>2)</sup> and accordingly Mr. B.<sup>3)</sup> translates it, It costs somewhat more than a Mina or Two; as if the Original was Πλέον μνᾶς ἢ δύο. And to allow Mr. B. all the Favour we can, the Latin Versions have interpreted it so <sup>443</sup> before him, Plus mina una & altera; Plus mina una vel duabus. Now a Mina was a Pound weight of Silver, and consequently equivalent to Three Pounds Sterling. And I'll crave leave to ask Mr. B. what Sense there is in His or Their Version? Pray what does your Gown stand you in? Answer, It's a very dear Gown; it costs me above THREE or SIX pounds. Pray who ever talk'd at this rate? What? is there no medium between Three and Six Pounds? If I should ask a Friend, what he rents his House at; and he should tell me, At above Forty or Fourscore Pounds a Year: it might pass perhaps for a Banter; but an Answer I should not take it for. And yet the Woman in Theocritus is very serious, and does not seem to have been of those, that take Ridicule and Grimace for the most divert-

<sup>1)</sup> P. 87.<sup>2)</sup> P. 86.<sup>3)</sup> P. 87.

ing thing in the world. If *Theocritus* had really writ at this rate, I perceive it would pass upon Mr. B. but I'm afraid that King *Ptolemee*, a good Judge of Wit, whom *Theocritus* presented this Poem to, would have paid him for't in *Sicilian Drachms*. But the fault is not the Poets, but theirs that translate him; and the true Reading is ΜΝΑΝ, the Genitive *Doric* for Μνῶν; and the Construction is, Πλέον ἢ δύο μνῶν ἀργυρίῳ καθαρῷ, *It cost me above Six fair Pounds*.

There's another fault too in the Second Passage, that the Examiner cites,

Ἐπὰ δραχμῶν κονάδας, γραιῶν ἀποτίλματα πηρῶν.  
or in the old Editions of *Aldus*, and others, 'tis

Ἐπαδράχμῳς κονάδας. —

which, because it was not understood, was chang'd by the Later Editors. But the ancient Reading is the True; if we take it, as it ought to be taken, Ἐπαδράχμῳς, the  
444 Accusative *Doric* for ἑπαδράχμους, from the Adjective Ἐπαδραχμος. The Sense indeed will be the same still, but the Composition will be more elegant: Mr. B. may say, and he has good reason, That the not correcting these Passages cannot be imputed as a Fault to Him; when such Great men, as *Stephanus*, *Casaubon*, *Heinsius*, &c. fail'd as well as He. We'll allow this therefore, and not lay these Omissions to his charge; but then he ought not to abuse and calumniate others, who have honest Endeavours to improve this part of Learning, if Envy will let them be quiet.

The other Authors, that Mr. B. has produc'd, to shew that Talents, Minæ, and Drachms, of an equal value with those of *Greece*, were current in *Sicily*, are *Thucydides*, *Plato*, *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch*; but not one of them was a *Sicilian* except *Diodorus*; and he too wrote his History in a Foreign Country, and uses the Common Dialect, and comes cccc years after *Phalaris*. Now to answer all these Instances at once, for the Thing is too Vulgar to be insisted on particularly; I must acquaint him with what every body else knows, but to Him is \* secret, That all the Authors, that write in the *Attic* or Common Dialect do of course turn the Summs of money



of any Country that they speak of, into the *Attic* Account; not meaning that the *Attic* Coins were used in Specie upon these occasions, but that the money of whatever sort it was, was equivalent in weight or value to so much *Attic* money. And the end that they had in so doing, is conspicuous enough: for designing their Histories for general use, they thought the best way to be understood by All, was to reduce the money to some Species universally known. And if Mr. B. had ever compared the Greek and Latin Writers of the Roman History together, he must necessarily have observ'd it. I'll give him one or two Examples of it, which may serve instead of all. *Livy*,<sup>1)</sup> who as a Roman writes in the Style of his own Country, tells us, *Servius Tullius* divided the Roman Citizens into five Classes; the first was of such as were rated at *Centum millia æris*, that is 100,000 *As's* or *brass Money*: the second at 75,000; and so on to the lowest. But *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*,<sup>2)</sup> who wrote for the Greeks, turns these accounts into *Attic* Silver, and makes the first Class to be rated, Ἐκατὸν Μνῶν, ἢ Μυριάων Δραχμῶν, at a 100 *Minæ*, or 10,000 *Drachms*. And the second Πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα Μνῶν ἢ ἑπταχισχιλίων καὶ πενταχοσίων δραχμῶν, at 75 *Minæ*, or 7500 *Drachms*, and so to the Fifth. Now this account of the Greek Historian cannot be true, if we understand those *Drachms* to have been used in Specie: for it's known that the *Romans* had no Silver Money till 300 years after the time of this *Servius*. But *Livy* and he agree in the Value, though not in the Species: for 1 *As's* of Brass being equivalent to one *Attic Drachm* of Silver; 100,000 of such *As's* are worth 10,000 *Drachms*: and 75,000 *As's* worth 7500 *Drachms*. The same *Livy* informs us, That *Camillus* was threatned to be fined *Quingentum millium æris mulcta*, 500,000 *As's* of Brass: which *Plutarch*<sup>3)</sup> represents in Silver Money, and calls it, πέντε μυριάδων ἀργυρίου ζημίωσιν, a Fine of 50,000 *Drachms*. And yet the *Romans* had no use of Silver Coin till a hundred years after *Camillus*. If *Plutarch* therefore in his account of *Camillus* has turn'd the Roman Money to *Attic*,

1) *Livy* lib. I [43].      2) *Dionys. Halic.* p. 22. [221. IV 16].

3) *Plut. in Camillo*. [39 πέντε μυριάσιον ἀργυρίου ζημιώσιν].

- 446 why may he not have turn'd the *Sicilian* so in his History of *Timoleon*? And if He did it, why not *Polybius* too? and why not *Plato* and *Thucydides* much rather, being Natives of *Athens*? *Diodorus*, it's true, was a *Sicilian*; but as he forsook the Dialect of *Sicily*, so in consequence he ought to depart from it in the Names and Species of its Money: and not fill his History with *νοῦμμοι*, and *οὐγκία*, and *ἑξάντες*, and *πεντούγκια*, words that no body would understand abroad, but Grammarians and Antiquaries.
- Besides that, as I observ'd before, he is so many Centuries junior to *Phalaris*, that the Money of that Island might possibly be alter'd to the Greek Species in all that tract of time. But that the old names of Money continued there till the time of *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, LXX years after *Phalaris*'s Death, *Diodorus* himself will teach us. For he says, that upon the Defeat of the *Carthaginians*, *Demareta* the Wife of *Gelon*, coin'd a new Piece of Money, of the value of ten Attic Drachms; but the *Sicilians* call'd it from its weight *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*.<sup>1)</sup> This passage even alone will shew that there was no such Money, nor Name as *Drachm* in those days in *Sicily*. For if there had, they would have call'd this Money *Δεκάδραχμον* from the value of ten Drachms: and not *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*, from the weight of Fifty *Litra*. From which compound word it plainly appears, that the *Litra*, one of those *Sicilian* Coins that I and my Authors contend for, was yet in use in the time of *Gelon*. Without question therefore it was used there in *Phalaris*'s time, and if you admit of the *Litra* for a *Sicilian* Coin, you must take all the rest after it; that
- 447 are mention'd by *Aristotle* and *Pollux*; as the *Δεκάλιτρον*, the *ἑμυλίτρον*, &c. for these plainly refer to and suppose one another, as a half Crown English supposes a Crown. And what has the Examiner got now by his approv'd *Sicilian* Writers? To what purpose are his ridiculous Computations, A Talent 1 s. 10 d.<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> for a Month's pay of a Ship. 200 Minæ, 6 s. 3 d. for the magnificent Funeral of a General?<sup>2)</sup> I know not what they can stand for there, but to be Emblems

1) *Diodor. Sic. p. 21* [XI 26]. *Ἐγένετο Ἀττικὰς Δραχμὰς δέκα· ἀκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ Πεντηκοντάλιτρον.*

2) *P. 87, 88.*

of his own Performance; which at first view, and to unskillful Readers, seems a business of great Value and Price, as the Greek Talents and Minæ were; but when examin'd more narrowly, it dwindles into Talents of eighteen Pence, and Minæ of three Farthings.

But see what it is to be engag'd with such a Master of Defense: *He may freely admit, he says,<sup>1)</sup> of the low value of the Sicilian Talent, and yet think the Letters genuine. For there are several suppositions, that must all be shewn impossible, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from hence, to prove them spurious. To prove Suppositions to be impossible, is a very hard task indeed: and if nothing less than that will serve, 'tis more difficult to convince Mr. B. than to convert a Jew. But let us see what his Suppositions are:<sup>2)</sup>* I. *There might be a low value of the Sicilian Talent in some I other Age, and yet the Talent of Phalaris's time might be higher. But I'll presently shew him that in Epicharmus's and Sophron's time, the very next Generation to Phalaris, the Sicilian Money was as I have stated it: and Aristotle says,<sup>3)</sup> that τὸ ἀρχαῖον, in old time the Talent there was but xxiv νοῦμμοι, about vii s. Engl. II. Or a low Talent II might be in other parts of Sicily, but a higher at Agrigentum. 448 But Aristotelle<sup>4)</sup> tells us in general; Σικελικὸν τάλαντον, The Sicilian Talent was xxiv νοῦμμοι; which must include Agrigentum, unless Mr. B. will carry that too into Crete, as he did Astypalæa. Nay the Philosopher expressly says, That the Λίτρα was AGRIGENTINE Money:<sup>5)</sup> and if the Litra come in there, the Talent and all the rest will follow it. III. Or III there might be a low Talent of baser Metal, suppose Brass equal to a Litra: and yet Phalaris's Silver Talents might be higher. Here are so many Blunders in this supposition, that I scarce know which to begin with. He believes a Talent in Sicily was a single piece of Money, or a Coin; but it was a Summ, as a Pound is in England. And upon this he fancies a brass Talent was less than a Silver one: which is just as if he should say, that a Pound paid in*

1) P. 88, 89.

2) P. 89.

3) Poll. p. 437 [IX 87].

4) Ibid.

5) Pollux, p. 216 [IX 80] 436 [IV 174].

Ἐν Ἀκραγαντίων Πολιτείᾳ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ζημιούσθαι τινα [τινας] λ. Λίτρας.

Copper Farthings is less than a Pound paid in sixpences. But from whence could he have that extravagant Stuff, *a brass Talent equal to a Litra*? I am afraid again, that he was not awake here: but methinks he might have got out of his Nap in his second or third Edition. A brass Litra of Sicily weigh'd a Pound, and LX of them made a Talent. And a small Coin of Silver, of equal value to a Litra of Brass, had from thence the name too of Litra (as among the Romans the Silver Coin was call'd *Denarius*, because it was valued at x *As's* of Brass) and LX of those Silver *Litræ* made the ancient Talent of Silver. So that a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Brass were both equal in value, and both contain'd LX *Litræ*. But Mr. B. has a Marginal Note here, *That the Talents in Pollux are compared to Χαλκοῖ, and are lower in value than they.* Admirably observ'd indeed!

449 this same Margin of his has in several places quite undone the Text. The Text here says, *a Talent of Brass was equal to a Litra*; but the Margin tells us, *it was less than a Χαλκοῦς*; which was but the xth part of a Litra. So that both Text and Margin together form a Proposition exactly like this: *A certain Book of a late Writer's, is worth four Shillings, and too dear of three Pence.* But the shameful mistake of this marginal Note is founded upon a corrupt Reading in *Pollux*, *Ἑξ τάλαντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύο Χαλκοῖ*, that is, *Six Talents, which is two brass Pieces*: which I have already observ'd, and shall presently prove, is to be corrected *Ἑξᾶντα*. And I dare appeal to any English Reader, though he understands not one word of Greek; if the Passage, as I have faithfully translated it, does not betray it self to be corrupted. For the Author being to make a general comparison of Money, would have express'd it, as all the world uses to do, in the lowest numbers of Proportion; and would certainly have said *Three Talents make One brass Piece*; not *Six make Two*. And yet Mr. B. with all his Acuteness, could argue from this Reading, as if it were genuine. IV. *Or there might be a low Value (Talent I suppose he would say) used by the Natives and ancient Inhabitants of Sicily; and yet the Talent used by the Greek Colonies, that placed themselves there, might be higher.* But the very Names of the Money we speak of, shew they belong'd not to the *Sicanians* or *Phœnicians* in Sicily, but to the Co-

lonies of Greeks; as *Ὀγκία* from *ὄγκος*; *Νοῦμμος* from *νόμος*; *Τετραῖς*, *Τριάς*, *Ἐξᾶς*, *Ἡμιλίτριον*, *Δεκάλιτρον*; these are certainly Greek words, and neither *Phœnician* nor barbarous *Sicanian*. And *Diodorus* says, *Σικελιώται*, *Sicilian Greeks* (not the ancient Inhabitants of the Island) call'd the Money 450 of *Gelon's* time *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*. *Pollux* also and *Aristotle* say expresly, they were the Moneys τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Δωριέων, of the *Dorian Colonies* in *Sicily*; and that *Νοῦμμος* was a Coin of the *Tarentines* in *Italy*, who were a *Dorian Colony* too, and had no concern with the old *Sicanians*. V. Or if V these Letters might by a later hand be chang'd out of the *Doric Dialect* into the *Attic*; the same hand might make them speak *Attic* in the valuation of the Monies. This is his last supposition, and the pleasantest of them all: and though I doubt not but the very Proposal of it will be received with Laughter by all competent Readers; yet I'll give him an Answer to it, when I consider the general way of his Defense. We have now got, and I hope safely, over all his Suppositions: and tho' I will not pretend to have shewn them impossible, yet I have shewn them so groundless and absurd, that a Wise man will be asham'd of them. But to prove any thing of this Nature impossible is truly an impossible thing. For how can we bring Demonstrations about matters of mere History? If nothing therefore but downright Impossibility will convince the Examiner, that his *Phalaris* is spurious; he may still to his Comfort believe them genuine. But at that rate he's well prepared to believe all the Stories of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* or *Apuleius's Ass*.

But our misfortune is, that though we have stood the shock of so many Suppositions, yet we are just where we were before. For lastly, he says,<sup>1)</sup> though none of his Reasonings should hold, 'tis agreed by those who treat of these matters, and give us this low value of the *Sicilian Talent*, that wherever the word *Talent* is used by Greek Writers (as it 451 is in *Phalaris's Epistles*) without any addition, the *Attic Talent* must be understood. And for this he quotes *Gronovius*, *Bernard*, and *Brerewood*. Now allowing this to be true, what would our sagacious Critic infer from't? Do not I my self affirm too, that in *Phalaris's Epistles* the *Attic Talent* is understood? The very circumstances of every

1) P. 89.

Passage there, where Talent is mention'd, shew he meant the *Attic*: and 'tis the sole ground and foundation of all this Article against him. Mr. B. therefore may assure himself, that I shall never make *Phalaris's* Epistles an Exception to that rule of *Gronovius*. That the *Attic* is meant in the Epistles will be allow'd on all sides: but whether the true *Phalaris* would have used the word so, there is the Question. And do Mr. B's marginal Citations prove any thing of that? *Diodorus*, though a *Sicilian*, had good reasons for his reckoning by *Attic* Money: because he wrote in the common Dialect, because the *Attic* valuation was then universally known, because other *Historians* had done so before him. But must *Phalaris* therefore be supposed to have used the *Attic* Accounts, at a time when the *Attic* Talent was no better known than the *Sicilian*? Must he do it in private Letters, that were never intended for the Public? in stating the Expenses of his Houshold; which being laid out in *Sicilian* Money could not be express'd in *Attic* without puzzling Fractions? If Mr. B. will obstinately maintain such Absurdities as these: he'll fully satisfie his Readers, that what-ever there was in *Phalaris's* Accounts, in Mr. B's Genius there's nothing of *Attic*.

Mr. B. declares,<sup>1)</sup> *That he finds the Moderns go into*  
 452 *the opinion of a Sicilian Talent of low value, without any other Authority, as he can find, but the obscure and interpolated Passages of Pollux and Festus;*<sup>2)</sup> *but the Notion ought to be supported by good Authorities taken from approv'd Sicilian Writers, or others that purposely treat of Sicilian Affairs.* I will give him an account therefore of the Authorities we go upon; and I believe it will presently appear, that the approv'd *Sicilian Writers*, such as *Epicharmus* and *Sophron*, who were nearest the Age of *Phalaris*; and those that purposely treat of *Sicilian Affairs*, such as *Aristotle* in his account of the *Sicilian* Governments, do all countenance and support the Notion, That the *Sicilian* Money was different from the *Attic* both in Species and Name. But for the clearer illustration of what I shall say here, I will give a Table of the *Sicilian* Coins according to those Authors: and compare them with the Roman Coins, which were all borrow'd from them.

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 88.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 84.

A Table of the Sicilian Money.

453

METAL.	SICILIAN.	ROMAN.	VALUE.
Brass or Silver. }	<i>Τάλαντον.</i>		{ 60 Brass or Silver Litraë.
Silver.	• <i>Πεντηκοντάλιτρον.</i> }		50 Litraë.
Silver.	<i>Δεκάλιτρον.</i>	<i>Denarius.</i>	10 Litraë.
Silver.	<i>Νοῦμμος.</i>	<i>Nummus, Sestertius.</i> }	2½ Litraë.
Brass or Silver. }	<i>Λίτρα.</i>	<i>Libra, As, Libella.</i> }	{ A P <sup>d</sup> weight of Brass, or a Piece of Silver equivalent.
Brass, Silver. }	<i>Ἡμιλίτρον.</i>	<i>Semissis, Sembella.</i> }	Half a Litra.
Brass.	<i>Πεντούγκιον.</i>	<i>Quincunx.</i>	{ 5 Ounces of Brass.
Brass.	<i>Τριᾶς.</i>	<i>Triens.</i>	{ A Third part of a Litra.
Brass.	<i>Τετραᾶς.</i>	<i>Quadrans, Teruncius.</i> }	{ A Fourth of a Litra.
Brass.	<i>Ἑξᾶς.</i>	<i>Sextans.</i>	{ A Sixth of a Litra.
Brass.	<i>Οὐγκία.</i>	<i>Uncia.</i>	{ 1 Ounce of Brass.

This Table comprehends all the Names of the *Sicilian* Sums or Coins, from the Highest down to the Lowest: and I shall now subjoin the Passages of Authors, which establish and warrant every one of them.

## TALANTON.

The Sicilian TALENT, says Pollux,<sup>1)</sup> had the lowest Value of all. Of old, as Aristotle teaches, it contain'd xxiv Νοῦμμοι; but afterwards only xii. Now a Νοῦμμος Nummus, as I shall shew presently, was the ivth part of a Denare: so that the Ancient Talent contain'd vi Denares, and the latter iii. And Suidas<sup>2)</sup> falls in exactly with Aristotle's account: for he informs us, That among the Sicilian Greeks a Talent was anciently xxiv Nummi, but now xii. In the Vulgar Editions 'tis μῶν, but the true Reading is Νοῦμμων, as the Passage of Aristotle clearly shews; and so it's corrected by Budæus and every body since, that have treated of these matters. The word Νοῦμμων, being not understood by the Copier, was corrupted into μῶν. To these Authorities we may add Festus,<sup>3)</sup> who giving the value of several sorts of Talents, says, The Neapolitan contains vi Denares; the Syracusan iii; and that of Rhegium Half a Denare. What Festus here calls the Neapolitan Talent, has the same value with the Old Talent of Sicily: which is not to be wonder'd at; since Aristotle and Pollux affirm that the Νοῦμμος, one of the Coins of Sicily, was common to the Tarentine and other Dorian Colonies of Italy. And the Syracusan Talent of Festus is the very same with what Aristotle and Suidas call the Later Sicilian. Here are four Authorities then, Aristotle, Pollux, Suidas, and Festus, for the low valuation of the Sicilian Talent. And the Alteration, that Mr. B. and some others would introduce into the Text of Festus, now appears to be groundless. They  
455 would interpolate it thus, Syracusanum trium (Millium) denarium, The Syracusan Talent had 3000 Denares. But what Authority have they for this Talent of 3000? None at all. Is it not a glorious Correction then, and worthy to be embrac'd by Mr. B. to change the Reading that's warranted by Three Authors, and to substitute another, that's supported by none? And what will they do with the following words Rheginum victoriati? Will they insert

<sup>1)</sup> Pollux, p. 431 [IX 87].

<sup>2)</sup> Suid. in Τάλαντον.

<sup>3)</sup> Festus, [359 M]. Tal. Neapolitanum Sex Denarium, Syracusanum trium denarium, Rheginum Victoriati.



*Millium* there too, and make it neither Latin nor Sense? But if the Talent of *Rhegium* was but equivalent to Five Pounds of Brass; why must that of *Sicily* be thought too low, when it's made equal to Thirty or Sixty?

'Tis very certain, that the *Romans* call'd the common *Attic* Talent, *Talentum Magnum*, *The Great Talent*; an Expression never used by any Greek Author: so that the Reason and Ground of it has been a great Enquiry among the Antiquaries of the last Age. But the Ingenious and Learned *Gronovius*<sup>1)</sup> has lit upon a Conjecture, that has all the Characters of Truth and Certainty. The *Romans* had no such Summ nor Name as *Talent*, in their way of Accounts; but by their Dealings with the Neighbouring *Greeks*, the *Sicilians*, *Rhegiens*, *Tarentines*, *Neapolitans*, they knew a Talent among Them stood for a small Summ of Silver. Afterwards when they extended their Commerce or their Conquests to other parts of *Greece*, they found a Talent there meant a vast Summ of 6000 Denares; which was 1000, or 2000, or 12000 times as much as the Talents of their Neighbours. This latter therefore was call'd the *Great Talent*, and in process of time *Talent* alone; the other acceptance of the word falling into disuse. I do not question, but all competent Judges will receive this<sup>456</sup> Notion of *Gronovius* with approbation and applause. And as the Expression *Talentum Magnum* is so fairly explain'd by the Low *Sicilian* Talent: so reciprocally the Low Value of that Talent is plainly made out by the Expression *Talentum magnum*.

But there's one thing not yet accounted for, How it came about that in those *Dorian* Colonies the word *Talent* was applied to such inconsiderable Summs. I will crave leave to propose a Conjecture of mine, and submit it to the Censures of the Learned. *Talent*<sup>2)</sup> originally is a word of Static, and means *lx* pound weight of any thing. Now the Brass *λίτρα* of *Sicily* being at first a Pound weight, as the *Libra* or *As* was among the *Romans*; *lx* such *Litæ* weigh'd in all *lx* pounds, and consequently were call'd a *Talent*. Afterwards when Silver Money came into use

1) *Gronov. de Pecun. Vet.* iii. 3.    2) *Suidas, Pollux* [IX 52], and others.

among them, the Species of it had their denominations from the Proportions they bore to the Brass *Litra*. So that a small Silver Coin, equivalent in worth to a Brass Pound, was call'd *Λίτρα*; and another Coin containing Ten of them, *Δεκάλιτρον*: just as the *Romans* call'd their Silver Coin *Denarius*, because it was equal in value to *Deni Asses*, Ten Brass Pounds. By the same Rule therefore a Summ of Silver, containing *lx* Silver *Litræ* or *vi* (*Δεκάλιτρα*) *Denares*, was call'd a *Talent*; because it was equivalent to *lx* Pound weight of Brass. Here I conceive is a probable account, how the *Old Sicilian Talent* came to stand for *vi* *Denares*, or, as *Aristotle* expresses it, *xxiv Nummi*. But the same Author acquaints us, that afterwards the *Talent* sunk lower to the value of *xii Nummi*, or *iii*  
 437 *Denares*. The occasion of which seems to have been this. As *Solon* diminish'd the *Attic Drachm* a Fourth part in weight, making 100 of them go to a Pound, which *lxxv* made before; and as the *Romans* being straitned in the First *Punic War*, lower'd their Brass Money Five parts in Six, making their *As*, which till then was a full Pound weight, to be no more than two Ounces: so the *Sicilians* seem to have lessen'd their Brass Money Half in Half; and yet the Old Names (as among the *Romans*) continued still, notwithstanding the change in weight. A *Talent* of Brass therefore, containing *lx* of those Half Pound *Litræ*, was no more than *iii* *Denares* or *xii* *Nummi* of Silver. But the *Rhegiens*, according to *Festus*, seem to have sunk their Brass *Litræ* from a Pound weight to an Ounce: which is exactly what the *Romans* did in the Second *Punic War*, when they made their *As* to be *Uncialis* of a single Ounce weight. By which proportion, though the *Talent* even among the *Rhegiens* might at first be *lx* *Litræ*, each of which weigh'd a Pound; yet after they were diminish'd to an Ounce a piece, a *Talent* of *lx* such *Litræ* would be worth no more than half a *Denare*, or the *Victoriatius* of *Festus*.

ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΛΙΤΡΟΝ.

We have an account of this Coin from *Diodorus Siculus*; <sup>1)</sup> That after *Gelon* had vanquish'd the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, Ol. LXXV, 1. *Demareta* his Wife interceded in their behalf, and obtain'd for them an honourable Peace; and upon that occasion she caus'd a new Coin to be stamp'd weighing  $\text{L}$  *Litræ*, that is, Five *Δεκάλιτρα*, *Denares*; or as *Diodorus* computes it,  $\times$  *Attic* Drachms. This Money <sup>458</sup> was call'd *Δημαρέτιον* from her name, and by the *Sicilians* *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον* from the weight and value of it. The same Money is mention'd by *Pollux*, <sup>2)</sup> but he tells us quite another story about the occasion of coining it; That when her Husband wanted money in the War against the *Carthaginians*, *Demareta* and the rest of the Women brought all their Silver Utensils to the Mint, and the Coin was call'd *Νόμισμα Δημαρέτιον*. But the very Bigness of the Money, being five times the weight of their heaviest ordinary Coin, shews *Diodorus's* Narrative to be truer than *Pollux's*: for if *Gelon* had been in any straits for Money, he would certainly have stamp'd it in the smallest Species; whereas this was a sort of Medal, and by its magnitude declar'd the greatness of the Victory and the Booty. This *Demareta* was the Daughter of *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and after *Gelon's* decease was married to *Polyzelus* his Brother; as we learn from the Scholiast <sup>3)</sup> of *Pindar*: who adds too, that from Her a *Sicilian* Coin was call'd *Δημαρέτειον*. *Diodorus* <sup>4)</sup> acquaints us farther, that *Gelon* out of part of the Booty made a Golden Tripus of  $\text{xvi}$  Talents, and sent it to *Delphi* a Donary to *Apollo*. And there's an Epigram of *Simonides* upon the same Tripus, which I suppose is not yet publish'd, and therefore I shall give it here out of the MS *Anthologia*;

Σιμωνίδου. <sup>5)</sup>

Φημὶ Γέλων', Γέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
Παῖδας Δεινομένους τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι,  
Ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
Δαρετίου χρυσοῦ τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

<sup>1)</sup> *Diodor. p. 21. [XI 26].*

<sup>2)</sup> *Pollux p. 437. [IX 85].*

<sup>3)</sup> *Schol. Pind. Olymp. 2. Ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ Δημαρέτειον νόμισμα ἐν Σικελίᾳ.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Diod. ibid.*

<sup>5)</sup> [*Bergk Lyr. fr. 142.*]

- 459 Where it's observable that *Simonides*, who perhaps was then in *Sicily* and saw the *Tripus*, says it weigh'd above *L Talents*; but *Diodorus* says, *xvi*. If we believe the Scholiast of *Pindar*; <sup>1)</sup> 'twas not one *Tripus* only, but several, that *Gelon* dedicated to *Apollo*, and this Inscription was engrav'd on them,

Φημὶ Γέλων, Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
 Παῖδας Δεινομένεως τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,  
 Βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν  
 Σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

Which appears to be the very same Epigram with that ascrib'd to *Simonides*; and the one perhaps is to be supplied out of the other; the latter Distich of this being to be added to that. But what can be the meaning of *Δαρετίου χρυσοῦ*? If we consider the passages already cited out of *Diodorus*, *Pollux* and *Pindar's* Scholiast, which all belong to the Subject of this Epigram; we can scarce doubt but the true Reading is,

Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

Where the Poet was constrain'd of mere necessity to use a *Pæon* instead of a *Dactyl*; as another Poet did without any necessity,

Ἀλλὰ τεδὺν οὐποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε.<sup>2)</sup>

- But the Copiers not considering this, and observing the Verse to have a Syllable too much, contracted the word into *Δαρετίου*; which has been done above *xxx* years ago, as it's evident from *Suidas*:<sup>3)</sup> *Δαρετίου*, says he, τὸν τρίποδα δ' ἀνθέμεναι ἐξ ἑκατὸν λετρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων δαρετίου χρυσοῦ τὰς δεκάτας. where the Word, we see, is set down; but there's no Explication of it. He has only given part of our Epigram, where he found that *Δαρετίου*: and as that Word both in *Suidas* and the  
 460 Epigram is to be corrected from other Authors; so the rest of that Passage of *Suidas* is to be corrected from the Epigram.

<sup>1)</sup> *Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. [155].* Αναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦς τρίποδας ἐπιγράψαντα ταῦτα. <sup>2)</sup> [Praxillae fr. ap. Bergk *Lyr. Graec.* 961.] <sup>3)</sup> *Suid. v. Δαρετίου.*

## ΔΕΚΑΛΙΤΡΟΝ, ΛΙΤΡΑ, ΗΜΙΑΛΙΤΡΙΟΝ.

Aristotle<sup>1)</sup> in his Treatise of the Agrigentine Government informs us, that a Person was fin'd there (τριάκοντα Λίτρας) xxx Litrae; and that a Litra was equal in value to an Æginæan Obolus. The same he repeats in his Discourse about the Himeræan Government; That the Litra was equal to an Obolus, and the Δεκάλιτρον contain'd x Litrae, and was worth a Corinthian Stater. These Particulars are told us twice by Pollux, in his ivth, and ixth Book; so that there's no room for any suspicion, that he mistook his Author. Λίτρα, says Hesychius, ὀβολός, οἱ δὲ νόμισμα παρὰ Σικελοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ σταθμῶν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὸ β Λίβρα; Photius in his MS Lexicon: Λίτρα ἦν μὲν νόμισμά τι, ὡς Δίφιλος· ἐπὶ τε σταθμοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος τε καὶ Σώφρων ἐχρήσαντο· Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λιτρόσχοπὸν φησι τὸν ἀργυραμοιβὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νομίσματος. Hesychius again, Λιτροσκόπους, ἀργυραμοιβός, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ νομίσματος, ὃ καλεῖται λίτρα. Here are two good Authors concurring with Pollux, besides the Three others that one of them cites, Diphilus, Epicharmus, and Sophron; but we have not the Names of them only, but the very Passages too preserved to us in Pollux.<sup>2)</sup> The Comic Poets, says he, of Sicily use the word Λίτρα, sometimes for a small piece of Money; as when Sophron says, in his Book call'd Γυναικεῖοι Μῦμοι, Ὁ μισθὸς δεκάλιτρον (the true Reading here seems to be δέχα λιτρῶν or λιτρᾶν) and again in his Ἀνδρεῖοι Μῦμοι, Σῶσαι δ' οὐδὲ τὰς δύο λίτρας δύναμαι· and sometimes for a Pound weight, as Demologus in his Medea,

Τετρακονταλίτρος τινὲ νεανίσκῳ πέδας.

461

In the vulgar Editions it's παῖδας; which Salmasius<sup>3)</sup> has truly corrected πέδας, Chains of xl pound weight. But there's another error still remaining, Δημόλογος, a Poet as unheard of, as Phalaris's two Tragedians Aristolochus and Lysinus: instead of which Demologus the MS of Is. Vossius has it Δεινόλογος, which is certainly the true Reading. For this Dinolochus was really a Sicilian Comic Poet (as Pollux

<sup>1)</sup> Pollux p. 216 [IV 174sq.], 436 [IX 80]. <sup>2)</sup> Pollux, p. 215. [IV 173]. <sup>3)</sup> Salmas. de Modo Usur. p. 234.

here supposes him) being a Syracusan,<sup>1)</sup> or an Agrigentine, and the Son, or, as others say, the Scholar of Epicharmus, and the Author of  $\chi\pi$  Doric Comedies. He is cited again by Pollux,<sup>2)</sup> Δεινόλογος ἐν Ἀμαζόσιν; and twice or thrice by Hesychius. But our Author proceeds and tells us,<sup>3)</sup> That even some of the Athenian Comicks mention the word *Λίτρα*, as Philemon in his Play inscrib'd Σικελικός, and Posidippus in his Γαλάτεια. In the Editions 'tis printed Γαλάτῃ, which Learned men have corrected Γαλάτεια: and the Great Salmasius acutely observes, that it appears by the Names of these two Comedies, that the Scene and Subject of them were in Sicily; so that the Poets there used the word *Λίτρα*, not as Attic Money, but as Sicilian. In another place our Author<sup>4)</sup> ascribes the Play not to Philemon, but to Diphilus; as Photius also seems to have done in the passage above cited: but Athenæus<sup>5)</sup> gives it to Philemon; so that it was dubious even in those days, whether of them was the Author of it. The words of Diphilus are these;

Οἷον ἀγοράζειν παστὰ, μηδὲ ἐν δ' ἔχειν,  
Εἰ μὴ κικίννους ἀξίους λίτραν δυοῖν.

In the Vossian MS it's πάντα for παστὰ; which may seem  
462 the truer Lection; because of the elegant Opposition there between πάντα and μηδὲ ἐν. But παστὰ too is a very tolerable Lection; being a Dish made of Cheese and other Ingredients; and the Cheese of Sicily, where the Action of this Play lies, was famous; as the Poet tells us in this very Comedy.<sup>6)</sup> But Epicharmus, continues Pollux,<sup>7)</sup> mentions several names of Money in his Play call'd Ἀρπαγαί. The Passage there is thus represented in the Vossian MS. Ὅσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς ἀμπετάχιον ἀργύριον, ἄλλαι δὲ λίτραν· αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμίλειπον δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι. And I guess from the Emendation of Salmasius,<sup>8)</sup> that the Palatine MS had it exactly so too; and perhaps the MS of Vossius is nothing

<sup>1)</sup> Suid. v. Δεινολ.

<sup>2)</sup> Pollux p. 500. [X 177].

<sup>3)</sup> Ib. p. 217. [IV 175].

<sup>4)</sup> Pollux p. 436. [IX 81].

<sup>5)</sup> Athen. p. 658.

<sup>6)</sup> Athen. ibid.

<sup>7)</sup> Pollux, 436 [IX 80].

<sup>8)</sup> Salmas. p. 261.

but a Copy of it. *Salmasius* has thus reduced the words into Trochaic Verses:

——— Ὅπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,  
 Αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς, αἱ πεττούγκιον  
 Ἀργυρίου, ἄλλαι δὲ λίτραν, αἱ δ' ἡμίλιτρον δεχόμεναι  
 Πάντα γινώσκοντι ———

Where in the third Verse the true Measure is not observ'd, a Spondee being put there instead of a Trochee: but as for μωρὰς in the second Verse, the *Dorians* frequently made the Accusative ας short, as we see in *Theocritus*. I would read the whole in this manner;

——— Ὅπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,  
 Αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς, ἄμ πεντούγκιον  
 Ἀργυρέον, ἄλλαι δὲ λίτραν, αἱ δ' ἄν ἡμίλιτριον  
 Δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι τῷ τηνᾷ λόγῳ.

The three last words do not appear in the MS; but the vulgar Editions have τῷ τι λόγῳ: which must be lengthen'd by a Syllable, to close up the Trochaic. The meaning of the Passage is this: *Like those roguish Fortune-tellers, that wheedle foolish Women, some of them exacting a five-Ounce* <sup>463</sup> *piece of Money, some a Litra, some half a Litra; and, as those silly Women believe, they know all things.* Ἄμ in the Second Verse is for ἄν: for in ancient writing when the *N* came before *M* or *B* or *Π* or *Φ*, it was chang'd into *M*; as in the *Chron. Arundelianum*, ΕΜ ΠΑΡΩΙ for ἐν Πάρῳ; and in the *Marble of Smyrna*, ΕΜ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ for ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ: and the modern Greeks, though they write it *N* in those Cases, yet they pronounce it as *M*. In the third Verse I read ἡμίλιτριον instead of ἡμίλιτρον: for I observe that's the form of the Compounds with ἡμ, as ἡμιαμφόριον, ἡμιδιωράκιον, ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον, ἡμισφαῖριον, ἡμιπόδιον and many more. Another Passage from *Epicharmus* is thus cited by the same *Pollux*.<sup>1)</sup> Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ βαλάντιον λιτροδεχάλιτρον ἐξάγγιον τε καὶ πεντάγγιον. which is thus exhibited in the *Vossian MS*. Ἐγὼ γὰρ τό γε βαλάντιον λιτροδεχάλιτρος στατήρ ἐξάντιον τε πετάγγιον. And so in all probability the *Palatine MS* reads it, as one may gather from *Salmasius*,<sup>2)</sup> who thus corrects it by the help of it.

1) *Pollux, ibid.*

2) *Salmas. p. 260.*

——— Ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ τὸ βαλάντιον, λίτρα,  
Δεκάλιτρος στατήρ, ἐξάντιόν τε καὶ πεπτούγκιον.

But by this Emendation both the Verses have false Measure; neither does the Sense appear very elegant. It seems to me very probable that *στατήρ* in the MSS is an Interpolation; because in other places *Pollux* tells us, that the *δεκάλιτρον* was worth a *Corinthian στατήρ*: from whence the Interpolator borrow'd it, and clapt it in here. But it cannot be *Epicharmus's* own for two reasons, both because it is no *Sicilian* word, and because it makes a Tautology. If I may have leave to propose an Emendation, I would read the passage thus:

464 ——— Ἔχω γὰρ τό γε βαλάντιον λιτρῶν  
Δεκαλιτρῶν τε πλήρες ἐξάντων τε καὶ πεντουγκίων.

*I have my Purse, says he, full of Litrae and Denares, and Two-ounce Pieces, and Five-ounce Pieces.*

### ΝΟΥΜΜΟΣ.

*Julius Pollux*,<sup>1)</sup> who wrote his Book at *Rome*, and dedicated it to the Emperor *Commodus*, tells him, That the Word *Νοῦμμος* appears indeed to be of Roman Original, but it's really Greek, belonging to the Dorians of Sicily and Italy. So *Varro*<sup>2)</sup> also expresly teaches, that the Word *Nummus* was borrow'd from the Sicilians. In argento, Nummi: id a Siculis. The same *Pollux* adds, that *Aristotle* in his *Treatise of the Tarentine Government* says, a certain Coin there was call'd *Νοῦμμος*, which for its Impress had *Taras* the Son of *Neptune* astride upon a *Dolphin*. Half a score of these *Tarentine Νοῦμμοι* with that Stamp upon them are in *Goltzius*. Again our Author acquaints us, That according to *Aristotle* the Old Talent of Sicily contain'd xxiiv *Νοῦμμοι*, but the later xii only: and that a *Νοῦμμος* was equivalent to an *Obolus* and a Half. And then he confirms the Authority of the word *Νοῦμμος* by two Passages of *Epicharmus*; the First of them, *Ἡρῶς ἰὼν εὐθὺς πρὶά μοι δέξα νοῦμμων μόσχον καλήν*; which is thus to be distinguish'd, and reduc'd to iambics.

<sup>1)</sup> *Pollux*, p. 436. [IX 79].  
[V p. 173 Sp.]

<sup>2)</sup> *Varro d. L. L. p. 41.*



Κᾶρουξ ἰὼν

Εὐθὺς πρῶν μοι δέκα νόμμων μόσχον καλήν.

There seems to be no room for doubting, but that the Verses were thus written by the Poet; and yet the Reader may take notice, that there's a Spondee in the Fourth Place instead of an Iambic; but then it is softned <sup>465</sup> by two short Syllables that come immediately before it. The same Measure seems to be used in the Second Fragment of *Epicharmus*, cited by *Pollux*: Ἄλλ' ὅμως καλαὶ καὶ πῶι ἄρνες εὐρήσουσι δέμοι καὶ νόμμους, πωλατιαὶ γὰρ ἐντὶ τᾷς ματρός; which is thus reducible to Trochaics; though here the MS do not assist us:

Ἄλλ' ὅμως καλαὶ τε πῶι τ' ἄρνες εὐρήσουσί μοι

Δέκα νόμμους, πωλατέαι γὰρ ἐντὶ μετὰ τᾷς ματέρος.

*Πῶς* I take to be a true Doric word, from whence come *πῶτερος* *πῶτατος*.

#### The Divisions of the ΑΙΤΡΑ.

*ΠΕΝΤΟΥΤΚΙΟΝ* a Coin of Five ounces Brass, or of Silver equivalent to them, is mention'd by *Epicharmus*, in that fragment produced above.

— Εξάντων τε καὶ πεντουγκίων.

The Latins call'd it *Quincunx*. And perhaps, as the Latins had the *Septunx* too, so the *Sicilians* might have *Ἑπτούγκιον*, though we have now no Author that mentions it. I will correct here a passage of *Festus*, which has created some trouble to the Learned Antiquaries of this and the last Age. *Sextantarii Asces*, &c. The *As's*, says he,<sup>1)</sup> of two Ounces weight, call'd *Sextantarii*, came into use in the Second Punic War, to which he adds, *Septuennio quoq;* (anno) *usus est, ut priore numero; sed id non permansit in usu, nec amplius processit in maiorem.* Here *Festus* is very much blam'd by *Budæus*, *Hottoman*, *Harduin*, and others; for affirming that the *Sextantarii Asces* continued in use Seven Years only, since it plainly appears from *Pliny* that they lasted a good while longer. But the fault is not in *Festus*, but in those that transcribed him ill; for the true <sup>466</sup> Reading is thus: *SEPTUNCIO quoque VARRO usus est, ut priore*

<sup>1)</sup> *Fest. in Sextant.* [347 M].

Numero, &c. that is, *Varro* used the word *Septuncium* as he did the *Number* before it (*Sextans*); but the Word did not continue in use, nor did the Compounds from *Uncia* go to a higher number than *Seven*. He means, the *Latins* did not say, *Octuncium*, *Nonuncium*, *Decuncium*. But let us hear *Varro*<sup>1)</sup> himself, who will be Voucher for this Emendation. *Septunx, à septem & uncia conclusum. Reliqua obscuriora, quod à deminutione: & ea quæ deminuuntur, ita sunt ut extremas syllabas habeant: ut à duodecim una dempta uncia, Deunx: Dextans, dempto Sextante: Dodrans, dempto quadrante: Bes, ut olim Des, dempto triente.* The meaning of which is, That they went no higher than *Septunx* in the Compounds from the Number and *Uncia*, but they said *Bes* for *viii* Ounces, *Dodrans* for *ix*, *Dextans* for *x*, *Deunx* for *xi*: So that when *Festus* tells us in another place; *Nonuncium, quod vulgo magistri ludi appellant, significat novem uncias*: we are to understand him that *Nonuncium*, though it was used by Schoolmasters when they taught Boys, was no legitimate word nor of popular use.

*ΤΡΙΑΣ. ΤΕΤΡΑΣ. ΕΞΑΣ.* The account that *Pollux* gives of the divisions of the *λίτρα* is exscribed from *Aristotle's* Book of the *Himeræan Polity*: The Passages are very faulty; but because they come twice over, they may easily be corrected by comparing one with the other, and both with the *Roman* Moneys which were borrow'd from *Sicily*. *Ἀποστοτέλης*, says he,<sup>2)</sup> ἐν τῇ Ἱμεραίων Πολιτείᾳ φησὶν, ὡς αἱ μὲν Σικελιώται τοὺς δύο χαλκοὺς ἐξάλιτρα (P. 436. ἐξ τάλαντα) καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ ἓνα Οὐγκίαν, τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς Τράκοντα (P. 436. τρία τάλαντα) τοὺς δὲ ἐξ Ἡμιλετρον, τὸν δὲ ὀβολὸν Ἄτραν, τὸν δὲ Κορίνθιον στατήρα Δεκάλετρον, ὅτι δέκα ὀβολοὺς δύνανται. Where the first Error of the Copyers is ἐξάλιτρα in one place, and ἐξ τάλαντα in the other: in the former place the *Vossian* and *Palatine* MSS have it, δέξαντα, in the latter they vary not from the Editions. Now from all the three words compared together, the true Reading easily results, Ἐξάντα: so *Hesychius*; Ἐξᾶς, εἶδος (νομίσματος) παρὰ Συρακουσίοις, and *Arcadius* the Grammarian in his MS. Tract *Περὶ Τόνων*, quoted

<sup>1)</sup> *Varro de L. L.* iv. p. 41. [172 Sp.] [IV 174]. 436. [IX 80].

<sup>2)</sup> *Pollux* p. 216.

by *Salmasius*; <sup>1)</sup> Ἐξᾶς ἐπὶ ποσότητος ὃν περισπᾶται· which is word for word too in *Theodosius's* MS. *Építome of Herodian's* Book call'd *Καθόλου*, in the Public Library at *Oxford*. And we met with the word just now in the fragment of *Epicharmus*.

Δεκαλιτράν τε πλήρες, ἐξάντων τε, καὶ πεντουγκίων.

For the MS there reads it ἐξάντιον: and it's well known that *ω* are commonly mistaken by Copyers for *ω*. I myself have had frequent experience of it in sheets from the Press: as in my notes on *Callimachus*, it's somewhere printed τῶν instead of τῶν. The Second mistake of *Pollux's* Copyers is *Τριάκοντα* and *Τρία Τάλαντα*, for *Τριάντα*. *Hesychius*, *Τριάκοντος πόρνη*, λαμβάνουσα *Τριάκοντα*, ὃ ἐστὶ *Λεπτὰ εἴκοσι*. Here again is the very same error, that the Copyers of *Pollux* committed, *τριάκοντα* instead of *Τριάντα*. For this and *Ἐξᾶς* being Foreign Words, and not commonly understood in *Greece*, had the common Fate of all words of that sort, to be corrupted by Transcribers.

ΟΥΤΚΙΑ. So the MS has it, instead of *Οὐγγία*, and that's the truer Reading, though its written both ways in the Books of the *Greek Physicians*, in the time of the <sup>468</sup> *Roman Empire*, when they speak of *Weights and Doses*. *Photius* in his MS *Lexicon*; *Οὐγκίαν*, τὸν σταθμόν, Σώφρων καὶ *Ἐπίχαρμος*. *Suidas*: *Οὐγκία*, εἶδος μέτρου, ἢ σταθμός.

The ancient Writers were content to be moderately accurate in their comparisons of *Moneys*. They commonly reckon'd the *Roman Denare* to be equivalent to an *Attic Drachm*; though in strict examination they were not so. But they thought it better to neglect those *Fractions*, for the conveniency of expressing themselves in round *Summs*; and they consider'd they were *Historians*, and not *Masters* of the *Mint*. We have an Instance of this in the very thing that now lies before us: where the *Sicilian Money* is thus adjusted by *Aristotle*, to the *Moneys of Greece*: *Ἀν Οὐγκία*, says he, <sup>2)</sup> is one *Attic Chalcus*; and the *Ἡμιλίτριον* is six *Chalci*, and the *Litra* is an *Æginean Obolus*. Now if we examine this rigidly, the computation cannot be true.

<sup>1)</sup> *Salmas. de Modo Usur.* p. 256. [*Arcad.* 21, 22 τὸ μέντοι ὁψᾶς περισπᾶται. καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ ποσότητος ὃν. — R].

<sup>2)</sup> *Pollux* p. 2. 6. 436. [l. 1.]

For the *Litra*, according to *Aristotle*, contain'd XII *Attic Chalci*, and yet was equal to an *Ægean Obolus*: so that by this reckoning the *Ægean Obolus* was equal to XII *Chalci*. But the *Ægean Obolus* was to the *Attic* as x is to vi; and the *Attic Obolus* had the Value of VIII *Chalci*: therefore the *Ægean Obolus* was not equal to XII *Chalci*, for the Proportion of XII to VIII is not the same with the Proportion of x to vi. But as I said before, such small Differences were neglected by the Old writers, and they were content, if their calculations were tolerably exact. *Diodorus Siculus* says, *The Πεντηχοντάλιτρον of Demareta was equivalent to x Attic Drachms*: by which computation a *Δεκάλιτρον* was equal to II *Attic Drachms*. But *Aristotle* computes that a *Δεκάλιτρον* was equivalent to XII *Ægean Oboli*, which are more than II *Attic Drachms*. The same *Aristotle* assigns τρία ἡμισόλια, an *Obolus* and a half as an equivalent to the *Sicilian Νοῦμμος*: where he seems to mean the *Ægean Obolus*, and at that rate the *Νοῦμμος* was the fourth part of an *Ægean Drachm*. But as the *Nummus* at Rome was the 17th of the *Denarius*, so the *Νοῦμμος* in *Sicily* seems to have been the 17th of the *Δεκάλιτρον*. The *Δεκάλιτρον* therefore by this reckoning was equal to an *Ægean Drachm*, or to one *Attic Drachm* and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . And it's no great wonder, if *Aristotle* in different Books should make such different Computations; since in one and the same Paragraph his Accounts, as we have seen, are not consistent. But the Learned *Salmasius* and *Gronovius* instead of τρία ἡμισόλια in *Pollux*, read it τρίτον ἡμισόλιον, two *Oboli* and a half: and if this correction be admitted, the Calculation will be the juster. For a *Litra* being equal to an *Obolus*, the *Νοῦμμος*, two *Oboli* and half will be exactly the 17th part of the *Δεκάλιτρον*; as the *Nummus* being two *As's* and half at Rome, and therefore call'd the *Sestertius*, was the 17th of a *Denare*. And indeed it must needs be own'd, whether we read τρία ἡμισόλια or τρίτον ἡμισόλιον, that as 17 *Nummi* made a *Denarius*, so 17 *Νοῦμμοι* made a *Δεκάλιτρον*; as the Passage of *Festus* compared with *Pollux*, and the *Roman Accounts* compared with the *Sicilian*, make it plain beyond Controversie.

The Roman *TRIENS* signified a third part of an *As* or of XII Ounces, the *QUADRANS* a Fourth, and the *SEX-*

**TANS** a Sixth. This is certain, and needs not now to be proved. But yet among the *Sicilians*, from whom the *Romans* borrow'd those words, a **TPIAΣ** is said to mean three parts <sup>470</sup> of the *Άκτρα*, or three Ounces, not the third part of it or four Ounces, and so **TETPAΣ** to be four Ounces, and **EKTAΣ** to be six Ounces: which makes a very wide difference between the accounts of the two Nations. *Τρεῖς Χαλκοῖ*, says *Pollux*,<sup>1)</sup> *ἔπερ τριᾶντα*; and again, *Τριᾶντα ἔπερ τρεῖς χαλκοῖ*, that is, *A TPIAΣ means three Ounces*. *Τετρας δηλοῖ τεσσαρας χαλκοῦς*, says *Hesychius*, a **TETPAΣ** stands for four Ounces. And in another place, *Τριᾶντα, ἔπερ Λεπτά εἴκοσι*, a **TPIAΣ** is *xx Lepta*. Which is the same again with three Chalci or Ounces, one Chalcus containing *vii Lepta*. What shall we say to this matter? must we disbelieve these Grammarians? or suppose their Copiers have done them wrong? or must we take it at their words, that the *Sicilians* reckon'd so, though we do not know why? *Jos. Scaliger*<sup>2)</sup> supposes, that the *Sicilians* took those words in the same sense as the *Romans* did: and that the Grammarians were mistaken, though, says se, it is not so much a mistake, as an Idiotism; for the *Vulgar* used to call a Division into *iv* parts, *Tetrantes*, and into *viii*, *Octantes*, as we may see in *Vitruvius*. On the contrary, *Salmasius*<sup>3)</sup> maintains, That the Grammarians are in the right, and that the *Sicilians* took *τριᾶς*, and *τετρας*, and *δexas* for *iii*, *iv* and *x* parts of *xii* Ounces or *Litra*; and that the *Romans* were to blame, for changing the meaning of those words; and that *Vitruvius's* sense of them is not an Idiotism, but the true and proper Notion. If so mean a Writer as I am may have the liberty to interpose in the Controversie of such great Men; I am persuaded the thing was thus. Both *Sicilians* and *Romans* had the same Notion and Use of the Words; *τριᾶς* and *Triens*, *τετρας* and <sup>471</sup> *Tetrans* or *Quadrans*, *ἑξᾶς* and *Sextans* meant the *iii*d, *iv*th, and *v*th part of any Whole whatsoever was spoken of; so that when they were applied to a Pound weight of *xii* Ounces, they must signifie *iv*, *iii*, and *ii* Ounces. Thus far I agree with *Scaliger*; and I think *Salmasius* was quite out when he espoused the other opinion. For the words

<sup>1)</sup> *Pollux*, p. 2, 6, 436.

<sup>2)</sup> *Scalig. de re Num.* p. 5, 6.

<sup>3)</sup> *Salmas. De Modo Usur.* p. 254, &c.

themselves refute him; all we have of them of this Form in the Division of the Litra being only these three, ἑξᾶς, τριᾶς, and τετρας: but if ἑξᾶς meant six Ounces, and so the rest; then we should have had other such Divisions of the Litra, ἐπτάς for vii Ounces, ὀκτάς for viii, ἐννεᾶς for ix, δεκάς for x, ἐνδεκάς for xi. On the other side, if ἑξᾶς signifie the viith part of the Pound, that is ii Ounces; and the other two words in like manner; then the reason is plain why we have no more Divisions of it than those three: because they are the only Divisions of xii, that make even Numbers, all the rest producing Fractions; as πεντάς a vth of xii Ounces would be ii Ounces and  $\frac{1}{10}$  of an Ounce, ἐπτάς a viith would be i Ounce and  $\frac{5}{7}$ , ὀκτάς an viith would be i Ounces and  $\frac{1}{28}$ , ἐννεᾶς a ixth would be i Ounce and  $\frac{1}{8}$ , δεκάς a xth would be i Ounce and  $\frac{1}{5}$ , ἐνδεκάς a xith would be i Ounce and  $\frac{1}{11}$ . These being all Fractions, the *Sicilians* would not coin any Money of these several Divisions; because instead of being usefull they would puzzle and confound all reckonings. But if *Salmasius's* opinion were true, we should certainly have had πεντάς for a Coin of v Ounces: for we are sure they had Money of that weight: but then they did not call it πεντάς but πεντούγκιον, as in the Fragment of *Epicharmus*;

472

— Εξάντων τε καὶ πεντούγκιον.

This single word πεντούγκιον is a Demonstration against *Salmasius*. For as the *Romans* taking Quadrans for a ivth part of xii Ounces, could not express the notion of a v Ounce piece by Quintans, but by Quincunx; so by the way of Reverse, the *Sicilians* expressing a v Ounce piece by πεντούγκιον could not mean iv Ounces by τετρας, but the ivth part of xii Ounces. Again, we are told by *Pollux*, that the *Sicilians* took ἑξάντα for ii Ounces; but according to *Salmasius*, ἑξᾶς must mean a vi Ounce piece, which is utterly improbable upon another account; because ἑξᾶς would then be the same with ἡμιλέτριον. But as the *Romans* used Semissis to denote a piece of vi Ounces, and had therefore no such word as Sexunx; so the *Sicilians* having the word ἡμιλέτριον or vi Ounces, as appears from *Epicharmus*, *Aristotle*, and *Pollux*, had no need to say ἐξούγκιον or ἑξᾶς for the same weight. 'Tis true in some MSS of

*Pollux* 'tis not ἐξάντα but διξάντα; and *Salmasius* is pleas'd to prefer that Reading, as a *Doricism*, from διξός. But it's only in one place of *Pollux*, that the MSS have it διξ, in the other they all read it εξ. And with submission, they were not the *Dorians*, but the *Ionians*, that used διξός for δισός, as we see in xx places of *Herodotus*. And if the *Sicilians* used διξάντα in *Salmasius*'s sense, why did they not say τριξάντα, but τριάντα? for *Herodotus* has τριξοὶ for τρισσοὶ as well as διξοὶ for δισσοὶ. Upon all accounts then I espouse the opinion of *Scaliger* against that of *Salmasius*: but in the remaining part of the Dispute, I humbly conceive they are both mistaken; the one, while he excuses the use of τριάς and τετράς for iii and iv parts of xii, as an *Idiotism*, which may be justified by *Vitruvius*; 473 the other, while he thinks *Vitruvius* must be taken in that sense, which he esteems the true notion of the words. The Passage of *Vitruvius*<sup>1)</sup> is thus; *Dividuntur Circinationes tetrantibus in partes quatuor, vel octantibus in partes octo ductis lineis*. *Scaliger* interprets these *Tetrantes* and *Octantes* to be a Square and an Octagon inscribed in a Circle: which mistake is so palpable, that it needs no refutation. *Salmasius* says, *Tetrans* here means a thing with iv parts, and *Octans* a thing with viii. On the contrary to me it seems evident, that *Vitruvius* takes *Tetrans* for a Quadrant, or the rvth part of a Circle, and *Octans* for the viii th part. A Circle, says he, must be divided into iv parts *Tetrantibus*. If *Tetrans* had meant all the iv parts, he would not have said *Tetrantibus* but *Tetrante*. But there's another place<sup>2)</sup> that plainly shews what he understands by *Tetrans*. *Ducatur rotunda Circinatio, & in ea catheto respondens diametros agatur. Tunc ab summo sub abaco inceptum in singulis Tetrantorum actionibus dimidiatum oculi spatium minuatur, donecum in eundem Tetrantem, qui est sub oculo veniat*. Here he supposes a Circle to be divided by two Diameters as right Angles; that is, into iv equal parts; and these iv parts he calls *Tetrantorum*, and one rvth he calls *Tetrantem*. So that *Vitruvius*'s Notion of *Tetrans*, and *Octans* does not differ from the received Notion of *Quadrans* among the *Romans*, as *Scaliger* and *Salmasius* thought. They were taken by

1) *Vitruvius*, x, 11.2) *Vitruvius*, iii, 3.

*Vitruvius* and every body else for the *xvth* and *viii* part of any Whole whatsoever; and all the words of that Form, that could be applied to the Divisions of the *As* or *Libra*,  
 474 have the very same meaning, *Scatans* the *vith* part of the whole *As*, *Triens* the *mid*, *Quadrans* the *xvth*: and so among the *Sicilians* *ἑξῆς*, *τρίᾱς*, *τετράς*. *Octans* indeed was not used as a division of the *Libra*, because as I observ'd before, it would have made a troublesome Fraction: but it was used in the Division of other things whether Magnitude or Number, as here by *Vitruvius* for the *viii*th part of a Circle. So *ΔΕΚΑΣ* a *Sicilian* word mention'd by *Arcadius*,<sup>1)</sup> *Τὸ Δεκάς περισπᾶται, ὅτε ἐν ποσότητος τάσσεται*, though it was no Species of Money for the reason above named, yet it was a name of Measure and Quantity, and denoted the *xth* part of any thing. It appears then from the whole account, That the ancient *Romans* had all their Names and Species of Money from the *Dorians* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and continu'd every word in its original Sense. And because Money was first coin'd at *Rome* by *Servius Tullius*, who began his Reign *Olymp. l. 4.* and died *Olymp. lxi. 4.* and consequently was contemporary with *Phalaris*; 'tis a plain case, that in *Phalaris's* time as well as afterwards, the *Sicilians* had those Species of Money.

After I had prepared this Defense of my account of the *Sicilian* Talent, I observ'd that *Mr. B.* in his Second Edition had made some few Additions to his Remarks upon this Article. At first he told us,<sup>2)</sup> *It would not perhaps be difficult to offer some Emendations of Pollux, that might set these things right*: but it seems for some secret Reasons he would not oblige us with them. But in his 2d Edition being in better Humour, *Not to be too reserv'd*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> *with the Dr. I shall now offer what may set Pollux right*,  
 475 *and I wish the Dr. himself were as capable of Emendation.* I thank the Gentleman for his good Wish; but if he can give Me no better Emendation, than this that he has given *Pollux*; he would be no better a Director to Me, than some body has been to Him. His first Conjecture is, that *ἑξ τὰ*

<sup>1)</sup> *Salmas. p. 256.* [*Arcad. 22, 10 τὸ δὲ δεκάς περισπᾶται. ὅτε ἐπιτάσσεται.* — R.]

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 81.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*



λαντα, *ὑπερ ἐστὶ δύο χαλκοῖ*,<sup>1)</sup> is an Error of the Copyists for *ἐξάλιτρον*: A profound Conjecture indeed! 'tis but borrow'd from the other place of *Pollux*,<sup>2)</sup> where the Text has it *ἐξάλιτρα*, and I have prov'd above, that both places are corrupted, and that the true Reading is *Ἐξᾶντα*. Which *ἐξάλιτρον*, says Mr. B. signified the viith part of a *Litra*: and so the rest of the Compounds of *Λίτρα* in the same manner. Here our *Emendator* makes *Ἐξάλιτρον* mean the viith part of a *Litra*, which by all Analogy and all Examples of Authors must needs mean whole *Litræ*: so that he's out of his reckoning no less than six times six. What thinks he of *ἐξάμηνος*, *ἐξάμμερος*, *ἐξαέτης*, *ἐξάπηχυς*, *ἐξαδάκτυλος*, *ἐξάδραχμος*, *ἐξάστιχος*, and xx more? Must these signify the viith of a Month, Day, or Year, &c. or as all the World has yet suppos'd, must they mean vi Months, vi Days, vi Years, and so on? According to Mr. B's wise computation the *Δεκάλιτρον* must not be ten *Litræ*, but the Tenth of a *Litra*; which is a Hundred times less, than *Aristotle* and *Pollux* dream'd of. The *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον* must not be 1 *Litra*, but the xth of a *Litra*; which is 2500 less than poor *Diodorus Siculus* thought it, who values it at x *Attic Drachms*. The Prisoner's Chains, that *Diphilus* calls *Τετρακοντάλιτροι*,<sup>3)</sup> must not be xl Pound weight, but the xlth part of a Pound, which would not be quite so heavy, as some of those in *Newgate*. But of all Men *Aristophanes*<sup>4)</sup> is in the most 476 dangerous condition with his

*Πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι ῥῆμα μυριάμφορον;*

for he wish'd here for something, that would hold the measure of 10,000 Casks: but Mr. B. can tell him, that it means no more than the 10,000th part of a Cask; so that either the Poet or Mr. B. are mistaken a Hundred Millions in the reckoning. After so glorious a beginning, Mr. B. tells us in the next Sentence, that the *Sicilian Talent* was a piece of Silver, that answer'd to 1x *Litræ* of Brass. It seems he cannot open his Mouth without mistaking; for the Talent was no piece of Silver, nor a single Coin, but a Summ, as a Pound Sterling is in *English*: and 'twas reckon'd a Talent,

1) *Pollux* p. 436. [IX 81].

2) *Pollux*, p. 215. [IV 174].

3) *Id.* p. 216. [IV 174].

4) *Aristoph.* in *Pace*. [521].

whether it was paid in Silver or Brass; whether with  $\nu$  Silver *Δεκάλετρα*, or  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  *Νοῦμμοι*, or  $\lambda\chi$  *Λίτραι*, or  $\epsilon\chi\chi$  *Ἡμιλέτρια*; or all in *Ἐξάντες* or *Οὐγκίαι* of Brass; just as a Pound here is the same, whether it be paid in Crowns, or Shillings, or Half-pennies, or Farthings. His very next Sentence acquaints us, *That this  $\lambda\chi$  Pound weight of Brass was then divided into  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  pieces call'd Νοῦμμοι, each νοῦμμος being equal to two Pounds and a half, which the Romans would have call'd Nummus Sestertius, as they would have call'd  $\iota\upsilon$  of them a Decussis.* Here are three mistakes in the compass of one Proposition; so very fruitful is Mr. B. in those happy Productions. The *Sicilian Νοῦμμος* he makes to be a brass piece of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; which was a small piece of Silver, about the weight of Three Pence *English*. Aristotle says, the *Tarentine Νοῦμμος* had stamp'd upon it *ΤΑΡΑΣ* astride upon a Dolphin; and there are several

477 Silver ones of that sort yet preserv'd, but nothing like it in Brass. And indeed the absurdity of the Examiner's Notion is visible at first view: for who would stamp any Species of 2 pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight? the heaviest Coin was but one pound, and higher than that they did not go. He mistakes again, when he teaches us, that the *Romans* would have call'd that Brass piece of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , a *Nummus Sestertius*. For the *Roman Sestertius* was, like the *Sicilian*, of Silver: *In argento*, says *Varro*, *Nummus*, *id a Siculis*. There was no such Coin as *Sestertius*, till the second *Punic War*, when Silver Money came into use. Then he says, they would have call'd Four of those Brass pieces, a *Decussis*. Here he imagines that *Decussis* was a particular Coin; which was a Summ of  $\kappa\iota\upsilon$  Asses, or of  $\kappa\iota\upsilon$  pound weight of uncoin'd Brass; so were *Tressis*, *Quinquessis*, *Octussis*, and so on to *Centussis*, all Summs and not Species: though some Learned men have maintain'd these to be Coins, and the *Sestertius* to be Brass too; and so might lead Mr. B. out of the way. In the next place he proceeds, to give an account how the *Sicilian Talent* of  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  *Νοῦμμοι* came to sink so low as  $\kappa\iota\upsilon$  *Νοῦμμοι*: but his Suppositions, being bottom'd upon those two Mistakes, that the Talent was a single Coin of Silver, and the *Νοῦμμος* a Coin of Brass, they must needs be all Mistake too; and the Superstructure be like the Foundation. If the Readers be not

yet tir'd with his endless Blunders, they may see what work he makes of this in Pag. 81.

But the strangest thing of all, if any thing besides being in the Right can be now thought strange in our Examiner, is the flat Contradictions between this new Addition and what Mr. B. had said here before. The Old <sup>478</sup> part is to prove, that the Low Sicilian Talent is a mere Figment; the New is to make it probable, that there was a Low Talent, and to shew how it came to be so: the Old decries the passage of *Pollux*, as *so obscure and interpolated*,<sup>1)</sup> that nothing can be made on't; the New offers to clear it up, and *to set the thing right*, to make way for the Low value of the Talent:<sup>2)</sup> The Old undervalues *Festus*, and corrects it 3000 Denares instead of 3; the New espouses the present Reading 3, and would reconcile it with other Writers;<sup>3)</sup> in the Old the *ἐξάλειπον* is interpreted *vi Litræ*, in the New it's but *ii*: in the Old *he has good reason not to admit that the Sicilian Νοῦμμος was the same with the Roman Sestertius*;<sup>4)</sup> in the New he readily admits and plainly supposes it:<sup>5)</sup> in the Old *a Talent may be Brass, and equal to a Litra*; in the New *the Talent is a piece of Silver, and answers to lx Litræ*. Now if the old Text had been cashier'd, and struck out, we might allow this New Addition as the Examiner's Second Thoughts, and give him the common Right of changing his former Opinion upon better consideration. But, as if it were on purpose to amaze and astonish his Readers, the Old Text stands still as it did, and the New Piece is clap'd into it, as if they both consisted very well, and suited together. We have had one Instance before, where his Text and his Margin, like the two Faces of *Janus*, look quite contrary ways:<sup>6)</sup> but in This place not only the Margin is at war with the Text, but the very Text too by another Addition<sup>7)</sup> has a Civil War within it self. Now the Readers perhaps may be inclin'd to suspect, that some Assistant was over officious here, and that Mr. B. himself would not blow hot <sup>479</sup> and cold with the same Breath: but I would advise them

<sup>1)</sup> P. 88.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 83, 84.

<sup>3)</sup> P. 80.

<sup>4)</sup> P. 79.

<sup>5)</sup> P. 89.

<sup>6)</sup> See here p. 168.

<sup>7)</sup> P. 89.

not to be too rash, but to learn by my example,<sup>1)</sup> how feeble all such Arguments from Reason are in things that concern the Examiner. However, if there was any such Assistant, that put in a Finger here, I must own my self oblig'd to him: for though he bungled grievously in his Work, yet his Design was wholly on my side, To account for the Low *Sicilian Talent*, and to void all that Mr. B. had written about it before. And I am the more confirm'd in my opinion, That he was against Mr. B. because I find him playing meer Booty with him; Suppose, says he,<sup>2)</sup> *there was a Sicilian Talent of this low value; yet when a Talent was simply mention'd, it must mean the Common Talent, made up of 60 Minæ, and those divided each into 100 Drachmæ, and these into Oboli.* This looks now like a Salvo to come off with Mr. B. and to reconcile the New Piece and the Old together; but it's perfectly a Banter upon him, and seems design'd for a Piece of Nonsense: for the meaning of it is exactly thus: *Though a current Talent in Sicily was but worth about Half a Crown; yet when a Talent was mention'd in Sicily, it must mean 180 Pound Sterling.* But we may expect to have this Passage clear'd, when Mr. B. and the Assistant next see one another: and then too he may please to resolve, whether he will still oppose my Account of the *Sicilian Money*; or, if not, renounce, as he promises, not some particular *Epistles* only, but the whole *Set* of them.

BUT to let pass all further arguments from Words and Language; to me the very Matter and Business of the Letters sufficiently discovers them to be an Imposture. What force of Wit and Spirit in the Stile, what lively painting of Humour, some fansie they discern there; I will not examine nor dispute. But methinks little Sense and Judgment is shown in the Ground-work and Subject of them. What an improbable and absurd story is that of the LIV

---

<sup>1)</sup> See p. 409 &c.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 89.

Epistle? *Stesichorus* was born at *Himera*; but he chanced to die at *Catana*, a hundred miles distance from home, quite across the Island.<sup>1)</sup> There he was buried, and a noble Monument made for him. Thus far the Sophist had read in good Authors. Now upon this he introduces the *Himerenses*, so enraged at the others for having *Stesichorus's* Ashes, that nothing less will serve them, than *denouncing War, and sacking their City*. And presently an Embassy is sent to *Phalaris*, to desire his assistance: who, like a generous Ally, promises them what Arms and Men and Money they would: but withal, sprinkles a little dust among the Bees, advising them to milder counsels, and proposing this expedient, That *Catana*<sup>481</sup> should have *Stesichorus's* Tomb, and *Himera* should build a Temple to him. Now was ever any Declamator's Theme so extravagantly put? What? to go to War upon so slight an occasion? and to call in too the assistance of the Tyrant? Had they so soon forgot *Stesichorus's* own counsel?<sup>2)</sup> who, when upon another occasion they would have asked succour of *Phalaris*, dissuaded them by the Fable of the Horse and his Rider. Our Sophist had heard, that Seven Cities contended about *Homer*; and so Two might go to Blows about another Poet. But there's a difference between that Contention, and this Fighting in Earnest. He is as extravagant too in the Honours he would raise to his Poet's Memory; nothing less than a Temple and Deification. *Cicero*<sup>3)</sup> tells us, that in his days there was his Statue still extant at *Himera* (then called *Thermæ*), which, one would think, was Honour enough. But a Sophist can build Temples in the Air, as cheaply and easily as some others do Castles.

<sup>1)</sup> *Suidas* Πάρτα δὲ τῷ & Στῆσιχ.

l. ii. [20].

<sup>2)</sup> [Verr. II. 25, 87].

<sup>3)</sup> *Aristot. Rhet.*

What an inconsistency is there between the LI and LXIX Epistles? In the former he declares his immortal hatred to one *Python*, who, after *Phalaris's* flight from *Astypalæa*, would have persuaded his  
 482 Wife *Erythia* to a second marriage with himself; but seeing her resolved to follow her Husband, he poison'd her. Now this could be no long time after his banishment; for then she could not have wanted Opportunities of following him. But in the LXIX Epist. we have her alive again, long after that *Phalaris* had been Tyrant of *Agrigentum*; for he mentions his growing old there.<sup>1)</sup> And we must not imagine, but that several years had passed, before he could seize the Government of so populous a City, that had 200,000 Souls<sup>2)</sup> in it, or, as others say, 800,000.<sup>3)</sup> For he came an indigent Stranger thither, according to the Letters; and by degrees rising from one employment to another, at last had opportunity and power to effect that design. Besides, in the LXIX Letter, she is at *Crete* with her Son; and in the LI, she is poison'd (I suppose) at *Astypalæa*: for there her Poisoner dwelt; and 'tis expressly said, she design'd, but could not follow her Husband. Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believed *Astypalæa* to be a City in *Crete*. 'Tis certain, that the Editors of *Phalaris* by comparing these two passages together, made that discovery in Geography: for it could not be learnt any where else; and 'tis an admirable token, both that the Epistles  
 483 are old and genuine, and that the Commentators are not inferior to, nor unworthy of their Author.

What a scene of putid and senseless formality are the LXXIIX, LXXIX, and CXLIV Epistles? *Nicocles* a *Syracusan*, a Man of the highest rank and quality,

<sup>1)</sup> *Διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆρα.* Ep. 69. <sup>2)</sup> *Diod. Sicul. p. 205.*  
 [XIII 84]. <sup>3)</sup> *Diog. Laert. in Empedoc. [VIII 2, 63].*

sends his own Brother an hundred miles with a request to *Phalaris*, That He would send to *Stesichorus* another hundred miles, and beg the favour of a Copy of Verses upon *Clearista* his Wife, who was lately dead. *Phalaris* accordingly sends to *Himera* with mighty application and address, and soon after writes a second Letter of Thanks for so singular a Kindness. Upon the fame of this, one *Pelopidas*<sup>1)</sup> entreats him, That he would procure the like favour for a friend of His; but meets with a repulse. Now, whether there was any Poem upon *Clearista* among the Works of *Stesichorus*, whence our Sophist might take the Plot and Ground-work of this story; or whether all is entirely his own invention and manufacture; I will not pretend to guess. But let those believe that can, that such stuff as this busied the head of the Tyrant: at least they must confess then, though the Letters would represent him as a great admirer and judge too of Poetry, that he was a mere *Asinus ad Lyram*. For, in the LXXIX Epist. he calls this Poem upon *Clearista* μέλος and μελωδίαν, which <sup>484</sup> must here (as it almost ever does) signifie a *Lyric Ode*, since it is spoken of *Stesichorus* a Melic or Lyric Poet. But in the CXLIV he calls it an *Elegy*, ἐλεγείον; which is as different from μέλος, as *Theognis* is from *Pindar*, or *Tibullus* from *Horace*. What? the same Copy of Verses both an Ode and an Elegy? Could not some years acquaintance with *Stesichorus* teach him the very Names? But to forgive Him, or rather the Sophist, such an egregious piece of Dulness; why, forsooth, so much ado, why such a vast way about, to obtain a few Verses? Could not they have writ directly to *Stesichorus*, and at the price of some Present have met with easie success? Do not we know, that all of that String, *Bacchylides*,

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. lxxv.

*Simonides, Pindar*, got their livelyhood by the *Muses*? So that to use *Phalaris*'s intercession, besides the delay and an unnecessary trouble to both, was to defraud the Poet of his Fee.

Nay certainly, they might have employ'd any hand rather than *Phalaris*'s. For, begging pardon of the Epistles, I suspect all to be a Cheat about *Stesichorus*'s friendship with him. For the Poet, out of common gratitude, must needs have celebrated it in some of his Works. But that he *did not*, the  
 485 Letters themselves are, in this point, a sufficient witness. For, in the LXXIX, *Phalaris* is feigned to entreat him, not once to mention his Name in his Books. This was a sly fetch of our Sophist, to prevent so shrewd an objection from *Stesichorus*'s silence as to any friendship at all with him. But that cunning shall not serve his turn. For what if *Phalaris* had really wish'd him to decline mentioning his Name? *Stesichorus* knew the World well enough, that those sort of requests are but a modest simulation; and a disobedience would have been easily pardon'd. In the LXXIV Letter, the Tyrant proclaims and glories to his enemy *Orsilochns*, that *Pythagoras* had stay'd five Months with him: why should he then seek to conceal from Posterity the twelve Years familiarity with *Stesichorus*? *Pindar*, exhorting *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuse* to be kind to Poets and Men of letters, tells him how *Cræsus* had immortal praise for his friendship and bounty to them,<sup>1)</sup> *but the memory of that cruel and inhospitable Phalaris was hated and cursed every where*. How could *Pindar* have said this, had he heard of his extraordinary dearness with *Stesichorus*? For their acquaintance, according to the Letters, was as memorable and as

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Pyth. I.* [95]. Τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκῆν καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον Ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις.



glorious, as that of *Cræsus* with *Æsop* and *Solon*. So that *Pindar*, had he known it, for that sole kindness to his fellow Poet, would have forborn so vile a character. *Plato*, in his Second Epistle, recounts to *Dionysius* some celebrated friendships of learned Men with Tyrants and Magistrates; *Simondes's* with *Hiero* and *Pausanias*, *Thales's* with *Periander*, *Anaxagoras's* with *Pericles*, *Solon's* and others with *Cræsus*. Now, how could he have miss'd, had he ever heard of it, this of *Stesichorus* with *Phalaris*? being transacted in *Sicily*, and so a most proper and domestic Example. If you say, the infamy of *Phalaris* made him decline that odious instance: in that very word you pronounce our Epistles to be spurious. For if They had been known to *Plato*, even *Phalaris* would have appeared as moderate a Tyrant as *Dionysius* himself. *Lucian*, that feigns an Embassy from *Phalaris*<sup>1)</sup> to *Delphi* for the dedication of the Brazen Bull, makes an Oration in his Praise, as *Isocrates* does of *Busiris*; where, without doubt, he has gathered all the stories he knew for Topics of his commendation; but he has not one word of his friendship with *Stesichorus*. Nor, indeed, has any body else. And do not you yet begin to suspect the credit of the Letters?

'Twould be endless to prosecute this part, and shew all the silliness and impertinency in the Matter of the Epistles. For, take them in the whole bulk, they are a fardle of Common Places, without any life or spirit from Action and Circumstance. Do but cast your eye upon *Cicero's* Letters, or any Statesman's, as *Phalaris* was: what lively characters of Men there! what descriptions of Place! what notifications of Time! what particularity of Circumstances! what multiplicity of Designs and Events! When you

1) In *Phalar. prior.*

return to these again, you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming Pedant with his elbow on his desk; not with an active, ambitious Tyrant, with his Hand on his Sword, commanding a Million of Subjects. All that takes or affects you, is a stiffness and stateliness and operoseness of Stile: but as that is improper and unbecoming in all Epistles, so especially it is quite aliene from the character of *Phalaris*, a man of business and dispatch.

MR. B. begins the Examination of this Article, with a Pedantic Digression and common Place about *Pedantry*; which I will not now meddle with, but reserve for a more proper place; that I may not, as He has done, interrupt the Business of this Section with an impertinent Excursion, that has no manner of relation to't.

488 The first Absurdity that I noted in the Matter of the Epistles, was the *Himeræans going to War with the Catanæans about Stesichorus's Ashes, and calling in Phalaris to their Assistance, against Stesichorus's own Advice in a Case exactly like it.* Now the Examiner pretends to answer this; but with greater Craft, than Ingenuity, he drops the principal part of it. *What is there,* says he,<sup>1)</sup> *in this Story either absurd, or improbable, that the Himeræans should be so concerned to get the Ashes of Stesichorus, and the Catanæans to keep them? What I, from the Epistles,*<sup>2)</sup> *call'd a War and sacking of a City, and a dependance upon the most Brutal of Tyrants; our Honourable Examiner stiles a Concern, and says not one word about the going to War. But he tells us, This very thing happen'd afterwards in the Case of Euripides, whose Bones the Athenians sent a solemn Embassy to Macedonia to retrieve, but their request was denied. And is this the very thing, and the same Case with that in the Epistles? It's so far from being the very thing, that one can hardly pick out a more proper Instance to refute the Epistles. For as the Athe-*

1) P. 100.

2) Ep. 54. Ἐλοῦσιν ὑμῖν πόλιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

nians met with a Denial, when they demanded *Euripides's* Ashes, and yet declar'd no War upon that account, nor committed the least Hostilities; so likewise the *Himeræans* would never go to War upon so slight an occasion, especially against a powerful City, that had the same Original with their own, both Colonies being founded by the *Chalcidians* of *Eubæa*. After this he<sup>1)</sup> informs us from *Pausanias*, That the Athenians built a Noble Monument to *Euripides*: but neither *Pausanias* nor *Thomas Magister*, who are the only Authors, I suppose, that speak of it, say a word of its Nobility; but the one<sup>2)</sup> calls it barely *Μνήμα Εὐριπίδου* *κενόν*, and the other *Κενοτάφιον*,<sup>3)</sup> without a word in its Commendation. Then he tells us out of *Plutarch*, That the *Orchomenians* endeavour'd all they could to get *Hesiod's* Bones, but the *Locrians* that had'em, would not be prevail'd upon to part with'em. And here again he puts a force upon his Author, and makes him say more than he really does: but though the Case were so, as he represents it, it would be, as the most of His are, a good Argument against Himself. For as the *Orchomenians* did not go to War upon't, though the very Oracle advised them to fetch *Hesiod's* Bones; so the *Himeræans* would not have run that hazard for the sake of *Stesichorus's*.

I had blam'd the Epistles for raising a Temple to *Stesichorus*;<sup>4)</sup> which the Examiner justifies from the several Temples erected to *Homer* at *Smyrna* and in other Places: Which the Doctor, says he,<sup>5)</sup> knew nothing of, though it be no secret even to the first beginners of Learning. 'Tis a good proof indeed, that the First Beginners may know this thing, because our Examiner knows it. But there's another thing, that I perceive even He knows nothing of, that *Homer's* case and *Stesichorus's* have no relation to one another. For I pray, at what time were the Temples built to *Homer*? 'Twas a long time before he was honour'd with so much as an Epitaph. He was buried, says *Herodotus*,<sup>6)</sup> in the Island *Ios*, καὶ ὕστερον πολλῷ χρόνῳ, and a long time after,

1) P. 100.  
Mag. vita Eurip. p. 100. [p. 140, 38 West.]  
Νεῶς ἱστάσθω Στῆσιγόρου.

2) Pausan. p. 2. [I 2, 2].

5) P. 101.

3) Thom.

4) Ep. 54.

6) Herod. vita

*Homeri* [p. 19, 494 West.]

when his Poems became famous, they made an Epitaph upon him. As for his Temple at Smyrna, which Strabo,<sup>1)</sup> Cicero, and others mention, it must needs be as recent as the City it self, and that was built by Antigonus and Lysimachus  
 490 six or seven hundred years after the Poet's time, the old City having been ruin'd and desolate for 400 years together. And then the Temple at Alexandria, that Ptolemee Philopater erected to his Memory,<sup>2)</sup> was later than that at Smyrna: and the Marble of Homer's Apotheosis, which is publish'd with an ample Commentary by the very Learned Cuperus, may be reasonably supposed to be later than them both. What has the Examiner got therefore by his Instances of Homer's Temples? They are all near ccc years younger than Phalaris and Stesichorus; and if a Custom obtain'd in this Latter Age, will he infer, that it was used too in the Former? Or will he compare the Fame of Stesichorus with the Glory of Homer? Or will he suppose that Stesichorus could immediately obtain those Honours; which Homer did not, 'till his Books had lasted vi Centuries, when he was numbred among the ancient Hero's? This is so poor an Excuse for the Sophist, that it's a further Detection of him. For, since He lived after Ptolemee's time, and had heard of Homer's Temples at Alexandria and Smyrna, it might easily come into His head to build the like for Stesichorus: but the true Phalaris, in whose days even Homer himself had no Temple erected to him, would never have thought on't.

But what a morose piece of Critic is that, where he will not give Me leave to say, as others have done,<sup>3)</sup> That Himera was afterwards call'd Thermæ? Because forsooth Diodorus and Cicero say, they were not built upon the same spot of Ground. And yet Diodorus<sup>4)</sup> himself expressly calls the Inhabitants of Thermæ, Himeræans: and Scipio, when he gave them the Statues that formerly belong'd to Himera;  
 491 and Cicero, when he tells that story of Scipio, do both as good as declare, that they look'd upon them as the same City. Polybius<sup>5)</sup> therefore joins both words together, and

<sup>1)</sup> Strabo p. 646.<sup>2)</sup> Ælian. xiii, 22.<sup>3)</sup> P. 101, 102.<sup>4)</sup> Diod. p. 280. [268. IV 23].<sup>5)</sup> Polyb. p. 24. [I 24].

calls them *Θερμῶν τῶν Ἰεραίων*; and so *Ptolemy*,<sup>1)</sup> *Θερμαὶ Ἰεραὶ πόλεις*, which *Cluverius* corrects *Ἰεραῖαι*; and so an Inscription in *Gruter*,<sup>2)</sup> *COL. AUG. HIMERÆORUM THERMIT*. And if I may not say *Himera* was called *Thermæ*, because they were not upon the same Spot; I must not say neither, what every body has said, that *Naxos* was call'd *Taurominium*, nor that *Sybaris* was call'd *Thurii*; no, nor that *Smyrna* was call'd *Smyrna*, nor *Magnesia* call'd *Magnesia*; for the new Towns of those Names were as remote from the old ones, as *Thermæ* from *Himera*.

I had charg'd the Letters with an *Inconsistency*; because the *L*ist makes *Phalaris's* Wife to have been poyson'd at *Astypalæa*, soon after her Husband's Flight, but the *L*ixth makes her alive in *Crete* many years after, when *Phalaris* was grown old in the Monarchy at *Agrigentum*. Mr. B. is pleased to reply,<sup>3)</sup> *That here I make an unreasonable Supposition, that the Letters must have been written in the same Order that they now stand; for if that do not take place, there's no manner of Inconsistency between these two Epistles.* Now what Name ought to be given to such a Writer as this is, who prevaricates so notoriously in a case as plain as the Sun? Did I ever make such a Supposition, that the Letters were written in the order they are Printed? Had I not expressly suppos'd in the *ix*th Article, that the *lxxxv*th Letter might be written before the *lxxxiv*th,<sup>4)</sup> nay before the *xx*th, nay before the very First of all? And is it not visible and plain to any man of Sense, that I <sup>499</sup> place the *Inconsistency* here, not upon the order of the Epistles, but upon the differences of Place and Time? I would ask him now in his own Language, *Was the pleasure of forging this imaginary Supposition, which is worthy of himself, and none of mine, an equivalent to the shame of being told on't?*

But he tells me,<sup>5)</sup> *I make Four other Suppositions; which have not the least Countenance from the Epistles, or any other History.* What the Examiner will grant or deny, to me is indifferent; but I appeal to Others, if every Particular that I said there may not be fairly gather'd from the

1) [III 4 p. 199 Wilberg]. 2) *Gruter* p. 433. 3) *P.* 102, 103.

4) See here p. 146.

5) *P.* 103.

Letters themselves. Phalaris<sup>1)</sup> fled from Astypalæa; His Wife endeavouring<sup>2)</sup> to follow him was poison'd by Python, who courted her to a second Marriage. Again, His Wife is alive in Crete,<sup>3)</sup> when Phalaris had long possess'd the Government of Agrigentum. All this is plainly affirm'd in the Letters. Now if Astypalæa was not a Town of Crete, but an Island of the Sporades, as I have prov'd already against Phalaris's Editors; then if she was poison'd at Astypalæa, she could not afterwards be alive in Crete. And if she was poison'd for endeavouring to follow her Husband, which cannot reasonably be suppos'd to be very long after his Flight: she could not be yet alive, when he was grown old in Sicily. I must confess, that these two Accounts are still in my opinion *Inconsistencies*. But Mr. B. and I may have very different Notions of what deserves to be called by that Name. For his Examination flatly contradicts his own Index to *Phalaris*; and his Margin in more places than one is directly opposite to his Text; and yet he seems  
 493 not to apprehend them to be *inconsistent* one with another: for he has made no retractation of his Index to *Phalaris*; and has made his Margin keep company with his Text, as if they were very good Friends.

My other Exception against the Epistles was the Sophist's absurd Conduct about *Nicocles's* Address to *Phalaris*, to obtain by his Intercession a Copy of Verses from *Stesichorus*. But the Examiner protests,<sup>4)</sup> he can see no harm, nor any thing unnatural in't. Now this being a matter of mere Judgment, and no Controversie of Fact, I am not surpriz'd to see Mr. B. and my self have such different opinions about it. And when a thing is once brought to that Issue, 'tis in vain to dispute further about it; but we must refer the whole matter to the Readers, that have Tast and Skill. I shall only take some short notice of the Particulars, that his Argument is built on. He says,<sup>5)</sup> *Phalaris was not successfull in a second Attempt upon Stesichorus, at the instance of a Sicilian Gentleman.*<sup>6)</sup> But it's plain from the Epistle it self, that *Phalaris* refus'd to make a second Attempt; so that the *Gentleman* was unsuccessfull

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. 4. 49.      <sup>2)</sup> Ep. 51.      <sup>3)</sup> Ep. 69.      <sup>4)</sup> P. 104.  
<sup>5)</sup> P. 104.      <sup>6)</sup> Ep. 65.

with *Phalaris*, not *Phalaris* with *Stesichorus*. Mr. B. it seems, does not know his own *Favourite Book*; and yet if I, that despise it, and believe it not worth the Reading, had made such a mistake about it, as this is: he would have given us two whole Pages in aggravation of the Fault, and have pour'd out his *Grimace* and *Banter* profusely upon so worthy a Subject.

But he finds I have high Thoughts of *Phalaris*,<sup>1)</sup> because I said, *That such Stuff as Stesichorus's Verses did not busie his Head*. They were not high Thoughts of his great Monarchy, but hard ones of his Cruelty and Barbarity, that made me suppose, such matters did not busie his head.<sup>494</sup> Mr. B. then might have sav'd that diminishing Character that he gives here of *Phalaris's* power. One may guess it was much against his Mind, to depress his *Sicilian Prince*: but his Anger against his Antagonist was stronger here than his Sense of Loyalty. But let us see how he manages? He was only a petty Prince, he says, of one Town in Sicily. I perceive, he has not lost all his former respect for him; he'll make him a Prince still, though it be but a Petty one. But why so ill-natur'd as to allow him but one single Town, *Agrigentum*; and in that single Town too to take away Half of his Subjects? What will he do therefore with *Suidas*,<sup>2)</sup> who makes him Tyrant of all Sicily? or with *Diogenianus*,<sup>3)</sup> who affirms, *That he subdu'd the City and Country of Leontini*? or with *Polyænus*,<sup>4)</sup> who makes him conquer the Sicanians and take Ouessa (or rather Inessa) their Capital City? or with *Diodorus*,<sup>5)</sup> who informs us, that he had two Castles, *Ἐκνομὸς λόφος* and *Φαλάριον*, in the Territories of *Gela*, a days Journey from *Agrigentum*? or lastly, what will he do with the Epistles<sup>6)</sup> themselves, which pretend he vanquished the *Leontini*, and the *Tauromenites* and *Zancleans* their Allies? If Mr. B. pleases to take all these into the account, he may allow his Prince to have been Master of a Million of Subjects; though *Agrigentum* should not be so populous, as *Laertius* represents it. And why now would Mr. B. deal so unkindly with him, to make

1) P. 104.

2) *Suid.* Φάλ. τυραννήσας Σικελίας.

3) *Diog. Παροιμιῶν* ii, 50. Καταπολεμήσας τοὺς Λεοντίνους.

4) *Polyænus*, v, 1.

5) *Diod.* p. 741. [XIX 108].

6) *Epist.* 85.

him a *Petty Prince of one City only*, when such Credible Authors assign him many more? Is there not, as I have often observ'd, a certain Fatality in this Gentleman's Errors, so that whether he talks for *Phalaris* or against him, on both sides he is always mistaken?

495 He goes on and tells me,<sup>1)</sup> *That there have been Tyrants with many millions of Subjects that have employ'd themselves about Poems. Has not the Dr. seen, says he, the Fragments of Augustus's Letters to Horace, pressing and obliging that Poet to write?* Never was piece of History more aptly applied: I can heartily now forgive him all he has said about Me, when I see how judicious and exact he is in bestowing Names and Characters. *Phalaris* is a *Sicilian Prince* with him, and *Augustus* is a *Tyrant*. Methinks that *Dionysius Tyrant of Syracuse* had been a nearer and properer Comparison; for he was so concern'd with Poets and Poems, that he not only had several Poets in his Court, but himself made several Tragedies. Though even this or any other such Instance had been wholly impertinent; for as I said, 'twas not *Phalaris's* Greatness, but his Barbarity and Ignorance (being an illiterate Publican, before he usurp'd the Tyranny) that makes his Dealings with *Stesichorus* for Copies of Verses, to be so improbable and absurd.

But a *Present*, he says,<sup>2)</sup> had been an *improper* means to obtain Verses of *Stesichorus*; for he was one of the *Greatest Men of Sicily*. This is a new piece of History, and to be sure he takes care to make it out well. Yes by two very good Arguments, First, because, as *Suidas* tells him, his Brother *Helianax* was *Νομοθέτης*, a *Lawgiver*. Ay, no doubt on't, if he was a *Lawgiver*, he must consequently be a Member of Parliament. But it falls out unfortunately, that the Legislative Power was not always in such Great Hands, as it's now a-days: *The best Law-makers*, says *Aristotle*,<sup>3)</sup> were of the *MIDDLE Rank of Citizens*; for *Solon* 496 was such a one, as appears by his Poems; and *Lycurgus*, for he was no King; and *Charondas* and most of the rest. Even *Aristotle* himself, whose Nobility was not extraordinary,<sup>4)</sup> made Laws for the *Abderitans*. *Zaleucus*, as we

<sup>1)</sup> *P. 105.*

[VI p. 1296 a].

<sup>2)</sup> *P. 105, 106.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Arist. Polit. iv. 11.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Laert. [VI, 4] Plutarch c. Colotem. [32].*



have seen above, was but a Shepherd and a Slave. *Eudoxus*<sup>1)</sup> the *Cnidian* made Laws to his own Citizens; and yet he was so poor,<sup>2)</sup> that *Theomedon* a Physician bore his Charges at *Athens*; and his Friends made a Purse for him, when he was to travel to *Egypt*. And *Protagoras* was Lawgiver to the *Thurians*,<sup>3)</sup> and yet at first he was no better than a Porter to carry Burdens.<sup>4)</sup> Why then must *Stesichorus* be one of the Greatest Men in *Sicily*, because he had a Brother a Lawgiver? The Examiner, we see, will still be true to his old way of Reasoning: for one may fairly infer the very contrary from it, that he was but of *Middle* and ordinary Quality. Well, but he must needs be one of the Greatest men there;<sup>5)</sup> because he made an Apologue to the *Himeræans* against *Phalaris*, About the Horse and his Rider, and the Stag.<sup>6)</sup> And is that such a proof of his *Wealth* and *Greatness* above the low temptations of *Money* and *Presents*? *Menenius Agrippa*<sup>7)</sup> made such another Apologue to the *Romans*, and yet he was so very poor, that he left not enough to bury him. There's another Apologue too of *Æsop's*, mention'd by *Aristotle* in the very place where he tells *Stesichorus's*: and if *Æsop* a poor Slave could make Apologues at *Samos*, relating to Public Affairs; why must *Stesichorus's* Apologue at *Himera* prove him one of the Greatest men in *Sicily*? The *Arundel Marble* gives us a Date, when *Stesichorus* the Poet *Εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀπρίκετο*, went into Greece. Now *εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀπρίκεσθαι* means to travel into Greece to get Money,<sup>497</sup> as his Brother Poets did, who were to make their Fortunes by their Pen. When *Homer* was very poor, says *Herodotus*,<sup>8)</sup> some persuaded him *εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπρίκεσθαι* to go into Greece; and he design'd it, but died in *Ios*, before he began the Voyage. And the Readers will be apt to suspect, for all the Greatness that Mr. B. dreams of, that *Stesichorus* had no other Errand to Greece, than *Homer* had before him, and *Simonides* and others after him.

I had made another Censure upon the Epistles for

<sup>1)</sup> *Laert.* [VIII 8, 88]. *Plut.* *ibid.*    <sup>2)</sup> *Laert.*    <sup>3)</sup> *Laert.* [IX 8, 50].    <sup>4)</sup> *Bajulus*, *Φορμοφόρος*. *Gellius*, v, 3. [*Græci ἀχθοφόρους vocant*].

<sup>5)</sup> *P.* 106.    <sup>6)</sup> *Arist. Rhet.* ii, 2. [20].

<sup>7)</sup> *Livy*, ii. [32].    <sup>8)</sup> *Herod. Vita Homeri* [p. 14, 361 West.]

calling the same Copy of Verses both *Mélos* and *Ἑλεγεῖον*. The Examiner replies,<sup>1)</sup> *That by the different cast of his Head, he should have reason'd just the other way, and have infer'd something in favour of the Letters.* First, he says, a *Sophist* would not have confounded the words. True; a learned *Sophist* would not have writ such sorry *Epistles*, as a judicious *Man* would not have publish'd them: but our *Mock Phalaris* is a *Sophist* of that size, that no kind of *Blunder* is below his *Character*. But a *Prince*, says *Mr. B.* might not think himself oblig'd to write with all the exactness of a *Scholar*. This is just the *Second Part* of his *Complement* to *Queen Elizabeth*:<sup>2)</sup> he's resolv'd, it seems, to stand up for *Princes*, and maintain for them a *Royal Prerogative* of speaking improperly. But let *Mr. B.* be as good a *Courtier* as he pleases: I am now to consider him only in his *Capacity* of a *Critic*. I shall procede therefore, to his next *Remark*, *That Phalaris call'd it an Ἑλεγεῖον, when he ask'd it of Stesichorus, and knew not what Measure it would be in: but when he had it, and saw it was Lyric, he then call'd it Μέλος.*<sup>3)</sup> Who can deny now, but this<sup>498</sup> is sharply observ'd? but there's one inconvenience in't, that while he's careful of the *Prince's* Reputation, he betrays the *Poet's*. For if an *Elegy* in the proper Sense of the word (as this *Excuse* supposes) was bespoken of *Stesichorus*; why should he make a *Lyric* Poem instead on't? This had been just like the *Sign-Painter*, that whatsoever was bespoken of him, whether a *Lion* or a *Dolphin*, always painted a *Rose*. But *Mr. B.* will prove,<sup>4)</sup> *That Ἑλεγος and Ἑλεγεῖον had a looser sense than what the Grammarians put upon them; because Dion Chrysostom calls Heroic Verses on Sardanapalus's Tomb Ἑλεγεῖον.* But there's a *Figure* of *Rhetoric* here, call'd *Self-contradiction*, that's very frequent in our Examiner's Reasonings. For he had newly<sup>5)</sup> said, *A Sophist could not mistake Ἑλεγεῖον, the distinct Sense of which was so well settled before his Time by the Grammarians: and now he produces Dion Chrysostom, (who as he tells us,<sup>6)</sup> was as errant a Sophist and Declamer as ever was) employing it in a looser meaning than what the Grammarians*

<sup>1)</sup> P. 106, 107.<sup>2)</sup> See here p. 223.<sup>3)</sup> P. 107.<sup>4)</sup> P. 107.<sup>5)</sup> P. 105.<sup>6)</sup> P. 26.

put upon't. But to let this pass; what he teaches us here about the *Distinct Sense* that the *Grammarians* settled upon't, is but a cast of his own loose and unsettled Sense. For the Grammarians knew well enough, that *Ἑλεγείων* was taken for *Epitaph*, even without a Pentameter in't. They could learn that out of *Herodotus*,<sup>1)</sup> among others, when he tells 'em, *That the People of Ios τὸ ἐλεγείων τόδε ἐπέγραψαν*, wrote this *Elegy* on *Homer's Tomb*,

Ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει  
Ἀνδρῶν Ἡρώων κοσμήτορα δῖον<sup>2)</sup> Ὅμηρον.

And *Suidas*,<sup>3)</sup> one of those Grammarians, could not be ignorant of this; for he cites the very same Epitaph, and calls it *Ἑλεγείων*. The case is no more than this: In the 499 old times they generally made their Epitaphs in a single Distich, Hexameter and Pentameter; whence in process of time an Epitaph at large came to be call'd *Ἑλεγείων*. The Ancients, says the Scholiast<sup>4)</sup> upon *Apollonius Rhodius*, used *Ἑλεγεία* for *Inscriptions upon Tombs*. *Τὰ ἐλεγεία*, says *Lycurgus*<sup>5)</sup> the Orator, *τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις*. But what advantage is this now to Mr. B. and his *Phalaris*? An *Ἑλεγείων* of all Hexameters is as remote from a *Lyric Song*, as if it was mix'd with Pentameters. So that *Ἑλεγείων* and *Μέλος* cannot yet be used for the same Copy of Verses, but by that Privilege of making Solecisms, that Mr. B. would vindicate to *Princes*.

But his next Proof perhaps may be better: for a *Nightingale*, he says,<sup>6)</sup> in *Aristophanes's AVES*, is said to sing *Ἑλεγοί*, and by and by those very *Ἑλεγοί* are called *Μέλη*. This indeed carries both Surprize and Demonstration along with it. What a strange reach of Fancy has our Examiner? Who but He could ever have thought on this pretty Argument from a *Nightingale*? Let us put it into a Syllogism, *A Nightingale sings Μέλη*, *A Nightingale sings Ἑλεγοί*, Ergo *Μέλη* and *Ἑλεγοί* are the same. Very quaint indeed, and out of the common way! but it has one little Fault, that if a *Nightingale* can sing more Tunes than One, his

1) Herod. *Vita Homeri* [p. 19, 494 West.]  
the edd.]

3) Suid. v. Ὅμηρος.

2) [θεῖον in  
4) Schol. Apollonii ii,  
784. Τοῖς ἐλεγείοις ἐν τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις ἐχρῶντο οἱ παλαιοί.

5) Lycurg. p. 168 [§ 142].

6) P. 107, 108.

Syllogism must then be husht. Mr. B. seems to bring this Argument with a very serious Air; as if because the Poet metaphorically calls the Singing of a Bird by the several Names of Human Music, we may infer that all those Names may signifie one and the same thing. But in the very same Page *Aristophanes* says, that the Upupa, which we call the *Hoopoe*, no very melodious Bird, chanted a *Μέλος*:

Ὅπποφ μελωδεῖν αὐ παρασκευάζεται.<sup>1)</sup>

Mr. B. therefore by the very same Reasoning may give us another Syllogism, *The Nightingale sings a Μέλος, The Hoopoe sings a Μέλος, Ergo the Hoopoe sings like the Nightingale*. And by the same Argument Blackbirds will sing like them; for Their Notes too are *Μέλη*,

Κόσσυφοι ἀχεῦσιν ποικιλότραυλα μέλη.<sup>2)</sup>

and so the *Cicada* too,

Ξουθαῖν ἐκ πτερύγων ἀδὺ κρέκουσα μέλος.<sup>3)</sup>

Nay the very Frogs will croak like Nightingales:

Ταῖς Νύμφαισι δ' ἔδοξεν ἀεὶ τὸν Βάτραχον ᾄδειν.

Τῷ δ' ἐγὼ οὐ φθονέομι, τὸ γὰρ Μέλος οὐ καλὸν ᾄδει.<sup>4)</sup>

But what is still more extraordinary, the same Nightingale in *Aristophanes* a little after begins to chant a Lesson of *Anapaests*,

Ὕμνων σύντροφ' ἀηδοῖ,<sup>5)</sup>

Ἄρχου τῶν ἀναπαίστων.

So that by Mr. B's. powerful Argument both *Μέλη* and *Ἐλεγοι* and *Ἀνάπαιστοι* may be all used in the same signification. And if Mr. B. had but produc'd some *Anapaests* of Nightingales to confute my observation about the Measures<sup>6)</sup> of that Verse, they might have done him perhaps much better service than those of *Aeschylus* and *Seneca*.

I had declar'd, That I suspected all to be a Cheat, about the Friendship between *Phalaris* and *Stesichorus*; because the Poet himself never mention'd it, nor any other Writer; though several, had it been true, had fair occasion

1) *Aristoph.* p. 376. [Av. 226].

Jacobs I 195. Pal. II 155].

2) *Anthol.* i, 20. [ed.

Pal. I 361].

4) *Moschus.* id. iii. [107].

3) *Ibid.* iii, 24. [I 125 Jac.

5) *Aristoph.*

p. 395. [Av. 679—684].

6) See here p. 134. &c.

to speak of it. Now the Examiner accounts for *Lucian's* silence; because he had said enough, in naming *Pythagoras*, and to have added *Stesichorus's* name, would have made 501 the Piece look stiff and unnatural.<sup>1)</sup> Wonderfully nice and exact: he can tell you to a single Word, when a Treatise will be stiff; like the Gardiner that could determin to a Minute, when his Melons were ripe. How many have I sav'd, says *Phalaris* in *Lucian*,<sup>2)</sup> who plotted against me, and were convicted, as *Acanthus* that stands here, and *Timocrates*, and *Leogoras* his Brother? Now according to the Letters, *Stesichorus* too was taken Plotting, and yet the Tyrant saved his Life, and made him his Friend. But, says Mr. B, if *Lucian* here had added *Stesichorus* to the other Three, that single Name would have made the Discourse as stiff as any Buckram. And yet allowing, that *Lucian* himself had as nice a sensation of Stiffness as Mr. B. appears to have, and therefore would not put down Four names, but Three only; yet methinks he might have spar'd one of those Three, and put *Stesichorus* in his room; unless Mr. B. will shew, that *Timocrates* or *Leogoras* (whom no body ever heard of) were as famous as *Stesichorus*, and their Examples as memorable. But Mr. B. adds further, that if *Lucian's* silence be an Exception to *Stesichorus's* acquaintance with *Phalaris*, it is to *Abaris's* too: which yet our Critic has before,<sup>3)</sup> for the sake of *Aristotle* and *Jamblichus*, been graciously pleas'd to allow. Now without the Examiner's telling us, we might guess, that he was not awake sometimes in his Work;<sup>4)</sup> for surely the Man that writ this, must have been fast asleep;<sup>5)</sup> or else he could never have talk'd so wildly. There is not one word in that place that his Margin refers to, about *Phalaris's* Friendship with *Abaris*. And how could I allow it for the sake of *Aristotle*, who says not the least Syllable of it; or if I should allow it for the sake of *Jam-* 502 *blichus*, What would that be to *Lucian*? For according to *Jamblichus*, the Tyrant was kill'd by *Abaris's* means upon their first Acquaintance; how then could *Phalaris* in *Lucian* have magnified himself to the *Delphians* upon the past friendship of that *Hyperborean*? If *Lucian* had believed the

<sup>1)</sup> P. 109.<sup>2)</sup> *Lucian* I. *Phal.* p. 845. [§ 197].<sup>3)</sup> *Dissert.* p. 15.<sup>4)</sup> P. 203.<sup>5)</sup> P. 137.

story, as *Jamblichus* tells it, That the Tyrant was deposed by *Pythagoras* and *Abaris* at their first Visit; his mentioning *Abaris* or *Pythagoras* in *Phalaris's* Speech at *Delphi*, had been very absurd. But *Stesichorus* had been a proper Instance, if the Letters be true; for he was XII Years the Tyrant's Friend, and died too before him. So that *Lucian's* not mentioning Him shews he knew nothing of the Epistles; as on the contrary his mentioning *Pythagoras*, shews he knew nothing of that story of his deposing *Phalaris*.

In the next place Mr. B.<sup>1)</sup> accounts for *Plato's* Silence about the Friendship of *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris*: because *Plato* mentions nothing there of the Acquaintance between *Pythagoras* and *Phalaris*. An admirable account indeed! *Plato* says Mr. B. might omit the mention of *Stesichorus's* Friendship with *Phalaris*, and yet might believe it true; because he mentions not another Friendship, that in all probability is as mere a Fiction as that. Which is as just as if he reason'd thus; The Ancients in their Accounts of *Æsop*, say nothing of his Ugliness, and yet they might believe it: because they say nothing neither of *Xanthus*<sup>2)</sup> the *Philosopher* with his Company of *Scholastics*. But says Mr. B. the *Pythagoreans* all agree, that their Master and *Phalaris* were acquainted; and Dr. B. grants it. I granted they were *Contemporaries*; and by a familiar slight of hand,<sup>3)</sup> 503 he turns the word into *Acquaintance*; as he once did before. But how knows he that all the *Pythagoreans* agree; when the only men that speak a word of it are *Lucian* and *Jamblichus*; and they were neither of them *Pythagoreans*? or suppose the *Pythagorean* story true, as *Jamblichus*<sup>4)</sup> reports it, That *Phalaris* blasphem'd the Gods, despised *Philosophy*, and design'd to murder *Pythagoras*; would this have been as proper and domestic an Instance for *Plato*, as the XII Years Friendship with *Stesichorus*? What a master of Decency is Mr. B. and what a Relish has he of dextrous management, who goes about to excuse *Plato* for not numbering *Phalaris's* and *Pythagoras's* Enmity (for so it's represented by those *Pythagoreans* he speaks

<sup>1)</sup> P. 109.  
here p. 30.

<sup>2)</sup> *Planud. v. Æsop.* [c. 14].  
<sup>4)</sup> *Jambl. v. Pyth.* p. 184. [216—221].

<sup>3)</sup> See

of) among the *Celebrated Friendships* of Learned men with Tyrants?

As for the argument from the silence of *Pindar*,<sup>1)</sup> he will not attempt to answer it; which is a better sign of Discretion, than he usually shews. However he'll put me in mind of one false Colour that I have given to my Argument: For I said, *Pindar* exhorts *Hiero* to be kind to Poets and men of Letters: but, says he, there's not a word of that in the Verses themselves, whatever guess the Scholiast may make at their remote meaning. So that the Doctor might as well prove his Point from *Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*. What shall we say now to such a hardy Writer, as this is? who can deny with such an Air of Confidence, what every bodies Eyes can witness to be true? The very words of *Pindar* immediately preceding the passage I cited, are

*Καὶ λόγοις καὶ αἰδοῖς,*<sup>2)</sup>

which by the nicest Translation means *Men of Letters, and Poets*. And to be kind to such the Poet exhorts *Hiero* in <sup>504</sup> the Paragraph just before,

*Ἐλάνθει δ' ἐν ὀργῇ παρμένων,  
Εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἀδείαν δ' —  
Εἰ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις:*

that is; *Continue your generous Temper, and if you desire immortal Fame, do not be weary of being Bountifull.*

After he has denied that to be in *Pindar*, which is evidently and expresly there; the next and last advance he makes is to deny that to be in the *Letters*, which He himself once knew to be there, if it was He that translated them. The *Letters*, he says,<sup>3)</sup> do not imply, that there was any extraordinary dearness between *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris*; there's no proof from them, that *Stesichorus* lov'd him; His friendship was desired, and he only out of prudence did not stand off. This is spoken with a good measure of Assurance, let us see, with what measure of Truth. The Tyrant declares,<sup>4)</sup> that though he gave *Stesichorus* *xii* Years of Life, yet still he was in debt to him; for He alone of all Mortals gave him Courage, and taught him to despise Death;

<sup>1)</sup> P. 110, 111.

<sup>2)</sup> [Pind. Pyth. l 94].

<sup>3)</sup> P. 111.

<sup>4)</sup> Ep. 103.

<sup>5)</sup> 54.

and that for the sake of Stesichorus,<sup>1)</sup> he's ready to encounter certain Destruction. And the Fame of Phalaris's kindness to him was so great, that the *Tauromenites*<sup>2)</sup> applied to Stesichorus to intercede with the Tyrant, that he would remit the Price of their Captives. Stesichorus dies, before he could do it for them; but he leaves it in command to his Daughters to ask that favour in his Name. The Tyrant upon the first notice of the request immediately returns the Money, with this Protestation, *That he would not only do that for his sake, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τι καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον*, but any thing else, though 'twere more than Impossible. And yet it appears, from another Letter,<sup>3)</sup> that the Sum he remitted here was no less than a Hundred Talents, or 18,000 Pound Sterling, the greatest Sum by much that appears in the whole Set of Epistles, and six times as much as in another Letter<sup>4)</sup> he was fore'd to borrow for himself. This I presume is a pretty good token of an Extraordinary Dearness on Phalaris's side: and this alone would be argument enough, to prove Stesichorus was not insensible on His part; for Mr. B. surely will not make such a Ninny of his *Sicilian Prince*, as to suppose him so prodigal of his highest Favours without suitable returns of Friendship. But besides this, the very Letters are as express for Stesichorus's Love as for Phalaris's. For as the *Tauromenites* address'd to Stesichorus, to obtain favours of the Tyrant; so Pelopidas,<sup>5)</sup> and Nicocles<sup>6)</sup> apply themselves to the Tyrant to get favours of Stesichorus, which in His way were Copies of Verses. And the Argument that Phalaris uses to persuade the Poet to do that favour, is *To confirm the receiv'd Opinion that the World had of their Friendship*.<sup>7)</sup> And he tells us both there and once more;<sup>8)</sup> That Stesichorus desired leave to celebrate him in his Poems. But the Tyrant begs he would not do it, *Πρὸς ἐταρτέλου Διὸς καὶ κοινῆς Ἑστίας*, by such Obtestations as are used among the Dearest Friends and Relations. And its sufficient, he says, for Him to be written *ἐν αὐτῷ Στήσιχόρῳ* in Stesichorus's own Heart. Now if these do not imply a Friendship on Stesichorus's part, as well as

1) 54. 2) 31. 3) 85. 4) 118. 5) 65.  
6) 78. 7) 78. 8) 146.



*Phalaris's*, let the Reader be Judge: and at the same time let him reflect, what an odd sighted Examiner I have to deal with; that at some times can see in Books what <sup>506</sup> never was there; but at other times cannot see the plainest things, not only in other Men's Books, but even in his Own.

## XVI.

IT must needs be a great wonder to those that think the Letters genuine; how or where they were conceal'd, in what secret Cave, or unknown Corner of the World; so that no body ever heard of them for a thousand years together. Some trusty Servant of the Tyrant must have buried them under ground; and it was well that he did so. For if the *Agri-gentines* had met with them, they had certainly gone to pot. They that burnt alive both Him, and his Relations, and his Friends; would never have spared such monuments of him, to survive Them and their City. And without doubt it was immortal Vellum, and stoln from the *Parchments of Jove*; <sup>1)</sup> that could last for ten Ages, though untouch'd and unstirr'd; in spite of all damp and moisture, that moulders other mortal skins. For had our Letters been used or transcribed during that thousand years; some body would surely have spoken of them. Especially since so many of the Ancients had occasion to do so: so that their Silence is a direct argument that <sup>507</sup> they never had heard of them. I have just now cited some passages of *Pindar*, *Plato*, and *Lucian*; which are a plain indication, that they were unknown to those Three. Nay, the last of these, besides the proof above-named from his silence and prætermis-sion, does as good as declare expresly, that he never

<sup>1)</sup> *Διωθέναι Διός*. [See Valckenaer's note on Herod. p. 400 ed. Wessel., and Diatr. in Eurip. &c. p. 184sq. — D.]

saw our Epistles. For, not to mention other differences of less moment, he makes both *Phalaris*,<sup>1)</sup> and his Smith *Perilaus*, to be born at *Agrigentum*; but the Letters bring one of them from *Astypalæa*, and the other from *Athens*. *Lucian* then knew nothing of them; or at least knew them, as I do, to be spurious, and below his notice. Much less could he be the Author of them; as *Politian* and his followers believe; for he would neither have been guilty of such flat Contradictions; nor have so forfeited all Learning and Wit, by those gross blunders in Chronology, and that wretched pedantry in the Matter. And whosoever those Authors were, that *Lucian* followed, in his Narrative of *Phalaris*; They too are so many Witnesses against the Epistles. One can hardly believe, indeed, that the Sophist should venture to fetch his Tyrant from *Astypalæa*, without the warrant of some old Writer. But yet *Lucian* and  
 508 other Authors compell us to think so. And we find him as fool-hardy on other occasions. *Heraclides of Pontus*,<sup>2)</sup> that liv'd within two Centuries of *Phalaris*'s Age, says, the *Agrigentines*, when they recover'd their Liberty, burnt Him and his Mother: but our Sophist makes him an Orphan, ὀρφανίας πειραδῆναι;<sup>3)</sup> which if any one shall contend to mean the loss of his Father only, yet still He and *Heraclides* will not set horses together. For if *Phalaris* fled alone from *Astypalæa*, neither Wife nor Child nor any Relation following him, according to the Letters; how came the Old Woman to be roasted at *Agrigentum*? So little regard had the Sophist to fit his stories to true History: and I have had too much regard to him, in giving Him the Honour and Patience of so long an Examination.

<sup>1)</sup> *Phalar.* 1. [108]. Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν Ἀρχαῖσι ὢν & *ibid.* [198]. Περύλαος ἦν τις ἡμεδαπός.

<sup>2)</sup> *De Polit.* [XXXVII] ἐνέπρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα.

<sup>3)</sup> *Epist.* xlix.

THE Examiner, as if he design'd to make some amends for his former tedious Trifling, will give us very little Trouble upon this last Article. He would only parallel the Thousand Years, that *Phalaris's* Epistles lay in obscurity, with some Examples of other genuine Books, that had the same Fortune.<sup>1)</sup> *Velleius Paterculus*, he says, is not quoted till *Priscian's* time, 500 years after he wrote; and then we hear no more of him till *Aventinus's* time 900 years after *Priscian*. So *Phædrus* is first mention'd by *Avienus* (400 years after the Author's time) and by none 500 after him till *Pithæus* brought him to light. And *Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum* was not seen since St. *Jerom's* time, till after a Thousand years *Baluzius* publish'd it. But the Gentleman is out in his last Instance; for *Lactantius's* Book is mention'd by *Freculphus*, an Author of the 11th Century, and by *Honorius Augustodunensis* in the 12th, as the very Editions of *Lactantius* might have inform'd him. But to pass that over, what are all these Examples in comparison of *Phalaris's* Case? *Paterculus's* Book was own'd within 500 years, *Phædrus's* within 400, and *Lactantius's* within 100: and if they were not mention'd from those times till the Restoration of Learning, the reason is apparent, because the Western World in that Interval of time was so wretchedly ignorant and immers'd in Barbarity, that such Books as those were not read; or if they were read, the Readers of them were not Writers themselves, so as to let Posterity know that they read them. So that the Case of these Three Authors is common with most of the Rest: for there are several others of the Ancient Books, which we now have and acknowledge for Genuine, that are not mention'd by the Writers of those Barbarous Ages. But the Fortune of *Phalaris's* Epistles runs counter to all this: the Thousand years that follow'd that Tyrant's Age, was the greatest and longest Reign of Learning, that the World has yet seen or perhaps ever will: and in all that time these Epistles were never once heard of; but they first came into notice, when Learning was decaying, in the very Dusk and Twilight before the long

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 113, 114.

Night of Ignorance. Neither were they mention'd at 100,  
 510 or 400, or 500 years after the Date of them, and then  
 forgot for some Centuries (as it happen'd in Mr. B's In-  
 stances) but they were never seen for the first Thousand  
 Years after their pretended Writing; and when they once  
 appear'd, they continu'd always in use. A man must have  
 a very singular *Cast of his Head*<sup>1)</sup> that can think these  
 Cases to be parallel. But the greatest Difference is yet  
 behind; for though the Writers of the Barbarous Ages  
 do not speak of *Paterculus*, nor *Phædrus*, nor *Lactantius*;  
 yet they do not tell us any thing, that implies there were  
 no such Books in being. If they say any thing amiss,  
 that they might have corrected out of those Authors; 'tis  
 to be imputed to their own Ignorance or Laziness, that  
 they would not search into them; and cannot pass for a  
 Negative Proof, that there were no such Authors. But  
 the Writers for the first Ten Ages after *Phalaris*, being  
 Men very inquisitive, and of universal Learning, and ac-  
 quainted with all sorts of Books, some of them must needs  
 have met with the *Epistles* in all that time; if the Book  
 had been above ground: and yet they tell us several Par-  
 ticulars relating to *Phalaris*, which of necessity imply, that  
 they never had seen the *Letters*.

As besides the Passages that I have already produc'd,  
 there was a Controversie in those Ages about *Phalaris's*  
 Bull: for *Timæus* the famous *Sicilian* Historian, who wrote  
 about Olymp. cxxviii, said the whole story of the Bull  
 was a mere Fiction, though it had been so much talk'd  
 of by Historians as well as Poets. *Τίμαιος φησι μήτε*  
*γεγονέναι τοιοῦτον (ταῦρον) ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει (Ἀκρά-*  
*γαντι)* says *Polybius*; <sup>2)</sup> *Τοῦτον του ταῦρον ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐν ταῖς*  
 511 *ἱστορίαις διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γεγονέναι τὸ σύνολον,* says  
*Diodorus*. <sup>3)</sup> This I suppose is a plain Argument, that in  
 the Age of *Timæus*, (who was a Native of *Sicily* and the  
 Son of *Andromachus* the Founder and Governour of  
*Taurominium*, and wrote his Histories at *Athens*)<sup>4)</sup> the  
*Epistles* were neither known in *Sicily*, where they are  
 suppos'd to be writ, nor at *Athens*, the common Academy

1) *P. 106.*

2) *Polyb. Excerpta, p. 58. [XII 25].*

3) *Diod. p. 210. [XIII 90].*

4) *Plutarch De Exilio. [c. 14].*

of Learned and Curious Men. For if *Timæus* had heard of these Letters, how durst he have call'd in question the common Tradition about the Bull, since these Letters, if they be genuine, are such an Authenic and Demonstrative Proof of it? Well; but *Polybius* and *Diodorus* endeavour to refute *Timæus*, and to prove, that there was really such a Bull. And pray how do they go about it? Do they appeal to the Tyrant's own Letters? the most certain and easy way of Conviction, if such Letters were then in the World? nothing like it; but the sole Argument that they go upon, is a Brazen Bull that *Scipio* found in *Carthage* with a Door in the side of it; which was therefore suppos'd to have been *Phalaris's* Bull, and to have been carried to *Carthage* Ol. xciii, 3. among the Spoils of *Agrigentum*. But could either of them have omitted to mention the Tyrant's Letters, if ever they had met with them? and yet the one of them was a *Sicilian* born, and both of them great Travellers, and great Scholars. The *Epistles* therefore were not heard of in *Polybius's* time cxx years after *Timæus*, nor in *Diodorus's* time cxx years after *Polybius*. I am aware, that the Scholiast of *Pindar*<sup>1)</sup> represents *Timæus's* Narrative quite another way; for he tells us, as from that Historian, That the Agrigentines cast *Phalaris's* Bull into the Sea; and that the Bull in *Agrigentum*, which in his time<sup>512</sup> was shewn for *Phalaris's*, was only a Statue of the River *Gelon*. So that by this account *Timæus* did not deny, that the Tyrant had a Brazen Bull; but only censur'd the mistake of those that took a Statue of a River for it;<sup>2)</sup> for Rivers were often represented ταυρόμορφοι in the shape of Bulls. And if any one pleases to give credit to this Scholiast before *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, this Passage of *Timæus* will have no force against the *Epistles*. But I suppose there will not be many of that mind: or if all should be so; yet the Authorities of *Polybius* and *Diodorus* are still as strong against the *Epistles* for Their two Ages, as if they were believ'd in their account of *Timæus*. For since it's evident and undeniable, that they both suppos'd *Timæus* had denied the whole story of *Phalaris's* Bull; they

---

1) Schol. Pind. Pyth. 1. [185].

2) *Ælian. Var. Hist.* ii, 33.

would as certainly appeal to the Epistles, upon the supposition that *Timæus* deny'd it; as if he really had deny'd it.

Another Instance, which seems plainly to imply, That the Epistles of *Phalaris* were not extant in those Ages, is a Tradition, that he eat his own Son. *Aristotle*<sup>1)</sup> among other Examples of Eaters of Human Flesh reckons τὸ περὶ Φάλαριν λεγόμενον, the Report about Phalaris. What that report was, the Philosopher does not say expressly; but perhaps we may be inform'd by his Scholar *Clearchus*, who in his Book *Of Lives*, says,<sup>2)</sup> *Phalaris the Tyrant came to that degree of Cruelty and Immanity, that he devour'd sucking Children.* And from Him perhaps *Tatian* might have it; where he tells us,<sup>3)</sup> *That Phalaris used to take Infants from the Mothers Breasts, and eat them.* But this  
 513 can hardly pass for *Aristotle's* meaning; because he says there, that some of the Savage Nations about the *Euxine* were Eaters of Children; and yet he makes *Phalaris's* Inhumanity to be different from theirs. He seems to explain himself presently after, where he says, *Φάλαρις ἐπιθυμῶν παιδίου φαγεῖν Phalaris longing to eat a Child:* but his Paraphrast *Andronicus Rhodius* (as he's commonly suppos'd to be) says, it was *Phalaris's* own Son, that *Aristotle* makes him eat: Ὁ Φάλαρις ἐποίησε φαγὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα: and so *Aspasius*<sup>4)</sup> the Scholiast, Ὁ Φάλαρις λέγεται φαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα, *Phalaris is reported to have eaten his own Son.* It appears I suppose sufficiently from these several Authors, That there was a prevailing Tradition about *Phalaris's* eating his own Son, when he was an Infant; and that alone will effectually prove, that in those Ages they had never heard of the Tyrant's Epistles. For we have Five there to his Son *Paurolas*, and Two to his Wife *Erythia* about his Son's Education; by all which it appears, that he was a very fond Father, that his Son was then grown a Man, and that he was his *Only Son.*<sup>5)</sup> How then could he eat his own Son, while he was an Infant, according

<sup>1)</sup> *Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. vii, 5. [p. 124, 32]. Eudem. vi, 5.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Athen. p. 396 [e]. Γαλαθηνὰ θοινᾶσθαι βρέφη.* <sup>3)</sup> *Tatian Sect. 54. Ὁ τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους θοινώμενος παῖδας.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Aspasius ad Aristot. p. 154. [ed. Ald. 1536 fol.]*

<sup>5)</sup> *Ep. 18. Ὡς*

*πατὴρ ὅτερ ἐνδὸς υἱοῦ φοβούμενος.*

to that Tradition? Or how is't possible that such a story could obtain in the World, if the Authentic Letters of the Father could be produc'd to disprove it?

I had observ'd, that *Lucian* in his Two Tracts about *Phalaris*, where he supposes the Tyrant to have sent the Brazen Bull to *Delphi* as a Donary to *Apollo*, and endeavours to persuade the *Delphians* to accept of it, has several Particulars, that contradict the Epistles; which is an Argument, that he either had never heard of them, or believ'd them to be a Cheat. Mr. B. endeavours to answer this, by producing my own words,<sup>1)</sup> That *Lucian* FEIGNS an Embassy from *Phalaris* to *Delphi*: so that if the whole, says he, be a Fiction, how can we argue from it seriously? But if Mr. B. himself argue seriously here, he discovers no extraordinary Judgment. For the whole Story may be feign'd by *Lucian*, and yet the several parts of it may and ought to be agreeable to Truth.

Ψευδομένην δόντος ἃ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκούην,

If I tell Lyes, says *Callimachus*,<sup>2)</sup> I would tell such as are probable and plausible. *Ovid's* Epistles of the Heroines are all Fictions of his own; but yet the Subject and Ground of them is taken from Ancient History; he does not confound Countries and Ages together. So *Lucian's* Dialogues of the Dead are nothing but Romances; but he takes care to represent the true History and Character of each Person; he does not make *Cræsus* a *Cynic* Philosopher, nor *Diogenes* a King. By the same reason, if *Lucian* had seen and believ'd these Epistles; he would not call *Phalaris* an *Agrigentine*, whom They declare an *Astypalæan*; nor *Perilaus* a *Sicilian*, whom They represent as an *Athenian*; nor have mention'd such obscure names as *Acanthus*, *Timocrates*, and *Leogoras* for examples of the Tyrant's Clemency, when the Letters themselves would have furnish'd him with such an illustrious Instance of it in the story of *Stesichorus*.

But Mr. B. is pleased to say further, that *Lucian's* differing from the Epistles either proves nothing against them, or proves too much; even that *Lucian* never saw *Timæus*, as Learned as he was,<sup>3)</sup> and as often as he mentions

1) P. 115.

2) [Hymn. in Iovem 65].

3) P. 115.

him. For Timæus relates, that the Agrigentines threw the  
 515 Bull into the Sea, but Lucian says, Phalaris sent it to Delphos. Now I'm afraid, he that consulted Books for the Examiner has deceiv'd him here; for I do not remember that Lucian ever quotes Timæus's Writings, much less mentions him so often, as Mr. B. here pretends. He names him indeed once in his *Macrobii*, That he liv'd xcvi years; but he could hardly have that from Timæus himself, but from the accounts of Others. But however I'll allow Mr. B. that Lucian had read Timæus: but I cannot by no means allow him, that this Argument of mine must, if it prove any thing at all, prove that Lucian never saw Timæus. That is such an Inference as I could hardly have believ'd, a Man that has dealt so much in Logic, could possibly be guilty of. For it's evident, that if Lucian had seen and approv'd the Epistles, he would never have departed from them in his account of Phalaris's Country; for the Letters had been an Authority above all Exception. But the case is very different with Timæus, who wrote his Histories ccxl years after Phalaris's Death. Lucian might have read those often enough, without giving as much credit to them, as to Phalaris's own Letters. Nay it's plain, he might have read this very account that Timæus has given of Phalaris's Bull; and yet might purposely contradict it. For he might read in Polybius and Diodorus, whose Passages we have cited above, that the very Bull was found at Carthage and restor'd to the Agrigentines by Scipio's order; and so think Timæus to be both ways mistaken, whether he denied, as those two Historians say, that there ever was such a Bull; or affirm'd, as the Scholiast of Pindar says, that the Bull was sunk in the Sea. So  
 516 very weak and absurd is Mr. B's Inference; that if Lucian has receded from Timæus's account, he might as well depart from the Epistles themselves, though he look'd upon them as Genuine. But besides all this, there is no Contradiction at all between Lucian and Timæus: so that the very Ground, that Mr. B. reasons from, is as fallacious as his way of Reasoning. For Lucian says no more than this, That the Tyrant sent the Bull for a Present to Delphi; and the Delphians demurring, whether they should accept it or no, he makes two Orations in Phalaris's Name to persuade



them to receive it: but that they really receiv'd it, there is not a word said. Nay one may rather infer, from the custom of *Lucian* and other Sophists to chuse the *ἥττω λόγον* the weaker and paradoxical side of a Dispute, that there was some Tradition, that the Bull was sent to *Delphi*, and rejected by the Priests there. It might be return'd therefore to *Agrigentum*, and afterwards be either thrown into the Sea according to *Timæus*, or carried to *Carthage* according to *Polybius* and *Diodorus*.

In the next attempt Mr. B. would reconcile the Epistles with *Jamblichus's* Story, about *Abaris's* Conversation with the *Sicilian Prince*. In the former Edition of my Dissertation, I had allow'd that Story a place among the Historical Accounts of *Phalaris's*; though even then I believ'd it a mere Romance of *Jamblichus's*, but I had no room nor occasion to examin and refute it. But in this Second Edition, where the Exceptions of the Examiner has made it necessary to enquire into all those Particulars, I have freely declar'd,<sup>1)</sup> and, as I humbly conceive, have fully made out my Opinion, That there's no credit to be given to that story about *Abaris*.

To go on then to the following Paragraph, where he<sup>517</sup> endeavours to make *Heraclides* agree with the Epistles.<sup>2)</sup> He takes hold of a small Handle I had given him, That the *ὀρφανία* of *Phalaris* may possibly mean the Loss of his Father only, not the Loss of both Parents. But then he ought to have retracted his own Translation of *Phalaris*,<sup>3)</sup> for there he renders it, *A prima infantia PARENTIBUS fuisse orbatum*. But perhaps, as he says, he did not remember any such Epistle in his Edition of *Phalaris*: and indeed he seems, by the frequent Contradictions he makes to that Edition, to have quite forgot that He ever set it out. Though some have been so free as to make a Question, whether that proceeds from the Badness or the Goodness of his Memory. But That is no Question with Me: the Question here that I am concern'd in is, *Whether it may be gather'd from the Epistles, that Phalaris's Mother did not follow him to Agrigentum*. Now the Reasons, why I think

<sup>1)</sup> See here p. 46, 47. 48. .  
Ep. 49.

<sup>2)</sup> P. 117.

<sup>3)</sup> *Phal.*

that she did not, are these. First the Tyrant<sup>1)</sup> tells us, that he was an *Orphan in his Childhood*, which is likely to signifie that his Mother was then dead: then he tells us in several Epistles, that he was forc'd to leave his Wife and only Son behind him; which is a shrewd sign, that the Mother too, if alive, was left with them. Besides this, there is not one Word in all the Epistles relating to the Old Gentlewoman, which Mr. B. will confess,<sup>2)</sup> a man of *Phalaris's Benevolence and Affection to his Family* could hardly have omitted: and in the Letters to his Son, there's no mention made either of the Young Man's Duty to his Grandmother, or of Her Love to Him: and so in the Letters  
 518 to his Wife, there's as great a silence about the Mother's Kindness to her Daughter-in-Law. Now it can hardly be suppos'd, that in Familiar Epistles, as these are, and never intended for the Publick, the Mother should be quite forgot, when he writes to his Son and his Wife. In the xivth Book of *Tully's Epistles*, which are written to his Family, we have his Wife *Terentia*, his Daughter *Tullia*, and his Son *Cicero*, all that were then alive, mention'd in every Page: and if his aged Father or Mother had liv'd then, without question scarce a Letter would have escap'd<sup>3)</sup> him without some testimony of his Duty and Affection to them. If Mr. B. therefore will not take it ill, that we compare a *Roman Senator's* Epistles to his *Sicilian Prince's*; we may fairly infer from the Comparison, that *Phalaris's* Mother was dead before the Date of these Letters; and consequently that *Heraclides* contradicts them, where he says, That the Old Woman was burnt in the Bull, when her Son was deposed.

Mr. B. has two Exceptions still behind, which must briefly be consider'd.<sup>4)</sup> He denies that his Copy of *Heraclides* says, *Phalaris was burnt in his Bull*: but I have answer'd this already,<sup>5)</sup> and no more needs to be said to't. Then he tells us, *That his Copy of Phalaris has no such Epistle, as implies that the Tyrant fled along from Astypalæa, but if there should be such an one in the King's MS, he'll answer this Objection, when the Library Keeper is in so*

<sup>1)</sup> *Ep. 49.*  
 of escaped. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> *Index Phalar.*  
<sup>4)</sup> *P. 117.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Archaic instead*  
<sup>5)</sup> See here *p. 188.*

good an Humor, as to favour him with a sight of it. Now in my Opinion, Mr. B's own Edition of *Phalaris* sufficiently implies it; as I think I have newly prov'd. But there is no Epistle in the King's MS. but what is extant in the 519 common Copies: on the contrary there are several wanting. And if Mr. B. pleases to make tryal of my *Good Humour*, either for a sight of that MS, or of any thing else in my Power; he may then represent me to the World upon his own Knowledge; and not upon the Reports of those, that think to ingratiate with Him by calumniating Me, though they never knew me any more than He does.

I have now gone through all the Gentleman's Exceptions to my Dissertation about *Phalaris's* Epistles; and that I may oblige him at parting, I will help him to a rare Expedient, that will give a clear and plausible account, why the Tyrants Epistles were not known for about 1000 Years after his Death. It appears by the xxxivth Letter, That he began to be very apprehensive of some Conspiracies against him; 'tis very probable therefore, that he would provide against a sudden Stroke, and secure such things as he esteem'd most valuable. And because all other Monuments besides Letters are short liv'd and perishing, he must needs have a particular regard to his *Epistles*, those Monuments of his Wit and Learning and Virtues, which might do him right to Posterity, against the calumnies of Popular Hatred. We may suppose then that he would put these his Precious Remains into a Chest of Cedar, or Cypress, secur'd against Moisture with Pitch and other Bituminous Substances; and so bury it in the Earth, in a Case of Marble, where it might remain for a Thousand Years; till at last it was fortunately dug up; though the Manner and Circumstances of the Discovery of it are now quite extinct. We have a famous Instance, like this of our *Sicilian Prince*, in the Story of *Numa* the 520 Roman Prince. *Numa*<sup>1)</sup> order'd some Writings to be put up safely in a Coffin of Stone, and to be privately buried with Him; and they happen'd to be dug up, A. U. C. DLXXII, when they had lain in the ground cccxc Years. Here

---

1) *Liv. lib. xl. [29]. Pliny. xiii, 13. Plut. Numa. [22] Lactantius 1 [de falsa rel.] 22.*

are very good witnesses of this matter of Fact, *Cassius Hemina*, *Lucius Piso*, *Valerius Antias*, all Roman Historians of great Antiquity and Reputation. 'Tis true indeed, that *Numa's* Books are not now to be had, for they were burnt by order of the Magistrate, because they contain'd something that was dangerous to the public Religion. But however the Story we see has three substantial Vouchers; and if the Years that these Books continued under ground do not reach to the number that *Phalaris's* lay buried; we must consider, what *Livy* tells us from the Historians named above, that the Writings<sup>1)</sup> were not only intire, but look'd as fresh as if they were newly writ. If they lasted then near 500 Years, with all the freshness of a new Book, we may reasonably suppose, they would have been legible still, had they lain 500 Years longer. Now, to use the words of Mr. B. what is there in this Story about *Phalaris's*<sup>2)</sup> burying his Letters either absurd or unnatural? what was really done at Rome, may be fairly presum'd to have been done too in Sicily.<sup>3)</sup> Nay further as he judiciously observes, *This Supposition must be shewn IMPOSSIBLE, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from the silence of all the Ancients, to prove these Letters Spurious.* And if once he can bring his matters to That Point; he can ly so intrench'd there, that he may hold out for his *Phalaris*, as long as *Troy* did against the *Greeks*.

521 Nay to leave the Gentleman still in better Humour, I'll oblige him with a further remark, and shew how all the objections against the Letters may be evaded by his single Supposition, That they were buried under ground. For as the Lives of the greatest Heroes have been attended with such extraordinary Events, as seem to be either miraculous or incredible: so the Writings, that have had the singular Fortune of lying some Ages under ground, have all of them had some remarkable Qualities, that cannot be found in vulgar Books. As the Writings of *Numa* for instance were II Latin<sup>4)</sup> Books and II Greek Books; and yet they were VII Latin<sup>5)</sup> and VII Greek, nay they were XII Latin and XII Greek.<sup>6)</sup> Now for the same

1) *Liv. xl. Non integros modo, sed recentissima specis.*

2) *P. 100.*

3) *P. 89.*

4) *Pliny.*

5) *Livy.*

6) *Plut.*

Things to be II, VII and XII is no ordinary Case, but a peculiar Property of buried Writings. Again, those *Greek* Writings of *Numa's* were a System of the *Pythagorical* Philosophy;<sup>1)</sup> and yet we know, that *Pythagoras* the Founder of that Philosophy liv'd IV or V Generations after *Numa's* time. And again, the Books of *Numa* were made of *Ægyptian Papyrus*, which was not applied to the use of Writing, till a good while after *Numa* was Dead. But if *Numa's* Books could consist of *Ægyptian* Paper, and contain the Præcepts of *Pythagoras*, so many Generations before Paper was made, or *Pythagoras* was born: what wonder is it, if the Epistles of *Phalaris*, which we suppose now to have been buried like *Numa's*, should have the names of several Towns and other things, that were not built nor heard of till long after the Tyrants Death? So the famous *Hetruscan* Monuments that *Curtius Inghiramius* dug up in *Italy*, after they have been buried some Thousands of Years, were<sup>522</sup> written upon Vulgar Paper, such as now is in use and made of Linen Rags, a very recent Invention: and which is still the more wonderful, upon every Sheet there was the Cypher of the Man that made it, who was either then alive or newly Dead, when the Monuments were found. 'Tis the Privilege therefore, of buried Books to have that Prophetic Quality of considering Future things as if they were present: which will fully account for all the odd things in Chronology, that the *Letters* are tax'd with. And then for the *Attic* Dialect that *Phalaris* has us'd there, we have a Salvo clear beyond Mr. B's project of *Transdialecting*. For the *Revelation of St. James*, that was writ with the Apostle's own Hand, and lay buried in *Spain* from that time to the xvth Century, had some parts of it in modern *Spanish*, which was not in Being in the time of the Apostle. Now if the buried Writings in *Spain* can use Dialects that were no where spoken till many ages after the Date of them; why might not the buried Epistles in *Sicily* use the New *Attic* Dialect, though it was first form'd and introduced some Generations after the Authors Death. 'Tis true, the Learned *Aldrete*<sup>2)</sup> endeavours to ac-

1) *Pliny. Livy.*      2) *Bern. Aldrete, Varias Antigüedades de España Africa, y otras Provincias.*

count for the modern *Spanish* in the Apostle's writings from the Gift of Prophecy that he was inspired with; by which he fore-knew when his buried Writings would be dug up, and therefore used the Language that would then be in fashion. But he needed not to have recourse to any Apostolical Gift, if he had but consider'd, that it's the General Property of all such Buried writings to speak Proleptically, and to anticipate those Things that are to happen in future  
 523 Ages: So *Numa* did, so the *Hetruscan* Heroes of *Inghiramius*, and so the *Sicilian Prince*.

## XVII.

WHEN I was to write my Dissertation upon *Phalaris* at the request of my Learned Friend; I read the *Epistles* over, and the Passages that I remark'd as I went along, were the Topics of that Discourse. But having since been oblig'd upon the account of Mr. *B.* to read the *Epistles* over again, I observ'd three or four Places that then had escap'd me, which are as certain signs of an Imposture, as any I had produc'd before.

In the *III*d Epistle the Sophist uses the word *ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ* to express the notion of *God's Providence*, *Εἰς τὴν τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοιαν ἀναφέρων τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ*. And again in the *civ*th he threatens the *Catanæans*, that he will never cease to be their Enemy, *Ἔως ἂν ἡ διοικοῦσα πρόνοια τὴν αὐτὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ φυλάττῃ*, as long as Providence sustains the Frame of the World; and he presently adds, That they profaned the fire of *Ætna*; if the Fire of that Mountain, like the other Elements of Nature, had any thing of Divinity in it; *Εἶγε θείας τύχης*, says he,  
 524 ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην πῦρ μεμοίραται. Now here are no fewer than Three words, *ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ*, *ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ*, *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ*, that were never taken in those Senses in the days

of the true *Phalaris*. For *Laertius*<sup>1)</sup> acquaints us out of the famous *Phavorinus*'s viiith Book *Παντοδαπῆς Ἱστορίας* of *Omnifarious History*, That *Plato* first applied *Στοιχεῖον* Element, to a *Philosophical Sense*, and first nam'd *Πρόνοια* the *Providence of God*: *Πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὠνόμασε ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ καὶ Διαλεκτικὴν, καὶ θεοῦ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ*. So that *Πρόνοια* before *Plato*'s time did not signify *Divine Providence*, nor was ever ascrib'd to the Deity; but was used only to denote *Human Consideration* and *Forecast*. And so *Στοιχεῖον* seems to have meant nothing else, but the *Letters of the Alphabet*, till *Plato* first applied it to signifie the *Elements of Natural Bodies*. *Τὰ μὲν πρῶτα*, says *Plato*,<sup>2)</sup> *οἷαπερὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς τε συγχεόμεθα καὶ τᾶλλα*, *The first Elements, as it were, whereof Men and all other Things consist*; and in another place he says,<sup>3)</sup> *Τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ζῶον ἔμφυχον ἔννουν τε, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ*, *The World, being an Animal endued with Soul and Mind, was in reality made by the Providence of God*. Where *Proclus*<sup>4)</sup> in his Com-  
mentary tells us, *Ὅτι δεῖ μεμνησθαι, καὶ ὧν ὁ χερωνεύς εἶπε περὶ τῆς Προνοίας ὀνόματος, ὡς Πλάτωνος οὕτω περὶ τὴν θείαν κελεύσαντος*. For *χερωνεύς* we must read *Χαιρωνεύς*, that is, *Plutarch* who was born at *Chæroneæ*; and the latter part of the Sentence may thus be corrected, *ὡς Πλάτωνος οὕτω πρώτου θείαν καλέσαντος*. We must remember, says he, *what Plutarch says about the name of Πρόνοια, that Plato was the first that applied the word to signifie Divine Providence*. There's little question to be made, but that this is a true Emendation: though whether *Plutarch* says this in any of his Books that are now extant

1) *Laert. in Platone*. [III 24]. 2) *Plato in Sophista*. [Theæt. 201 E]. 3) *Plato in Timæo* [30B]. 4) *Proclus in Plat. Timæum*, p. 126.

I do not now remember. Well, since it appears from so good Authority, who it was that first put these new significations upon *Πρόνοια* and *Στοιχείον*; we may justly pronounce, that the Epistles are a cheat; since they have used the words in the Platonic Sense, and yet pretend to bear Date above a whole Century before *Plato*.

And now that I am speaking of *Πρόνοια*, I cannot omit a very elegant Saying of *Hierocles* the Stoic; which, as *A. Gellius*<sup>1)</sup> tells us, the Platonic Philosopher *Taurus* had always in his Mouth, when *Epicurus* was mention'd: Ἡδονὴ τέλος πόρνης δόγμα οὐκ ἔστιν  
 526 *πορνεία, οὐδὲν πόρνης δόγμα*· which being manifestly corrupted, our most excellent Bishop *Pearson*<sup>2)</sup> corrects it thus, Ἡδονὴ τέλος· πόρνης δόγμα. οὐκ ἔστι πρόνοια οὐδέν· πόρνης δόγμα. i. e. *Pleasure is the Summum bonum: a Strumpet's Tenet. Providence is nothing: a Strumpet's Tenet.* Now the Emendation in the main is true and good; for *Πορνεία* is with great Sagacity chang'd by him into *Πρόνοια*, which is the Basis of the whole Sentence. But yet there's something harsh in the *Syntax*, that his Lordship has made there, *Οὐκ ἔστι πρόνοια οὐδέν*: for the Author, if he had us'd *οὐδέν*, would have said *Πρόνοια οὐδέν ἔστι*. Besides that the same answer *Πόρνης δόγμα* coming twice makes the Saying a little Flat, and scarce worthy to be us'd by *Taurus* so frequently; nor is it true, that all Strumpets deny Providence. I am persuaded, that the true Reading is thus; Ἡδονὴ τέλος· πόρνης δόγμα. Οὐκ ἔστι πρόνοια· οὐδὲ πόρνης δόγμα. Now it's impossible in our Language to express this Saying with the same Brevity and Turn, that the Original has; but the Meaning of it is, *Pleasure is the Summum bonum*:

<sup>1)</sup> *Gellius* ix, 5.  
 p. 14.

<sup>2)</sup> *Pearson Prolegom. ad Hieroclem.*



*a Strumpet's Tenet. There's no Providence: a Tenet too bad even for a Strumpet.*

In the Passage already quoted from the *Letters* we had ἁρμονία τοῦ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, *The Harmony and Frame of the WORLD*. But I have sufficiently prov'd <sup>527</sup> above<sup>1)</sup> by the Testimonies of Four or Five good Witnesses, that *Pythagoras* was the first, that call'd the Universe Κόσμος. And I humbly conceive, that very Few, when they have consider'd what I have said about the Ages of *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras*, will believe that the Tyrant was a Disciple of the Philosopher's. The word ΚΟΣΜΟΣ therefore is another detection of the Sophist's Imposture; and not Κόσμος only but ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ too; for That also is a *Pythagorical* Expression; and it was a Position of that Sect, Καθ' ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑΝ συνεστάναι τὰ ὅλα,<sup>2)</sup> That the Universe and all things in it consisted by HARMONY: which is the very notion here of the Sophist.

## XVIII.

*DEmosthenes* made the Oration *de Corona*, when *Aristophon* was Archon, Ol. cxii, 3. This we know from the famous Critic *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*;<sup>3)</sup> but the Passage where he tells this, wants Emendation. Ὁ περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου λόγος, ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ἄρχοντος μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, ὁκτὼ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν. Some Editions have in the Margin ἐνιαυτῷ instead of ἐνιαυτόν: but the whole passage is to be read thus: ἐπ' Ἀριστο- <sup>528</sup> φῶντος ἄρχοντος, ἢ (i. e. ὁγδόῳ) μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, ἑκτῷ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν: that is, *The Oration about the Crown was made in Aristophon's Archonship, the viii<sup>th</sup> year*

<sup>1)</sup> See here *P. 352*.

<sup>2)</sup> Laert. in *Pythag.* [VIII 1, 33].

<sup>3)</sup> *Dionys. Halic. de Demosth.* p. 124. [c. 12].

after the battle at Chæroneæ, and the viith after Philip's Death. That the Numbers here are agreeable to matter of Fact, appears from *Diodorus*, and from *Dionysius* himself in his Life of *Dinarchus*. In that Oration the Orator<sup>1)</sup> has given us the Epitaph, that was made by Public Order upon some of those that were slain in the War against *Philip*; the last Distich of which is this;

Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν<sup>2)</sup> ἐστὶ θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν.  
Ἐν βιωτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

To miscarry in nothing, and to succede well in every thing, belongs only to the Gods. This part of the Epitaph became very famous in the following Ages, and was often cited; as by *Themistius*,<sup>3)</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ἔξω τῆς φύσεως κεῖται [τῆς] ἀνθρωπίνης, &c. that is, To miscarry in nothing is above the Power of Human Nature; for I cannot believe there were ever such Men, as the Stoics describe and call Wise; and the Epigram, that was written upon the public Sepulchre at Athens seems  
529 to say truer; for it makes the Miscarrying in Nothing to be the Attribute of the Gods alone; Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατορθοῦν ἀπονέμει. 'Tis cited too by an Anonymous Author in *Suidas*:<sup>4)</sup> Ὅρθως γὰρ εἶρηται τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν. ἄνθρωπος δὲ οὐχ ἂν εἴποι ἐπ' οὐδενί, ὅτι μὴ πείσεται τόδε τι. 'Tis a good saying, That to miscarry in nothing, and to succede in every thing is the Property of God: but a Man can say upon no occasion, That such a thing shall not befall him. Justinian too seems to mean it, when he says,<sup>5)</sup> *Omnia habere memoriam, et penitus in nullo peccare*

1) *Demosth. de Corona*, p. 187. [§ 322].

original ed. has ἀμαρτανεῖν].  
p. 276 ed. Hard.]

3) *Themist. Orat. iii.* [XXII  
lib. 1. Tit. 17. leg. ii. §. 14.

4) *Suid. v. Συγγνώμωνα.*

2) [The ori-

5) *Cod.*

*Divinitatis magis quam Mortalitatis est; quod et à Majoribus dictum est.* But the strangest thing of all is, that the Tyrant is introduc'd with that very Saying in his Mouth, *Τὸ μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν εἰσότηως ἰσως καὶ δίκαιως θεοῦ νομιζέται.*<sup>1)</sup> *Never to miscarry in any thing is reasonably, perhaps, and justly accounted to be the Privilege of God alone.* And yet the Tyrant himself had made his last and fatal miscarriage above cc years before that Epitaph was written.

## XIX.

There's nothing in the world more Liberal and Profuse than a Sophist; he can give Five or Six thousand pound Sterling with as little concern, as <sup>530</sup> another man would part with Ten Shillings. The first Present, that the Writer of *Euripides's* Letters gives the Poet, was no less than xl Talents,<sup>2)</sup> which amounts to 7200 *l. English*. But our mock *Phalaris* goes quite beyond him in Generosity; for he rewards *Polyclitus*, a Physician that had cured him of a dangerous Distemper, with iv Goblets of refin'd Gold, 11 Silver Bowls of ancient Workmanship not to be match'd in the present Age, x Couple of large Theri-clean Cups, xx young Boys for his Slaves, and 50,000 Attic Drachms; besides an Annual Salary for Life, as great as was paid to the chief Officers of his Fleet and Army.<sup>3)</sup> Now this is a story credible enough, if we consider that a Sophist was the Pay-master; for as the Actors in Comedies paid all their Debts upon the Stage with Lupins, so a Sophist pays all his with Words. But if we consider the true *Phalaris* and real Physician of that Age; the whole is most

<sup>1)</sup> *Ep.* 129.<sup>2)</sup> *Eurip. Epist.* v.<sup>3)</sup> *Phal. Ep.* 70.

improbable and absurd, both in respect of Him that gives, and of Him that receives.

First, it does not at all suit with the State of those times, that the Tyrant should so abound in Gold, *as to give iv Cups of that Metal*; which perhaps were more than he had in all his Possessions. 531 We are assur'd by good hands, that in those days *Gold was a very scarce commodity in Greece*; σπάνιον ὄντως τὸ παλαιὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ πάνυ, are the words of *Athenæus*; <sup>1)</sup> who adds, that the first Gold that shone among the *Greeks*, was that which was plunder'd from the Temple of *Delphi* by the *Phocæans*; which happen'd Olymp. cvi, 3. Afterwards, says he, when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Asia*, there was plenty of it brought among them. But in *Phalaris's* time there was scarce any Gold to be found in all *Greece*, as appears by this story. The *Spartans* <sup>2)</sup> were commanded by the Oracle to gild the Face of *Apollo's* Statue with Gold; and having in vain enquir'd in *Greece* for some of that Metal, they ask'd the Oracle, Where they might purchase any? and he order'd them to go to *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, and buy some of Him; which was accordingly done. This is told us by *Athenæus* out of two very ancient and credible Historians, *Theopompus* a Scholar of *Isocrates's*, and *Phanias* a Scholar of *Aristotle's*. Now *Cræsus*, we know, was contemporary with *Phalaris*; so that in the Tyrant's time there was not Gold enough in *Greece* (except what was already 532 consecrated in the Temples) to gild the Face of a Statue; and yet the Sophist gives away in one Letter more than would have gilt the whole Statue from Head to Foot. Nay even at or after the plundering of the Temple at *Delphi*, Gold was yet so scarce in

<sup>1)</sup> *Athen. p. 231 [b].*

<sup>2)</sup> *Athen. 232.*

Greece, That *Philip*<sup>1)</sup> King of *Macedon*, having a little Golden Cup, *φιάλιον χρυσοῦν*, weighing no more than *L Drachmæ* or half a Pound Troy-weight, was so chary of it, and afraid it should be stoln from him, that every Night when he went to Bed, he put it under his Pillow. And yet we see the *Sicilian Prince* so abounded with it cc years before, that he could spare Four Golden Cups, *φιάλας τέσσαρας*, of the very same Fashion, with King *Philip*'s, only all of them larger for one Gift to a Favourite. But perhaps the Admirers of *Phalaris* will be ready to say, That Gold might be common in *Sicily*, though scarce in other Countries in *Greece*. But then another piece of History lies cross in their way; for the same *Theopompus* and *Phanias* tell us farther; That when *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*,<sup>2)</sup> who began his Reign above *LXX* years after *Phalaris*'s was ended, had purpos'd to make a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* of fine Gold, *ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ*, and present it to *Apollo* at *Delphi*; he sought a long time in *Sicily* for Gold, but none could be found. Whereupon he sent Mes-<sup>533</sup> sengers into *Greece*; who after a long search to no purpose, at last met with some at *Corinth* in the hands of one *Architeles*; who having for many years bought up Gold by little and little had amass'd a pretty quantity of it. But it's something strange, that *Hiero* should be forc'd to send out of *Sicily* for Gold, and yet *Phalaris* so long before him would have his very Physician serv'd in Gold Plate, *ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ*, of the very same Fineness that *Hiero* wanted. 'Tis true the same Historians tell us, that a year<sup>3)</sup> or two before *Hiero*'s Reign, his Brother *Gelo* had dedicated a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* to *Apollo*. But

1) *Athen. p. 155* [d], & 231 [b] *Pliny xxxiii, 3. Eustath. Iliad. p. 815.* [861, 48]. 2) *Athen. 252.* 3) *Athen. p. 231* [f.]

of *Gelo's* Donary<sup>1)</sup> we have had occasion to speak already, and it appears there that the Gold, which *Gelo* then had, was the Spoil of the *Carthaginians*: so that it was not in *Sicily* in *Phalaris's* days; neither did it continue long there. For the *Carthaginian* Army brought it Olymp. LXXV, 1. and before the end of *Hiero's* Reign, Olymp. LXXVIII, 2. there was none of it to be found.

In the next place, if we consider the Receiver of this vast Present, *Polyclitus* the Physician; the Reward will seem disproportion'd to the condition of the Man. It was the common practice of those  
 534 Old times to hire Physicians<sup>2)</sup> by the Year for the service of a whole City, and to pay them out of the public stock: nay some of the Lawgivers<sup>3)</sup> took express care of it in the very constitution of their Governments. The General Price of a Year's service we may learn from *Herodotus*; <sup>4)</sup> where he tells us, how *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, who had the greatest reputation of all the Physicians of his time, which was a few Years after *Phalaris's* death, was hired publicly a whole Year by the *Æginæans* for one Talent; and the next Year by the *Athenians* for a Hundred Minæ, i. e. a Talent and  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; and the next Year by *Polycrates* the *Samian* for two Talents. Now what proportion does this bear to the extravagant Present of the *Sicilian Prince*? where besides the Gold and Silver Vessels, and the Score of handsom Slaves, and the yearly Pension equal to an Admiral's, the very ready Money 50,000 *Attic* Drachms comes to VIII Talents and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; which is more than *Democedes* could earn in Four whole years: and yet *Polycrates* excell'd *Phalaris* in Riches and Power, as much as

<sup>1)</sup> See here p. 458, 459.  
 & Schol. p. 301. [Ach. v. 1030. Pl. 407].  
 [XII 13].

<sup>4)</sup> *Herod.* iii, 131.

<sup>2)</sup> *Strabo.* p. 181. *Aristoph.*

<sup>- 3)</sup> *Diod.* p. 80.

*Democedes* may be suppos'd to excell in his Art this unknown *Polyselitus*. And if we take our measure from those Physicians, that were not hir'd by the Public, but practis'd privately for Fees, as the custom<sup>535</sup> is now: the disproportion will still be the greater. For the ordinary Fee of a Physician was very low in those days, and after; as appears by those famous Verses of the Philosopher *Crates*, where he represents the Account-Book of some of the wealthy Men of that Age:

Τίδει μαγείρω μνᾶς δέχ', ἰατρῷ δραχμὴν,<sup>1)</sup>  
 Κόλαξι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ χαπνόν,  
 Πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

i. e. To a Cook, 30 l. to a Physician Two Groats; to a Flatterer 900 l. to a Counsellor Nothing; to a Whore 180 l. to a Philosopher a Groat. 'Tis true, the same *Democedes* when he afterwards in *Persia* cur'd *Darius's* Foot, had a very rich Present of Gold by the Emperour's Wives; but to argue from the Riches of the *Persian* Court, that the like might be done at *Agrigentum*, is truly, as the Mock *Phalaris* says, to compare an Indian Elephant to a Fly.<sup>2)</sup>

## XX.

*Tatian* in the beginning of his Oration Against the Greeks gives a List of some Inventors; and among the rest he tells us out of *Hellanicus* the Historian, That *Atossa* the Persian Empress was the First that<sup>536</sup> wrote Epistles; Ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγρησαμένη γυνή, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἀτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. The same thing is affirm'd by *Clemens Alexandrinus*,<sup>3)</sup> and from the same Author;

<sup>1)</sup> Laert. in *Cratete*. [VI 5, 86].

<sup>2)</sup> [Rather Liban.

Ep. 1597. Bentley was thinking of Phal. Ep. 29 Lenn. — R.]

<sup>3)</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 132. [364 P.]

πρώτην Ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι Ἀτοσσάν τὴν Περσῶν βασιλεύσασάν φησιν Ἑλλάνικος. Now that *Atossa* was younger than *Phalaris* by one or two Generations, appears several ways. She was the Sister and Wife of *Cambyses*,<sup>1)</sup> who began his Reign Olymp. LXX, 4. She was afterwards married to *Darius*, and was alive at his Death,<sup>2)</sup> Olymp. LXXIII, 4. Nay she was still alive when *Xerxes* return'd from his Expedition, Olymp. LXXV, 1 as its evident from *Persæ* a Tragedy of *Æschylus*. The odd manner of her Death is told us by *Aspasius*; That her Son *Xerxes* in a fit of Distraction butcher'd her and eat her; *Ξέρξης*, says he,<sup>3)</sup> ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Βασιλεὺς μανεῖς ἔφαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα χρεουργήσας. Now suppose him to have done this in the very Year of his Return; yet *Atossa* would survive *Phalaris* LXX Years; though we allow him by the most favourable account to have liv'd till Olymp. LVII, 3. And according to *Hippostratus* and the Scholiast of *Pindar*,<sup>4)</sup> She is two Generations lower than *Phalaris*:

537 *Phalaris* --- 1 *Telemachus*.

2 *Emmenides*.

3 *Ænesidamus*. 1 *Atossa*.

Reign'd 4 *Theron*. 2 *Xerxes*. Reign'd

Ol. LXXIII, 1.

Ol. LXXIII, 4.

It is evident then, that if *Atossa* was the First Inventress of Epistles; these that carry the name of *Phalaris*, who was so much older than her, must needs be an Imposture. And that She really found out the way of Epistles, we have the most proper and competent Witness, that can possibly be had. For *Hellanicus* was a Contemporary of this *Atossa*;<sup>5)</sup> being LXV Years old at the beginning of the *Pelopon-*

1) *Herod.* [III 68].

2) *Herod.* [III 88. VII 3].

3) *Aspasius ad Arist. Ethic.* p. 124.

4) See here p. 34. 35.

5) *Gellius* xv, 23.



nesian War: So that he was born at Ol. LXXI, 2. and was in the xvth Year of his Age at Xerxes's Expedition. But besides the Authority of *Hellanicus*, *Clemens*<sup>1)</sup> tells us of Himself, that he took his Account of the several Inventors from *Scamon*, *Theophrastus*, *Cydippus*, *Aristophanes*, *Aristodemus*, *Aristotle*, *Philostephanus*, and *Strato*, in their Books About Inventions:<sup>2)</sup> So that either All or at least Some of these must be suppos'd to have reported that Invention of *Atossa's*. And I conceive we have a double Argument here against our *Mock-Phalaris*; a Positive one, That<sup>538</sup> *Atossa* first invented Epistles; and a Negative, That the Epistles of *Phalaris* were not heard of in the days of those Writers.

The words of *Tatian* and *Clemens* are Ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν: now whether we take συντάσσειν in a general Sense for *Writing*, or more strictly for *Comprizing in a Volume, and Publishing*; 'tis either way sufficient to prove *Phalaris's* Epistles a Cheat. But it may be objected in their behalf, that *Epistles* were in use many Hundred Years before *Phalaris*, even before the *Trojan* Times; as appears from *Apollodorus*<sup>3)</sup> and *Zenobius* and others, who relate, how *Bellerophon* carried Ἐπιστολὰς *Epistles* from *Prætus* to *Jobates*: and how then can *Atossa* be call'd the Inventress of Epistles? But in answer to this, we are to observe that those Authors speak not accurately there, but accommodate their Expression to the Manners of their own Times. For *Homer*, out of whom they all have it, does not call it an *Epistle*, but Πίναξ πτυκτός:

Πόρεν δ' ὄγε σήματα λυγρά,<sup>4)</sup>

Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.

Now Πίναξ πτυκτός is the same with δέλτος, and in

<sup>1)</sup> *Clemens* ibid. <sup>2)</sup> *Περὶ Εὐρημάτων*. <sup>3)</sup> *Apollod.* p. 81. [II 3, 3] *Zenob.* p. 50. [II 87]. <sup>4)</sup> *Hom. Il.* ζ. v. 169.

Latin *Tabellæ*, *Pugillares*, *Codicilli*; small Leaves of Wood, cover'd with Bees-Wax, and so written on  
 539 by a Pen of Metal. So *Pliny* interprets this Passage of *Homer*<sup>1)</sup> *Pugillarium usum fuisse etiam ante Trojana Tempora invenimus apud Homerum*. And he expressly affirms, that the Writings that *Bellerophontes* carried, were not *Epistles*, but *Codicills*: *Homerus Bellerophonti Codicillos datos, non Epistolas, prodidit.*<sup>2)</sup> Now it's evident, that these *Codicills* could never serve for a Volume of Letters, as *Phalaris's* are; for the use of them was only for a single Letter, which as soon as read was erased, and the Wax smooth'd anew; and so the *Codicills* were return'd with an Answer upon the same Wax where the former Letter was written. The occasion of *Pliny's* writing this last Passage is pleasant enough. *Licinius Mucianus* had reported in his History, That when he was Governour of *Lycia*, Himself saw and read in a certain Temple there, a Paper-Epistle written from *Troy* by *Sarpedon*.<sup>3)</sup> Now if this were true, *Hellanicus* and his Followers must be miserably out, when they make *Atossa* invent *Epistles* so many Hundreds of years after. But I wonder, says *Pliny*, at this Paper Letter<sup>4)</sup> of *Sarpedon's*; since even in *Homer's* time, so long after *Sarpedon*, that part of *Ægypt*, which alone produces Paper, was nothing but  
 540 Sea; being afterwards produced by the Mud of the Nile. Or if Paper was in use in *Sarpedon's* time, how came *Homer* to say, that in that very *Lycia*,<sup>5)</sup> where *Sarpedon* liv'd, not *Epistles*, but *Codicills* were given to *Bellerophontes*? So that Learned Naturalist refutes the pretended Letter of *Sarpedon*; though

<sup>1)</sup> *Pliny*. xiii, c. ii.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid*. c. 13.

<sup>3)</sup> *Sarpedonis*

à Troja scriptam in quodam Templo Epistolæ chartam. *Plin. ibid.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Papyrus*, Charta.

<sup>5)</sup> In ipsa illa *Lycia* *Codicillos* datos, non *Epistolas*.

with humble submission he puts a false colour upon one part of his Argument: for the Epistle was not given to *Bellerophontes* in *Lycia*; but in *Argos* of *Peloponnesus* to be carried to *Lycia*. However without that needless Colour he has sufficiently confuted the credulity of *Mucianus*; who though he was Governour of a great Province, and General of a great Army, and three times Consul in *Claudius's* and *Vespasian's* time, and besides all that, a Learned and Inquisitive Man, was miserably impos'd on with a Sham Letter of *Sarpedon's*: a remarkable Instance, that not only the Title of *Honourable*, but even the Highest Quality and Greatest Experience cannot always secure a Man from Cheats and Impostures.

F I N I S.

AN  
I N D E X  
OF THE  
PRINCIPAL MATTERS.

A.	Page.		Page.	
Abaris, the Hyperborean, his Age,	48	His Verses rectified,	86	
Ælian refuted,	262, 266	Archilochus corrected, 295. Archilochian Verse the same with Sæturnian,	227, 228	
Æsara, the Pythagorean, her Name retriev'd,	383	Aristolochian Verse, a mistake,	228	
Æschylus corrected several times,	140, 141	Aristophanes, corrected,	265, 266, 268, 299, 300	
His improvement of Tragedy,	232	Explained,	297, 302	
When he invented Scenes, &c.	354	Aristotle corrected,	263, 368	
Agathyrside, a Samian Historian, a mistake for Agatharchides,	331	Aristoxenus, ὁ Μουσικός,	381	
Agatharchus, the first Painter of Scenes,	354, 544	Asandrastus, a mistaken Name,	158	
Ἀχούετς λεώ,	203, 543	Astypalæa, no City of Crete,	313, 324, 325. An Island of the Sporades, planted by the Megareans, 315. Ἀστυπάλαια, not Ἀστυπάλη,	327
Alæsa, a Town in Sicily, 103, &c.		Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὢν, whose Saying,	195	
Alexis, the Comic Poet, corrected,	123	Athenæus corrected, 86, 123, 234, 236, 237, 295, 299, 300, 357.		
ΑΛΚΗΤΙΣ, a Play of Thespis's, a mistake,	239, 240	Explained, 111, 112, 114, 115, 119, 373. Defended, 123, 124, 125.		
Anapaestic Verses; their measures discover'd,	132 to 144	Atossa, the Persian Empress, invented Epistles,	536	
Anaxagoras acquainted with Themistocles,	275	Her Age, 537. Eaten by her Son Xerxes,	Ibid.	
Anaxilas, King of Rhegium and Messana,	146 to 160	Ἀττελεβώδης,	86	
Ἀπήνη, a Chariot of Mules, when and by whom used at the Olympics,	157, 158, 159, 543	Attic Dialect, its Rise and Progress, 318, 389. New Attic, 393, 399, &c. Attic Solæcisms,	319, 320	
Aphepsion, or Apsephion, when Archon at Athens,	282, 283			
Apuleius explained,	70			
Archestratus, the Syracusian, his Age,	85			

## C.

Page.

- Callimachus corrected and explained, Pref. p. lix.  
 Censorinus, de Metris, corrected, 226, 227, 228  
*Κεφαττελεβῶδης* 86, 87  
 Charondas, the Law-giver, his Age, 362. no Thurian, 363. *The Book of Laws* extant under his name after the time of the Ptolemies, an Imposture, 345, 358, &c. Some of his true Laws, 366, 367, 368. his Laws in Verse, and sung, 373, 374, 375  
 Chorus, Tragic, Comic, Cyclian; the Expenses of each, 359, 360, 361.  
 Clemens Alexandrinus corrected, 55. mistaken, 339. Deceived by a Play falsely ascrib'd to Theopis, 241  
 Comedy, when invented, 199 to 210. At first extemporal, 199. Its first Prizes, 209. *Κωμῳδία*, at first the common Name of both Comedy and Tragedy, 308  
*Κύκλιος χορὸς*, Dithyramb, 301  
 Cylon's Conspiracy against the Pythagoreans, when, 72, 73

## D.

- Δαίμων ἕτερος*, whose Expression, 216, 218  
*Δαμαρέτιον νόμισμα*, 458  
*Δαρέτιος χρυσός*, corrupted for *δαμαρέτιος*, 459  
*Δεκάλετρον*, 460, 463  
 Demologus, a false Name for Dinolochus, 461  
 Dinolochus, a Sicilian Comic Poet, 461  
 Diodorus Siculus corrected, 282, 374, 375. Imposed on by a Forgery of Zaleucus's Laws, 344, &c. By a Forgery of Charondas's Laws, 358, &c.

Page.

- Diodorus, the Aspendian, his Age, 85  
 Diogenes Laertius corrected, 54, 67. Explained, 71, 81  
 Dionysius Halicarnassensis corrected, 528. A reading there defended, 59, 60  
 Dioscorides the Poet, corrected, 231, 232  
*His Epigrams publish'd and corrected*, 209, 233  
 Dolon, the Inventor of Comedy, a mistake, 208, 209

## E.

- Ἐλλαχτισμός*, 267  
*Ἐλεγεῖον*, 498, 499  
 Empedocles corrected, 67  
*His Φυσικά and Καθαρμοί*, 379, 380  
 Epic Poem, 397, 398  
 Epicharmus, Inventor of Comedy, 199, 200. His Age, 201. Corrected, 462, 463, 464, 465  
 Epigenes, the Sicyonian, the pretended Inventor of Tragedy, 235, &c.  
 Epigenes, cited by Athenæus, not the Sicyonian, but the Athenian Comic Poet, 236. His Age, 237  
 Epimenides, the Cretan, his Age, 58  
*Ἐπίσκηψις*, instituted by Charondas, 369  
 Eubulus, the Comic Poet, explain'd, 119, 120  
 Euripides corrected several times, 141, 142, 143  
*His Phœnissæ*, when acted, 214, 215  
 Euseboneora, a mistaken Name, for Eusebon Chora, 185  
 Eustathius, used the Epitome of Athenæus, not the intire Book, 131, 132

- F.** Page.  
 Festus Pompeius *corrected*, 465,  
 466. *Explain'd*, 466. *a Reading*  
*there defended*, 438, 455  
*Forgeries, some instances of them*,  
 14, 15, 520, 521, 539  
 Fortunatianus Atilius *corrected*, 227
- G.**  
 Gellius *corrected*, 525, 526  
 Gold, *anciently how scarce in Greece*,  
 531, 532
- H.**  
 Ἡμίτριον, 460, 463  
 Hephæstion *explain'd*, 33  
 Heracleian Cups, *a mistake*, 114,  
 115, 116, 117  
 Ἡράκλειον, *a Cup that Hercules*  
*sail'd in*, 114  
 Ἡρακλεωτικὸν σκύφος, 117  
 Heracles Ponticus *set out Trage-*  
*dies in the name of Thespiis*,  
 238, &c.  
 Herodotus *explain'd*, 293  
 Hesychius *corrected*, 267  
 Ἑξᾶς, 466, 470, 471, 472  
 Hierocles, *his Saying against Epi-*  
*curus restor'd*, 525, 526  
 Hippias, *Tyrant of Athens, his*  
*Death*, 269
- I.**  
 Jamblichus *censur'd*, 46, 47, 69,  
 85, 86, 87  
*Corrected*, 87, 72, 83, 84  
 Isæus, *the Orator, corrected*, 361,  
 369
- K.**  
 Κόσμος, *the World, first nam'd so*  
*by Pythagoras*, 352
- L.**  
 Λέγεται, *what it implies*, 121, 122  
 Λεπταὶ καὶ παχεῖαι δραχμαί, 346
- Letters, *the xxiv, by whom per-*  
*fected*, 241, 242  
 Locrians of Italy, *their Dialect*,  
 355. *Their Laws*, 339, 344  
 Λοκρικὸν ἄσμα, *corrected*, 357  
 Λόγος ἔργου οὐκ ἔχων, *whose Saying*,  
 189, &c.  
 Lysias, *explain'd and corrected*,  
 396, 397  
*The date of one of his Orations*,  
 Ibid.  
 Lysis, *Præceptor to Epaminondas*,  
*not Scholar to Pythagoras*, 77,  
 78, 79
- M.**  
 Macrobius *corrected*, 114  
 Marmor Arundelianum *noted*, 39,  
 40. *Explained*, 41, 42, 43. *Its*  
*true Reading restor'd*, 205, 206,  
 207, 208, 209, 239, 240. *Ex-*  
*plained and defended*, 246, &c.  
 Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν, θεοῦ, *whose Say-*  
*ing*, 527  
 Melissus, *the Philosopher, an Ac-*  
*quaintance of Themistocles's*, 276  
 Messana, *a City of Sicily, when*  
*first named so*, 146 to 169  
 Μόσχος, *a Calf, the Prize τῆς*  
*Κιθαρωδίας*, 302  
 Mucianus Licinius, *imposed upon*  
*by a Forgery*, 539, 540
- N.**  
 Nævius *corrected*, 227  
 Νεοσμύλευτα γράμματα, 232  
 Νεστορικὴ, *Nestor's Cup describ'd*  
*by Homer*, 115  
 Νομωδός, 374  
 Nonnus, *that wrote upon Greg.*  
*Nazianzen, not Nonnus the Poet*,  
 24, 25. *By others call'd Maxi-*  
*mus*, 26

Page.  
 Nossis, the Poetess, corrected, 355.  
 Three of her Epigrams not published before, 356, 357. *A* Locrian, 355. *Her Age, Mother, Daughter,* 356, 357  
*Νοῦμμος,* 464

## O.

*Ὀρχία,* 467

## P.

Pausanias, his Account of Anaxilas and Messana refuted, 148 to 160  
*Πεντηκοντάλιτρον,* 457  
*Πεντούχιον,* 465  
 Perictyone, the Pythagorean, a Forgery, 381, 382  
 Phædon, when Archon at Athens, 282  
 Phalaris, his Age, 27 to 48, 88, 89, 90. *A Sicilian born,* 322. *Eat his own Son,* 512, 513. *His Bull,* 510, 511, 512. *Himself burnt in it,* 187, 188, 189  
 Phalaris's Spurious Epistles by whom mention'd, 18, 21.  
*Φιλόσοφος,* who first call'd so, 220  
 Phintia, a City of Sicily, when built, 91, 98. *Its Situation,* 94, 96  
 Phintias, Tyrant of Agrigentum, his Age, 98, 99  
*ΦΙΝΤΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* in a Coin, explain'd, 99  
 Phormis the Inventor of Comedy, an Officer of Gelo's the Syracusan, 201  
 Photius, in Bibliotheca, corrected, 383  
 Phrynichus, the Tragico Poet, his Age, 256, 257  
*μελοποιὸς καὶ ὀρχηστὴς,* 263, &c, 543. *But one Tragedian of this Name,* 259 to 269  
 Phrynichus, the Comic Poet, 262

Phrynichus, the Athenian General, 262  
*Πίτυος δίκην ἐκτρίψαι,* whose Saying, 169 to 178  
 Plato, noted, 58, 235, 278. *Explained,* 58, 279  
 Pliny, the Historian, noted, 540  
 Plutarch noted, 274, 275. *Corrected,* 281. *Impos'd on by Heracles Ponticus,* 244  
 Pollux corrected, 245, 267, 268, 369, 460, 461, 462, 467. *Explained,* 436. *Deceiv'd by a forg'd Tragedy,* 245  
 Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos, his Age, 61, 62, 63, 547  
 Proclus, in Platonis Timæum, corrected, 525  
*Πρόνοια,* Divine Providence, whose word, 524  
 Pythagoras, his Birth, Death, and all the known Periods of his Life, his Successors, &c. 48 to 87

## R.

Roman Names of Moneys, taken from the Sicilian, without varying the Sense, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473

## S.

Sannyrrio, the Comic Poet, his Age, 211  
 Sara, the Pythagorean, a mistake, 383  
 Saturnian Verse, 227  
 Scholiast on Aristophanes, interpolated, 21, 22. *Censur'd,* 262, 265, 266, 302  
 Scholiast on Pindar corrected, 151, 158, 541  
 Scylax corrected, 327  
 Sicilian Moneys, a large account of them, 428 to 479  
 Simonides, his Epigram explain'd, 42. *Two of them now publish'd and corrected,* 302, 458, 459.

	Page.		Page.	
<i>His Birth and Death</i> , 41, 42, 43. <i>His Victories</i> ,	801	Thersias or Thersander, <i>the first Victor at Olympia with the Ἀθήνη</i> ,	157, 158, 159	
Solon, <i>his Death</i> , 272. <i>His Tables, and the Language of them</i> ,	307, 308	Theseus, <i>his Tomb at Athens</i> ,	281, 283	
Sophocles, <i>corrected thrice</i> ,	141	Thespis, <i>the Inventor of Tragedy</i> ,	231, &c. <i>His Age</i> , 246, &c.	
Stephanus Byzant. <i>explain'd</i> ,	371, 372	<i>Ὀρχηστὴς</i> , 264, 265. <i>No Plays of his publish'd</i> , 238, &c. <i>Those ascrib'd to him, a Forgery</i> , 238, &c.		
Stesichorus's <i>Age</i> ,	38, 39, 40	Thurii, <i>a City of Italy, when built</i> ,	345. <i>Whose Colony</i> , 370. <i>Its Law-giver</i> , 365, 544. <i>Its Laws</i> ,	366
Stobæus <i>corrected</i> , 331, 366. <i>Explain'd</i> , 382. <i>Zaleucus's Proœmium there, a Forgery</i> , 344, &c.		Tragedy, <i>when invented</i> , 224, to 309. <i>The first Subject of it</i> , Bacchus and Satyrs, 243. <i>Τραγωδία</i> , <i>never signified Comedy</i> , 305, &c. <i>The word no older than Thespis</i> ,	292, 294	
Charondas's <i>Proœmium</i> , <i>another Forgery</i> ,	376, &c.	<i>Τριᾶς</i> ,	466, 470, 471, 472	
Ετοιχέειν, <i>Element, Plato's word</i> ,	524	<i>Τρυγωδία</i> , <i>Comedy, never Tragedy</i> ,	297	
Strabo <i>explain'd</i> ,	374	Tzetzes Joannes, <i>corrected</i> ,	301	
Suidas <i>corrected</i> , 191, 237, 372, 459. <i>Censur'd</i> , 63, 262, 265, 276, 372. <i>His Age</i> ,	22, 23.			
Susarion, <i>the Inventor of Comedy</i> , 202 to 211. <i>His Iambics corrected</i> , 202, 203. <i>No Plays of his publish'd</i> ,	202, 204			
Syncellus <i>corrected</i> ,	52			
T.		V.		
<i>Τάλαντον</i> of Sicily, 437, 438, 454		Vibius Sequester <i>corrected</i> ,	185	
<i>Why so small a Summ</i> ,	456	Vitruvius <i>explain'd</i> ,	473	
Taurominium, <i>a City of Sicily, when built</i> ,	178 to 189			
Ταῦρος, <i>a Bull, the Prize of the Dithyramb</i> ,	302	X.		
Τετρας, 466, 470, 471, 472. <i>Tetrans</i> ,	473	Xenocles, <i>the Tragic Poet</i> , 229, 230		
Theocritus <i>corrected</i> ,	442, 443	Z.		
Theophrastus <i>explain'd and corrected</i> ,	366	Zaleucus, <i>the Locrian, suspected</i> ,	335, 336. <i>His Age</i> , 339, 340. <i>No Pythagorean</i> , 337, 338, 341. <i>His Book of Laws extant after Ptolemee's time, a Forgery</i> , 342, 344 to 358	
Thericles, <i>a Corinthian Potter</i> , 109, 126. <i>His Age</i> ,	110, 120			
Thericlean Cups, <i>whose Invention</i> ,	111, 122			

## T.

<i>Τάλαντον</i> of Sicily, 437, 438, 454	
<i>Why so small a Summ</i> ,	456
Taurominium, <i>a City of Sicily, when built</i> ,	178 to 189
<i>Ταῦρος</i> , <i>a Bull, the Prize of the Dithyramb</i> ,	302
<i>Τετρας</i> , 466, 470, 471, 472. <i>Translations</i> ,	473
Theocritus <i>corrected</i> ,	442, 443
Theophrastus <i>explain'd and corrected</i> ,	366
Thericles, <i>a Corinthian Potter</i> , 109, 126. <i>His Age</i> ,	110, 120
Thericlean Cups, <i>whose Invention</i> ,	111, 122

## V.

Vibius Sequester <i>corrected</i> ,	185
Vitruvius <i>explain'd</i> ,	473

## X.

Xenocles, <i>the Tragic Poet</i> , 229, 230	
---	--

## Z.

Zaleucus, <i>the Locrian, suspected</i> ,	335, 336. <i>His Age</i> , 339, 340.
<i>No Pythagorean</i> , 337, 338, 341.	
<i>His Book of Laws extant after Ptolemee's time, a Forgery</i> ,	342, 344 to 358

## F I N I S.

[It should be observed that the pages 541 to 549 contain the 'Addenda', which we have inserted in their proper places.]



## DISCREPANCIES OF THE FIRST EDITION IN WOTTON'S

»REFLECTIONS« &c., 1697.

---

The first edition of Bentley's Dissertations begins with the citation from Temple's Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning, which the reader of the present reprint will find in our Introduction p. III. Then follows the Address »To Mr. Wotton,« reprinted in our note p. 74; after which comes the Dissertation itself, beginning with p. 78 here. It should be borne in mind that only the parts printed in large type form the first edition, all the rest (which is by far the greater part of the book) having been added by Bentley in his second edition in order to refute the exceptions raised by Boyle and his assistants. In collating the two editions I follow the pages and lines of the present reprint.

78, 8. *father* 1697.

78, 21. Traffic.

79, 8. pretence.

79, 12. endeavoured.

79, 25. »an« omitted.

80, 3. skilful.

80, 7. »Buda« instead of »Belgrade.«

84. OF PHALARIS'S EPISTLES. That Sophist &c.

In the quotation from *Stobæus* (note 3) »& XLVII« is omitted.

85, 15. Critics.

86, 2. »says« om.

86, 23. Iambics.

92, 2. (from below): Beginning.

93, 3. The first ed. has XXVIII: see note.

93, 7. LIII, 3.

93, 18. *Jamblichus*, who makes these Three to be Contemporaries, and that I may prevent &c. (all intermediate words being omitted).

93, 24. LIII, 3.

- 145, 32. careful.  
 146, 3. Countrey.  
 155, 7. above CXX Years.  
 155, 19. joins.  
 155, 22. »and forgotten« has been added.  
 160, 8. but that he had.  
 160, 19. for after he.  
 161, 9. contemporary.  
 161, 23. skins.  
 161, 32. heads of the Victims.  
 162, 7. will read.  
 162, 12. »literal« om.  
 162, 14. read.  
 162, 18. for those two.  
 162, 32. join.  
 163, 7. After »Imposture« the following passage is added in the ed. of 1697:

I must here beg leave of the late learned Editors of our *Mock Phalaris*, with whom I must by and by have some further expostulation, to dissent from their new version of this passage; whereby this argument from *Thericles* would vanish into nothing. For instead of *ten couple of Thericlean Cups*, as the former Interpreters honestly translate it, they present us, as an emendation, with the like number of Glasses, *Poculorum Vitreorum*, leaving us not the least footstep of our *Corinthian Potter*. But methinks these Glasses come in but oddly and stingily among those other things named there of great value, *Φύλλας ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ, &c. Vessels of Gold and Silver, beautiful Slaves, fifty thousand Drachmæ, and a liberal yearly Pension for Life*. If *Agathocles* the Tyrant had made this Present of a score of Glasses, it might have passed for a mark of favour; because he was a Potter in his youth, and we might suppose them of his own making. And as I remember, *Diodorus* tells such a story of him. But why *Phalaris* should make so cheap and brittle a Complement, I cannot conjecture. 'Tis true, *Suidas* translates it a Glass, *Θηρίκλειον ποτήριον ὑάλινον*: and *Etymolog. Mag.* *Θηρίκλειον κύλικα, ποτήριον δέλινον*. But we know the old Lexicons chiefly consist of *Excerpta* out of *Scholians* and *Glossaries* upon particular Authors; one of which, in one single place, might expound it a Glass. But that it must universally mean so, or particularly in this passage before us, neither the use of the Language nor good Sense will allow. For besides Earth, which was the first Material; some were made of Wood, as *Theophrastus* says in the place already cited; others of Silver or Gold, as *Plutarch* in *P. Aemilius*; *Οἱ δὲ τὰς Θηρικλείους καὶ ὅσα περὶ δεῖπνον ΧΡΥΣΩΜΑΤΑ τοῦ Περσέως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι*.

And Athenæus, [lib. v. p. 199]. *Φέροντες οἱ μὲν οἰνοχόας, οἱ δὲ φιάλας, οἱ δὲ Θηριχλείους μεγάλας, πάντα ΧΡΥΣΑ.* And I conceive, it were more agreeable to the Generosity of *Phalaris*, which is the subject of so many Letters, to suppose these *Thericlean Cups* to be Silver at least, if not a more precious Metal.

190, 22. who relates, that at the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into Greece (which was Olymp. LXXIII), *Anaxilaus* King of *Rhegium*, besieged *Zancle*, and took it, and called it *Messana*, from the *Peloponnesian* City of that name, the place of his nativity. The same says *Herodotus*, and agreeably to this narrative, *Diodorus* sets down the death of this *Anaxilaus* Olymp. LXXVI, 1. when he had reigned XVIII years. Take now &c.

191, 13. *Pausanias*, who tells the story very differently from *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, placing this same *Anaxilas* of *Rhegium* about a CLXXX years higher than they do; That he assisted &c.

192, 3. instead of »Stadionicæ« it was »Olympionicæ«.

210, 2. phrase.

210, 3. puzzled.

210, 14. shameful.

211, 5. After »him« the following passage is added in the ed. of 1697: But here again our late Editors, as if they had been bribed for the Sophist, have lopt off and destroyed this branch of our Evidence, as far as lay in their power: for they have made bold to execute this Proverb upon it self, and have quite extirpated the *Pine-tree* out of their new Version: *ὅς αὐτοὺς ἐκτρίψω πίτυος δίκην*; that is, »qui eos in arundinis morem conteret, »who will bruise them like a Reed,« (say our critical Interpreters.) It seems, the Translation in the former Editions, *Qui eos excindam instar pinus*, was too easie and vulgar. In H. Scripture, indeed, there is mention, by a very elegant Metaphor, of bruised and broken Reeds. But why Reeds must be transplanted hither, and the innocent Pine rooted up, I confess to be above my small understanding in Gardening.

216, 21. These, though they.

217, 2. a new town.

217, 10. nor the rhetoric.

217, 26. being got drunk.

226, 22. but Seven Years old, or, as others say, yet unborn, when.

230, 16. useful.

247, 6. determine. encline.

251, 8. »If *Phalaris's* was the first; the *Epistles* must be a cheat« is added in the first ed.

- 254, 17. »according to Horace,« is added in the sec. edition, while the lines »Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camæne Dicitur, & planstris vexisse poemata Thespis« are added in the first ed.
- 254, 22. The first ed. has: »But *Alceſtis*, the first Tragedy of *Thespis*, was acted about the LXX Olymp. which is about 12 Years after *Phalaris*'s death.«
- 325, 1. »failed« instead of »fail'd«.
- 325, 6. Solœcism instead of Solecism.
- 325, 21. »in his very days;« »foreigner.«
- 326, 12. The first edition has: »the Ionic or the Attic.«
- 326, 19. The first ed. has »sub-Divisions. 24.« »powerful.«
- 327, 4. After »Athens« the following passage was omitted in the sec. ed.: »But there is a learned *Greek* Professor<sup>1)</sup> (whose Pardon I must ask, that I forgot to name him above, among the Patrons of *Phalaris*), who, after he has asserted the credit of *Euripides*'s Letters, gratuitously undertakes to apologize for These too, about this matter of the Dialect. First, says he, *because Phalaris was born at Astypala an Island of the Cyclades, where was an Athenian Colony,*<sup>2)</sup> that is one reason for his speaking *Attic*. It were easie« (the intermediate words having been substituted in the sec. ed.)
- 327, 14. The first edition has: »And I will have.«
- 327, 16. Bentley omitted: »*Astypalæa*, (for so it is to be called); not that Isle of the *Cyclades*, according to *Stephanus*<sup>3)</sup>; but of the *Sporades* mention'd by *Strabo*<sup>4)</sup> and *Pliny*<sup>5)</sup>; for this latter was nearest to *Crete*, whither *Phalaris*'s Wife and Son are supposed to have fled, Epist. LXIX. 'Tis true, our late industrious Editors have discovered a new place« etc.
- 328, 10. Maritime;
- 328, 25. The original ed. spells »place;«
- 328, 29. »neighbourhood.«
- 329, 4—11. (But — *πελαγία*): this whole passage was added by Bentley in his second edition.
- 329, 10. The first ed. has: »He defends him by the like practice of others; that being *Dorians* born, they etc.«
- 329, 13. »and« om.
- 329, 14. *Agrigentum* and *Ocellus* of *Lucania*.
- p. 47. 329, 17. The first ed. reads: »this Argument is built partly upon a vulgar Mistake, and partly upon such Instances as are quite different and aliene from the case of our Epistles.

<sup>1)</sup> Vid. *Eurip.* Edit. *Cantaſ.* p. 523.<sup>2)</sup> Is enim *Astypala* natus erat, una ex *Cycladibus*, ubi *Atheniensium* erat Colonia.<sup>3)</sup> Lib. X. p. 488.<sup>4)</sup> Lib. IV. cap. 12.<sup>5)</sup> v. *Acron* d.

*Ocellus Lucanus*, the *Pythagorean* Philosopher, writ a small Treatise of the *Nature of the Universe*; which has been several times printed, and is *ἐν κοινῇ διαλέκτῳ*, in the common and ordinary *Greek*. But, if I may expect thanks for the discovery, I dare engage to make out; that the Author compos'd it, not in the dress that it now wears, but in *Doric*, his own Country fashion. For I find, it was agreed and covenanted among all the Scholars of that *Italian* Sect, *φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρῴᾳ*,<sup>1)</sup> to use their own Mother-Tongue: this was the injunction of *Pythagoras*; this was the *tesera* of the whole Party; and those that know anything of their story, will believe they would have lost their Lives, rather than have broken it. 'Tis most certain, if one had publish'd a Book against that Injunction, p. 48. he would have been banish'd the Society. Besides, when *Jamblichus* tells us of this Compact of theirs, he makes not one Exception to it; which he could not have miss'd, neither from ignorance nor forgetfulness, if so common a Tract as this of *Ocellus* had been writ in the *Attic*. Nay, we are assured, that other Pieces of this Author were made in the *Doric*; as one *Of Law*, *Περὶ Νόμου*, cited by *Stobæus*:<sup>2)</sup> the fragment begins thus; *Συνέχει τὰ μὲν σκάνεα ζῶα, ταύτας δ' αἰτιῶν φυγά· τὸν δὲ κόσμον ἁρμονία, ταύτας δὲ αἴτιος ὁ θεός*. But, which is plain demonstration, four citations are brought by the same Writer<sup>3)</sup> out of this very Book, *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός φύσεως*, *About the Nature of the Universe*; all which are in *Doric*, and not, as they are now extant, in the ordinary Dialect. The first of them begins thus, *Ἐτι δὲ τὸ ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀτελεύτατον καὶ τῷ σχήματος καὶ τῆς κινάσιος καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς ὀσίας τοῦτο πιστοῦται*: which is thus extant in the vulgar *Ocellus*, p. 16.<sup>4)</sup> *Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς ὀσίας τοῦτο πιστοῦται*. The second, thus beginning, *Ἐπει δ' ἐν τῷ παντί*, extant p. 17. The third, *Πράτῳ γὰρ ὅλα τὸ πάνδεχές, &c.* thus extant, p. 21. *Πρώτῳ ὅλη τὸ πάνδεχές*. The fourth, *Παντελὴς δὲ φθορὰ τῆς περὶ τὰν γῆν* p. 49. *διαχοσμήσιος*, extant in ordinary *Greek*, p. 31. *Παντελὴς δὲ φθορὰ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διαχοσμήσεως*. From which passages these two points are manifestly evinced; That *Ocellus* composed his Writings in *Doric*, and so is falsely brought in for an Excuse to our *Phalaris*: and, which is much more considerable, That this Tract of his now extant, is to be acknowledged for a genuine Work; which hitherto Learned Men have doubted of, from this very business of the Dialect. For we now see by these Fragments, that every word of the true Book is faithfully

<sup>1)</sup> *Jamblichus Vit. Pythagor.* 202.<sup>2)</sup> *Eclog. Phys.* c. 16.<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.* c. 24<sup>4)</sup> Edit. Cantab.

preserved; the *Doric* only being changed into the ordinary Language, at the fancy of some Copyer since the days of *Stobæus*.

»As for *Empedocles* and *Diodorus*, a Poet and an Historian, their case is widely remote from that of our Tyrant.«

330, 13. After »Dialect« the following passage is added in 1697:

»And we have just now seen an instance of it; since some body thought it worth his labour to transcribe *Ocellus* into another Idiom.«

330, 19. The first ed. has: »private affairs,«

330, 20. »family;«

330, 22. »circumstances.«

392, 4. The first edition has: »betrays it self to be a thousand years younger than He« instead of »many Centuries younger.«

392, 12. »lines and mien of a face,« not meen.

392, 34. The first edition has: »In the XVII. *προδεδωκότα*, having given before, never used by the Ancients in that sense, but always for *having betrayed*. In the LI. *βουλομένην ἐμὲ δῶξεν*, *desirous to follow me*, where he speaks of his Wife that would accompany him in his exile: but *δῶξεν* anciently signified *to pursue*; when that which fled, fear'd and shun'd the Pursuer.«

420, 22. The first edition spells: »Sicilian Accompt.«

421, 6. Accompt.

461, 8. than denouncing of War.

461, 11. Allye.

462, 26. our diligent Editors by comp.

463, 31. adoe.

464, 5. employed.

464, 22. pardoned.

465, 26. It would.

481, 31. expressly.

482, 18sq. Lucian and his authors.

482, 30. The following passage was omitted by Bentley in his second edition: »*Jamblichus* brings in *Abaris* the Hyperborean in company with *Pythagoras* to *Phalaris's* Court: But our Sophist has writ a Letter<sup>1)</sup> for him, wherein he refuses to come.« So little &c.

After the XVIth Section is placed in the first edition p. 66sq. the passage repeated by Bentley in his Preface to the second edition, p. 3sq. of our reprint. We have noted the following discrepancies between the two editions.

<sup>1)</sup> Epist. LVII.

3, 5. I MUST now beg the favour of one word with our late Editors of this Author. They have told &c.

3, 6. Diligence; the words »among — Diligence« being placed in brackets.

3, 11 Me.

3, 12: »very very,« instead of »very well,« an error corrected in the Errata.

17. the (instead of that) Neglect.

19. this Censure.

26. used.

4, 1. me.

4, 2. collation (and) experiment.

4, 20. mystery.

4, 21. revealed. As for the King's Manuscript, they had no want nor desire of it; for, as I shall shew by and by, they had neither industry nor skill to use either That or their Own. And for my part; I, it seems, had &c.

23. lachrimæ.

25. me.

26. revenge. — After this the following long passage was omitted in the second edition:

*Pro singulari sua humanitate!* I would produce several Letters from learned Professors abroad, whose Books our Editors may in time be fit to read; wherein these very same words are said of me candidly and seriously. For I endeavour to oblige even Foreigners by all Courtesie and Humanity; much more would I encourage and assist any useful Designs at home. And I heartily wish, that I could do any service to that young Gentleman of great Hopes, whose Name is set to the Edition. I can do him no greater at present, than to remove some blemishes from the Book that is ascribed to him: which I desire may be taken aright; to be no disparagement to himself, but a reproof only to his Teachers.

It is counted an ill Omen to stumble at the Threshold. In p. 69 the very First Epistle to Alcibous, we have these words, *Ψυχῆς δὲ νόσον ἰατρὸς ἴσται θάνατος· ὃς ἀνεπαχθέστατον ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων, οὐχ ἀκουσίῳ ὣν ἐμοὶ προτρέπεις, ἀλλ' ἐκουσίῳ ὣν αὐτὸς εἰργασαὶ προσδέχου*: that is, *For a disease of the Soul, the only Physician is Death: do you therefore expect a most painful one for those many and great injustices, not involuntary ones, such as you accuse Me of, but voluntary ones that your self have committed.* Let us see now, how our new Editors have managed this passage. First, they interpret *ἀνεπαχθέστατον*, *nulli gravem*: meaning, I suppose, that Alcibous's death would be grievous to no body. Which not only produces a flat and far-fetcht sense, but is contrary

to the rules of good Language. For the *Greek* is in the Superlative degree: let them put it then *nulli gravissimam*; and it will shew them the error of their Version. It will be evident to such as know propriety of Speech, that *ἀναχθέσθαι*, since no Dative Case follows it, must be referred to *Alcibous*, and to no body else. I do not expect from our Editors much sagacity in way of Critic: but though they could not of themselves find out the true Reading; yet methinks they might have embraced it, when they saw it in the Manuscript; which reads it, *ὃν δὲ ἀναχθέσθαι*, a most grievous and cruel death; meaning that in the Brazen Bull; which he calls, in the CXXII Epist. *ὀλεθρὸν ἀγθρότατον*, an epithet of the same root and signification. *Ἄν* in this place, is an expletive particle, *παρὰ κληρωματικόν*, as the Grammarians call it; which being a rare and quaint usage, was the cause of corrupting the Text.

The next words in the same passage, *ἀδελφῶν, οὐκ ἀκούσιων*, our elegant Interpreters render *scelera, non invita*. And this we are to receive for one of their many improvements<sup>1)</sup> after the former Translators. Those Old ones, good honest Men, put us off with plain country Latin, *Scelera, non prater voluntatem patrata*, and other such Periphrases. For, as it was in their days believed, *ἀκούσιος* signified *unwilling*, and was always meant of the Agent: *ἀκούσιος* was *involuntary*, and generally meant of the Action. And this latter, when it signifies the Action, cannot be expressed in Latin by one single word. For *Involuntarius* was not in use: and *Invitus* is the same with *ἀκων*, and is always spoken of the Person, never of the Thing. So that if any body else had said *scelera invita, unwilling*  
 p. 71 *Crimes*; some bold Readers would be apt to take it for Barbarism and Nonsense: but coming from those great Genius's, with whom Learning, that is a leaving the world, has taken her last residence, they receive this as a new discovery in Language; like another of theirs in Geography.<sup>2)</sup>

In the very next words to these, *ἀκούσιων, ὧν ἐμοὶ προτρέψεις*; let us see if they make any better work there. *Invita, ad quæ me hortaris*; *Involuntary Crimes, to which you exhort me*, says the version of our late Editors. Admirably well done again! Pray, how can this *Alcibous*, a *Messenian*, be said to exhort him to those Cruelties, who so much abhorred Him and Them, (as it is in this very Letter,) that he had the Physician his Townsman tried for his own Life, for saving the Tyrant's? It would puzzle a common Wit to reconcile this; but here's a Note upon this passage, that will set every thing aright.

<sup>1)</sup> *Præf.* p. 3. reprint].

<sup>2)</sup> *Sup.* p. 44. [= XII about *Asiopolis*, p. 327 of our reprint].



*Ad quæ me hortaris;]* i. e. *Moribus tuis nequissimis provocas.*<sup>1)</sup> Commend me to these Annotators for a help at a dead lift. To provoke a Man, we see, with the basest tricks, is in their language, to exhort him. So that when They, by a vile aspersion, instead of thanks for a kindness receiv'd, have given me just provocation to answer them as they deserve; it is only, in their manner, to exhort me to do it. It is my singular Humanity, that I do not follow their Exhortation. But I am apt to believe, that even the Sophist himself, as illiterate as he was, would disdain to own such a version to be the Echo of his meaning. Had he had in his thoughts so ridiculous a sense as they father upon him; he would have said then, εἰς ἃ, or ἐφ' ἃ ἐμὲ προτρέπεις. For that is the Syntax of προτρέπω, when it signifies to exhort. Whereas ἃ ἐμοὶ προτρέπεις (the ὦν in the Text is for ἃ) is, in that sense, as absurd and incongruous in Greek, as *Quæ mihi hortaris*, or *Quæ mihi provocas* would be in Latin. I think I have shewn already, that προτρέπειν is here ὀνειδίζειν, *exprobrare*, to accuse and reproach: *Those involuntary wrongs, that you lay to my charge.* 'Tis true, the word is not used in this acceptation by any ancient Authors. I have mention'd it therefore above<sup>2)</sup>, as a token of a more recent Writer. But without doubt it was of known use in the age of the Sophist; and the innovation was not at all improper. For as the Ancients, both in Poetry and Prose, used προφέρειν to denote this meaning:

Γαστέρα μοι προφέρεις, κάλλιστον θνείδος ἀπάντων.<sup>3)</sup>

so by a like metaphor and analogy, we may use προτρέπειν p. 73 to express the same notion: just as the Latins say, *vitio VERTERE*. All this, I suppose, was known to the Translator of *Phalaris*, who is commonly, but, I believe, falsely supposed to be *Cujacius*; for he interprets it very well, *Cujus modi mihi obijcis*. But that Edition, and another of *Aldus*, tho' the two principal of all, and both of them in the public Library at *Oxon*, had yet the odd fortune to lie all the while conceal'd, from our late Editors that lived there.<sup>4)</sup>

I was, but just now, in the mind to oblige them, by going through their whole Book, and correcting for them all the Faults, that give offence to the best Readers. But now, that I cast my eye backwards, it makes me look as blank, at the prospect of all that's to come; as *Hercules* did, when, after he had made a bargain unseen, he saw the Stables of *Augeas*. For if the very First Epistle, of nine Lines only, has taken me up

<sup>1)</sup> Annot. ad *Phalar.* p. 145.

<sup>2)</sup> [See above, p. 392.]

<sup>3)</sup> *Suidas*

in *Γαστήρ*. — *Diogen.* III. 85. *Adag.* p. 205 ed. *Schott.* — D. <sup>4)</sup> *Præf.* p. 3. [See above, p. 404 sq., Bentley's answer to Boyle's criticism on this passage]

four Pages in scouring; what a sweet piece of work should I have of it, to cleanse all the rest for them? I must beg their Excuse therefore for the present; and shall only, to keep my Promise, give one Touch of their industry and skill, in making use of the Manuscript.

- p. 74 They have confessed to us, they collated the Manuscript to the XL Epistle.<sup>1)</sup> But, it seems, they could make no use of its various Lections, but in one single place, Epist. XXVI. It is writ to one *Ariphrades*, to caution his Son to leave off plotting against *Phalaris*; *ἴνα, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γένηται τῷ κατὰ διατείνων ἐν οἷς ἐστί, μὴ προσπονηθῇ δοκεῖν ἡγνοῦνθέναι*; *lest, when punishment overtakes him for persisting in his present courses, he pretend he had not fair warning*. But what do our new Editors make of this? *διατείνων ἐν οἷς ἐστί*, they translate, *suam expensens conditionem*. This puts me in mind of the old Greek Proverb, *That Leucon carries one thing, and his Ass quite another*.<sup>2)</sup> For here's no affinity at all between the Text and the Version; which would every whit as well agree to any other words in the Book. Even our Editors themselves seem sensible of this; for they give us this Note upon it,<sup>3)</sup> *That διατείνων cannot admit here of any other meaning: and yet they find it no where else used in this sense*. I dare pass my word for the truth of this latter part: to the former I shall say more anon. So that, say they, the better Reading is in the King's Manuscript,
- p. 75 διὰ τίνων ἐν οἷς ἐστί, i. e. for those things which he now does. In the King's Manuscript, which I have now by me, it was written at first, *διατείνων*: but another Hand has rased out the ε, as appears by the void space, and made it *διὰ τίνων*. This Corrector, who ever he was, though we know him from hence to be a sorry Critic; yet he was a degree above our new Editors. For he made his *τίνων* an Enclitic; but they theirs an Interrogative, as we see by their Accent. Which in this place is directly against either common Grammar, or common Sense; chuse whether they please. But the genuine lection and meaning is, as I rendred it above; *διατείνων ἐν οἷς ἐστί*, *persisting and proceeding in his present ways*. So in the XXXIX Epist. *μένων ἐν οἷς ἐστί*, *continuing in the present station*. 'Tis true, our Editors will not find *διατείνων* thus rendred in their Dictionaries: but they may please to enlarge them then from this very place. For, is not *διατείνω* exactly the same as the Latin *PERTENDO*? And is not *Pertendo*, to persist and persevere?<sup>4)</sup>

*Verum si incipies neque pertendes naviter.*<sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *Præf.* p. 4.

<sup>2)</sup> [See above p. 46 sq.]

<sup>3)</sup> *Διατείνω* alium

sensum hic viz admittit, in eodem tamen usurpatum nullibi invenio. Melius itaque in MS. Regio διὰ τίνων ἐν οἷς ἐστί, ob ea quæ jam agit. Annotat. pag. 146.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ter. Eunuch.* I, 1. [= 51 Fl.]

Even the Version ascribed to *Cujacius* has here the true interpretation, *Persistens in proposito*: which I would advise our Editors to consult, when they design to oblige the world by another Edition. p. 76

This is all the use they have made of the King's Manuscript: let us see if they have been more diligent in their own. In the XXXIV Epist. the Tyrant tells one *Pollux*, who wonder'd he was grown so recluse, and difficult of access; *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ δὴ φεύγω πάντας ἀνθρώπους*: Nay, says he, *I avoid company less than I ought to do; for I have found no faith either among strangers or friends*. Our new Interpreters have given us here a cast of their Critic; for instead of *ἐνδεέστερον* they venture to read *ἐπτενέστερον*, *ego jam sedulo omnes fugio*:<sup>1)</sup> as for the former Lection, they confess they know not what to make on't. Here are your Work-men to mend an Author; as bungling Tinkers do old Kettles; there was but one hole in the Text before they medled with it, but they leave it with two. For the fault is not in *ἐνδεέστερον*, but in *ἢ δὴ*; which is to be corrected *ἢ δεῖ*: *ἐνδεέστερον ἢ δεῖ*, *minus quam par est, minus quam oportet*. This is so very easie an Emendation, that a small dose of sagacity might have found it out, by conjecture. But what will the Men of Letters think of our Editors? will they commend their skill or their industry most? when I assure them, that all the Three Manuscripts which they pretend to have collated, have it plainly and fairly *ἢ δεῖ*. Which fault will the Editors plead to? to make a public boast of collating Three Manuscripts, and yet neglect every one of them? or, to have observed in the Manuscripts so certain a Correction, without either knowledge to make use on't themselves, or ingenuity to communicate it to the world? 'Tis a bad business on either side; and yet it receives a great aggravation from this other which follows. Epist. LXVIII. *Phalaris*, to encourage his Son's Bounty; *I do not think*, says he, *you spend me too much money*, *ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐνδεέστερον ἐρίσσω ἢ δὴ χρηστότητι παιδὸς ὑπηρετεῖν*; but *I rather think I allow you too sparingly, for so generous a Son*. Here is *ἐνδεέστερον ἢ δὴ* come again.<sup>2)</sup> Now, every one of the Manuscripts have it here too *ἢ δεῖ*: Two of which, they pretend, in their Preface, to have thoroughly collated. And yet they take not the least notice of this plain Emendation, *ἐνδεέστερον ἢ δεῖ*, *parcius æquo, parcius quam oportet*; but blunder on with the vulgar Reading, and translate it, *But I find my self too poor to supply your Liberality*.<sup>3)</sup> p. 77

<sup>1)</sup> *Legendum forsan ἐπτενέστερον, quam enim interpretationem ἐνδεέστερον hic admittat, non video.*

<sup>2)</sup> The orig. ed. has «comes». The correction given in the text has been derived from a copy of Dyce's edition in the possession of Messrs. Calvary. — W.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ego me pauperiorem invenio quam ut illi benignitati sufficere possim.*

p. 78 Which, besides that it does not answer the words of the *Greek*, (which would then have been, *ἡδὴ, ἡ χρῆσις.*) makes mere non-sense of the Context. For in the very next sentence, he tells his Son; *you shall sooner want friends to give it to, than I want money to give.* Ingenious Translators! to make him complain of Poverty, and in the same breath to declare that he has Riches without ead.

Let this serve for a short Specimen of their Care and Skill in using of Manuscripts. I have many more instances ready at hand; but their *Humanity*, I hope, will pardon me, if I don't produce them now; nor now proceed, as I once thought, to weed all their Book for them. My Time does not lie upon my hands; and this Tract must be only a short Appendix to the Book of my Friend: but it's likely hereafter, if, in their way of speaking, they mightily *exhort* me to it; I may be at their service; if not in this, yet in another Language: to carry the fame and glory of our Editors, whither such Editions as theirs seldom go, to foreign Universities.

[The Sections XVII, XVIII, XIX and XIX were added by Bentley in the second edition.]

---

BENTLEY'S  
DISSERTATIONS  
UPON  
THE EPISTLES  
OF  
THEMISTOCLES, SOCRATES, EURIPIDES,  
AND OTHERS;  
AND  
THE FABLES OF ÆSOP.

[Reprinted from the first Edition in W. Wotton's *Reflections upon  
Ancient and Modern Learning*, sec. ed., London 1697.]



# OF THEMISTOCLES'S EPISTLES.

SIR,

I Presume I have been as good as my word, in <sup>79</sup> detecting the cheat of *Phalaris's Epistles*: the other part of my promise was a Censure of *Æsop's Fables*. But before I meddle with those, I am willing, now that my Hand 's in, to examine some other Impostures of this sort, out of the same Schools of the Sophists. It will be no unpleasant labour to me, nor, I hope, unprofitable to others, to pull off the disguise from those little Pedants, that have stalked about so long in the apparel of Hero's.

The *Epistles of Themistocles* were printed first at Rome, in MDCXXVI, out of a Manuscript in the Vatican. The Editor, a Greek Bishop,<sup>1)</sup> believed them genuine; but there were some, that suspected a forgery, as *Leo Allatius*<sup>2)</sup> informs us: who himself leaves the matter in doubt; but withal observes in their favour, that no body had ever said a word in print, to prove them to be spurious. *Suidas*<sup>3)</sup> is an Evidence in their behalf; for, speaking of their <sup>80</sup> reputed Author, he says, *he has writ Letters full of Spirit*, ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς φρονήματος γεμούσας. He, I think, is the only old Writer that makes any men-

---

<sup>1)</sup> Caryophilus (i. e. *Καρυόφυλλος*), archbishop of Iconium. Cf. *Sathas, Νεοελλην. Φιλ.* p. 265 sq. — W. <sup>2)</sup> *De Script. Socrat.* p. 78. <sup>3)</sup> *V. Θεμιστοκ.*

tion of them. Which alone, as before in *Phalaris's* case, is a shrewd prejudice against their Credit and Reputation. *Thucydides*<sup>1)</sup> and *Charon Lampsacenus* say that *Themistocles*, when he fled into *Asia*, made his address to *Artaxerxes*, who was newly come to the Throne; wherein they are followed by *Cornelius Nepos*,<sup>2)</sup> and *Plutarch*; against the common tradition of *Ephorus*, *Heracledes*, and most others, that make *Xerxes* the Father to be then alive. Some Writers<sup>3)</sup> relate, that he had five Cities given him by the *Persian*; others, but three. Now, if the Letters had been known to any of those Authors, both these Disputes had been soon at an end, or rather never had been raised. For he himself expressly says,<sup>4)</sup> it was *Xerxes* he went to, and that he gave him but three Cities. Now, where could these Epistles lie, unknown and invisible from *Themistocles's* time to *Suidas*? We must needs say, that the Letters had a worse Exostracism than their Author: since he was banisht but for five Years, but they for a Thousand.<sup>5)</sup>

81 II. 'Tis observable, That every one of the Letters bear date after his banishment; and contain a compleat Narrative of all his Story afterwards, without the least gap or interruption. Now 'tis hard to say, whether is the more strange of the two; That not one single Letter of his, before that time, should be preserved; or not one, afterwards, lost, though written from so distant places, *Argos*, *Corcyra*, *Epirus*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, from whence there was no very sure conveyance to *Athens*. What a cross vicissitude of Fortune! while the Author is in Prosperity, all his Letters are unlucky; and not one of them is

<sup>1)</sup> Lib. i. p. 90 [c. 137].    <sup>2)</sup> *Vita Themistoc.* [9. *Plut.* 27.]

<sup>3)</sup> *Plutarch* [29], *Diodor* [xi 57]. *Athenæus*. [29 F], &c.    <sup>4)</sup> Ep. xx.

<sup>5)</sup> a *Thousand* the original ed.; *Ten years* is a stupid blunder in the ed. of 1777. — W.



missing, after he himself miscarried. But the Sophist can easily account for this, though *Themistocles* cannot: for here are no Letters before his Exile; because the latter part of his Life was the whole Tour and Compass that the Sophist designed to write of: and not a Letter afterwards perished; because being forged in a Sophist's Closet, they run no hazard at all of being lost in the carriage.

III. *Themistocles* was an Eloquent Man: but here are some touches in his Letters of such an elevated strain, that if he did not go to School to *Gorgias Leontinus* the Sophist of that time, I can hardly believe he writ them. The Historians tell us <sup>82</sup> moderately, That after he was driven from home, he was made much on at *Argos*: but He himself is all melting, when he talks on that Subject. He was met, he says,<sup>1)</sup> on the road by two *Argivans* of his acquaintance; who, when he told them the news of his Banishment, rail'd bitterly at the *Athenians*: but, when they heard he was going to *Delphi*, rather than to Their town; in a kind quarred they tell him, That the *Athenians* had justly punished him;<sup>2)</sup> since he so much wronged the City of *Argos*, to think of any Sanctuary but that. Well, he goes with them to *Argos*; and there the whole City teases him by mere force to take the Government upon him;<sup>3)</sup> taking it as the greatest injury, that he offer'd to decline it. These, you'll say, are choice flowers both of Courtesy and of Rhetoric: but there's another clearly beyond them; where he tells us, That he is so resolved of going to the *Persian* Court, though it was a desperate risque; that neither the Advice of his Friends, nor his Father Neocles's Ghost, nor his Uncle *Themistocles's*, nor *Augury*, nor *Omen*, nor

1) Ep. i.  
 ἡμῶν.

2) Ἐκτανεῖν Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δίκαια τινόντων  
 3) Ἀναγκάζουσιν, ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ἢ μὴ ἀρχώμεν.

Apollo's Oracle it self, should be able to dissuade him.<sup>1)</sup> Here's a bold resolute Blade for you! here's your Stoical *χέριxa*! 'Tis almost impossible for a  
 83 Sophist not to betray himself. Nothing will relish and go down with them, that is ordinary and natural. Then they applaud themselves most, when they have said a forced, extravagant thing. If one speaks of any Civility; the Complement must be strain'd beyond all Decorum. If he makes a Resolution; he must needs swagger and swear, and be as willful as a Mad man.

IV. The Subject of many of the Letters is Common place; mere Chat, and telling a Tale, without any Business; an Errand not worth sending to the next Town, much less to be brought from remote Countries some hundreds of Leagues. The xv<sup>2)</sup> and xviii Letters are written to Enemies; his Friends, I suppose, failing in their Correspondence: and contain nothing but a little Scolding; which was scarce worth the long carriage from *Ephesus* to *Athens*.

V. In the xx Epistle we have this Story: When *Themistocles* was at *Corcyra*, he design'd for *Sicily*, to *Gelo* the *Syracusan* Tyrant. But just as he was going a Ship-board, the news came that *Gelo* was dead, and his Brother *Hiero* succeeded him. Now, if we make it appear, that *Hiero* was come to the Crown some years before *Themistocles*'s Banishment, and this Voyage to *Corcyra*; what becomes of the  
 84 Credit of our Epistles? 'Tis true, the Chronology of this part of History is not so settled and agreed, as to amount to a Demonstration against the Letters:<sup>3)</sup> but however, when joined with the Arguments preceeding, at least it will come up to a high Probability. *Theophrastus*, in his Treatise of *Monarchy*,<sup>4)</sup> relates,

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. xiv. [= VIII. p. 749 Hercher.]      <sup>2)</sup> [XII. ap. Hercher.]

<sup>3)</sup> *Ὅδ' αὐτοῖς χρονικοῖς ἀνέμα συνταττομένοις. Plut. Them. p. 227. [c. 27].*      <sup>4)</sup> *Περὶ Βασιλείας* apud *Plut. Them. p. 225. [c. 25].*

That when *Hiero* had sent Race-horses, and a most sumptuous Tent, to the *Olympian Games*; *Themistocles* advised the *Greeks* to plunder the *Tyrant's* tent, τοῦ τυράννου, and not to let his Horses run. 'Tis evident then, if *Theophrastus* speak properly, that *Hiero* was *Monarch* of *Syracuse*, when *Themistocles* was at *Olympia*; but it's most certain he never came thither after his Exile.

But, to deal fairly, it must be confessed, that *Ælian*, in telling this story, varies from *Theophrastus*; for he says, *Hiero* himself came to the Games.<sup>1)</sup> But that he would go thither in Person, after he got the Government, is wholly improbable. So that, if *Ælian* be believed, this business must have been done, before *Hiero* came to the Throne. For even in *Gelo's* life-time, who left him the Monarchy, he kept Horses for the Race; and won at the *Pythian Games*, *Pythiad* the xxvi, which answers to *Olymp.* lxxiv. 3.<sup>2)</sup> But besides that *Theophrastus* is of much greater authority, the other refutes himself in the very next words. For he says, *Themistocles* hindred *Hiero* upon this pretence; *That he, that had not shared in the common Danger, ought not to share in the common Festival*: where it's certain, by the *common Danger*, he means *Xerxes's Expedition*; when *Gelo* either refused or delayed to give the *Greeks* his assistance.<sup>3)</sup> This affront then was put upon *Hiero*, after that Expedition. But the very next Olympiad after, *Hiero* was in the Monarchy.<sup>4)</sup> It cannot be true then, that his first accession to the Throne, was, according to the Letters, while *Themistocles* stay'd at *Corcyra*.

Besides these Inferences and Deductions, we have the express Verdict and Declaration of most of the

<sup>1)</sup> *Var. Hist.* ix, 5.      <sup>2)</sup> *Pind. Schol. Pyth.* i. & iii.

<sup>3)</sup> *Herod.* vii. c. 163. *Diod.* xi. p. 21. [x 67].      <sup>4)</sup> *Diod.* xi. p. 29. [c. 38].

Chronologers,<sup>1)</sup> who place the beginning of *Hiero's* Reign Olymp. LXXV, 3. and *Themistocles's* Banishment seven years after, Olymp. LXXVII, 2. The *Arundelian* Marble, indeed, differs from all these, in the periods of *Gelo* and *Hiero*: which would quite confound all this argumentation from notes of Time. But either that Chronologer is quite out, or we can safely believe nothing in History. For he makes *Gelo* first invade the Government, two years after *Xerxes's* Expedition. But *Herodotus*<sup>2)</sup> spends half a dozen pages in the Account of an Embassy to *Gelo* from *Sparta* and *Athens*, to desire his assistance against the *Persian*. And 'tis agreed among all, That *Gelo's* Victory over the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* was got the very same day with the Battle at *Salamis*.<sup>3)</sup>

VI. The whole Volume of *Themistocles's* Letters consists of XXI only; and Three of these are taken up in the story of *Pausanias*. The Second is writ to *Pausanias* himself, before that *Spartan's* Conspiracy with the *Persian* was discovered. There he exhorts him to moderation in his Prosperity; lest some very great turn of Fortune should speedily befall him. Can you desire now a surer indication of a Sophist? Without doubt, he that penn'd this Epistle, knew before-hand what happen'd to *Pausanias*: who was soon after recall'd home by the Magistrates, and put to death for Treason. The XIX<sup>4)</sup> is to *Pausanias* again; but after his Conspiracy was detected. Here he tells the Particulars of that Plot as exactly, as if he had been one of the *Ephori*, that over-heard it. Nay, he foretells him, that the *Lacedæmonians* would take away his life. Now besides that *Themistocles* would scorn to insult so, and rail

1) *Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. Diod. xi. p. 20, 41. [c. 38. 66.] Euseb. in Chron.* 2) *Lib. vii. [153 sqq.]* 3) *Herodot. ibid. & Diod. l. xi. [24].* 4) [= XIV. p. 754 Hercher.]

to no purpose, as this Letter does; he would surely have had more wit, than knowingly to write to the Dead. For at the same time he heard those Particulars of *Pausanias's* Treason, he must needs hear of his Execution; since those things were not known till after his Death, and the rifling of his Papers. The VI Epistle is a long Narrative of the whole business of *Pausanias*: for that was a Subject worthy of Eloquence, and therefore was to receive ornament from the Pen of the Sophist. But it was scarce worthy of *Themistocles*, to send such a long News-Letter to *Athens*; where, in all likelihood, the Story was common, before he heard of it himself. 87

But how shall we reconcile this Affair of *Pausanias* according to the Letters, with what *Diodorus* has left us upon the same Subject? The Letters, we see, make *Themistocles* to be banisht, before *Pausanias* was suspected;<sup>1)</sup> and make the one reside at *Argos*, while the other was convicted and put to death.<sup>2)</sup> But *Diodorus*, who has brought all his History into the method of *Annals*, places the Death of *Pausanias*, Olymp. LXXV, 4;<sup>3)</sup> and the Exile of *Themistocles*, six years after, Olymp. LXXVII, 2.<sup>4)</sup> Now, I would fain know of our Sophist, how he came to dispose and suit his matters so negligently; to bring *Pausanias* upon the stage again, when he had been six years in his Grave? I imagine he will refer me to *Thucydides*,<sup>5)</sup> who makes an immediate transition from one story to the other; »That the *Spartans* »accused *Themistocles*, who was then banisht from »home, of conspiring with *Pausanias*.« This, indeed, might draw the Sophist and some others into a mistake. But it may be taken two ways: either that it was done presently, upon the Death of *Pausanias*; 88

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. ii.    <sup>3)</sup> Ep. xix. VI.    <sup>2)</sup> Lib. xi. p. 36 [c. 45].  
<sup>4)</sup> Ib. xi. p. 41 [c. 55].    <sup>5)</sup> Lib. i. p. 88 [c. 135].

or a few years after, when *Themistocles's* Exile gave the *Spartans*, that hated and fear'd him, an opportunity to ruine him. *Plutarch* follows the first way;<sup>1)</sup> for he makes *Themistocles*, after his Banishment, to have private dealings with *Pausanias*: in which opinion he favours the Author of these Letters. But the second will rather appear to be the sense of *Thucydides*: if we consider, that he places the matter of *Pausanias* just after the flight of *Xerxes*;<sup>2)</sup> but when *Themistocles* went into *Asia*, he makes *Artaxerxes* to be in the Throne:<sup>3)</sup> which was a considerable while after. Besides that *Diodorus*, whose design was to referr all Occurrences to Years, and not to follow the thread of Story beyond the annual Period; is of more credit, in a point of Chronology; than *Plutarch* or any other,<sup>4)</sup> that write Lives by the Lump.

---

<sup>1)</sup> In *Themist.* p. 224 [c. 23].    <sup>2)</sup> P. 63 [c. 128].    <sup>3)</sup> P. 90 [c. 137].    <sup>4)</sup> *other* the orig. ed., which is perfectly good old English: see Abbott § 12 p. 24; but even Dyce prints *others*, not to speak of the careless edition of 1777. — W.

OF  
SOCRATES'S EPISTLES.

THE *Epistles of Socrates*, and his Scholars, *Xenophon*,<sup>89</sup> *Aristippus*, &c. were publish'd out of the *Vatican Library* by the Learned *Leo Allatius*; and printed at *Paris*, MDCXXXVII. He was so fully persuaded himself, and so concerned to have others think, that they are the legitimate Off-spring of those Authors they are laid to; that he has guarded and protected them, in a Dialogue of LVII Pages in *quarto*, against all the Objections that He or his Friends could raise. And no body since, that ever I heard of, has brought the matter into controversie. But I am enclined to believe, that by that time I have done with them, it will be no more a Controversie, but that they are spurious. I shall make use of nothing that *Allatius* has brought, except one Objection only; and that I shall both manage in a new way, and defend it against all his Exceptions.

I. The First Letter is *Socrates's* to some King, 'tis supposed, to *Archelaus* King of *Macedonia*; in which he refuses to go to him, though invited in the<sup>90</sup> most kind and obliging manner. That he really denied his company to *Archelaus* and others, we are assured from very good hands: which was the ground for our Falsary to forge this Epistle. But I believe, none of those that mention it, make so tall a Complement to *Socrates*; as he does here to himself. For he says, *The King offer'd him part of his Kingdom*; and,

that he should not come thither to be commanded, but to command both his Subjects and Himself.<sup>1)</sup> Can you desire a better token of a Sophist, than this? 'Tis a fine offer, indeed, to a poor old Man, that had nothing but his Staff and one Coat to his back. But a Sophist abhors mediocrity; he must always say the greatest thing; and make a Tide and a Flood, though it be but in a Bason of Water.

II. Well; our Philosopher goes on, and gives<sup>2)</sup> a reason of his refusal; That his Dæmon forbid him to go: and then he falls into the long story of what happen'd to him in the Battle at *Delium*; which was a tale of twenty years standing at the date of this Letter. But the Sophist had read it in *Plato*; and he would not miss the opportunity of an eloquent Narration. I will not here insist upon the testimony<sup>3)</sup> of *Athenæus*; That the whole business is a mere fiction of *Plato*'s: let that be left in the middle. But we may safely infer thus much from it; That even *Athenæus* himself, whose curiosity nothing escaped, never met with these Epistles. Which alone creates a just suspicion, that they were forged since his days; especially when the universal silence of all Antiquity gives a general consent to it.

There's a passage, indeed, in *Libanius*,<sup>4)</sup> which, in *Allatius*'s judgment, seems plainly to declare, that he had seen this very Epistle. For after he had mention'd *Socrates*'s refusal to go to *Scopas*, and *Eurylochus*, and *Archelous*; he adds; *Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξέδομην τῶν Ἐπιστολῶν, ἐν ἐκείναις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κάλλιστα ἂν ἴδετε*. Now should we concede, what *Allatius* would have; this is all can be inferred from thence in their

<sup>1)</sup> *Τῆς βασιλείας ἔφης μέρος δοδόναι. & ἄρξοντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ σοῦ αὐτοῦ* [p. 611 ed. Hercher].  
<sup>2)</sup> [The orig. ed. has give a reasons.]  
<sup>3)</sup> Lib. v. p. 215 [d].

<sup>4)</sup> *Analogia Socrat.* [Liban. Orat. III 59 Reiske.]



favour; That they are older than *Libanius*; which I am willing to believe: and, That He believed them true; which I matter not at all.<sup>1)</sup> For so we have seen *Stobæus*, *Suidas*, and others, cry up *Phalaris* for a genuine Book; and yet I fansie none of my Readers are now of their opinion. But with *Allatius's* good leave, I would draw the words of *Libanius* to a quite contrary purpose. After he had said, that many Princes had solicited *Socrates*, by Letter, to come and live in their Courts; and he answer'd them <sup>92</sup> all with a denial: *But* (says he) *I want the Letters themselves; in which you might perfectly see the Spirit of the Man.* This, to me, is an indication, that the Letters he means were not extant. For if he had them in his hand, according to *Allatius*, how could he *want* them? And 'tis plain, he speaks here of several Letters, being Replies to several Messages; but in this Collection here's but a single one. *I wish* (says he) *the Letters were to be had; in those you might read his Character.* If this be the sense of those words, as probably it is; *Libanius* is so far from being Patron to our Epistles, that he is a positive Witness against them.

III. The VII Letter is writ by *Socrates* to one of those that had fled to *Thebes* from the violence of the ~~xxx~~ Tyrants: in which he gives him an account of the state of *Athens* since their departure; *That himself was now hated by the Tyrants, because he would have no hand in the condemnation of Leon the Salaminian*: and then he tells the story at large. Now, here's a manifest discovery that the Letters are supposititious. For the business of *Leon* was quite over, before those Fugitives left the Town. For *Leon* was murder'd, before *Theramenes* was:<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> A very unusual expression, instead of: *which is no matter to me.* — W.    <sup>2)</sup> *Xenoph. Hist. lib. ii. p. 467, 470. [3, 33.] Diod. l. xiv. [5].*

93 and *Theramenes* was murder'd, before *Thrasybulus* and his Party fled to *Thebes*. And that *Socrates* means them in this Letter, 'tis evident from hence; That he speaks here of their Conspiracy, to resort privately towards *Athens* and set upon the Tyrants: which afterwards came to pass.

IV. The VIII, IX, XII, and XIII, are Letters of Jest and Railery between *Antisthenes* and *Aristippus* and *Simon* the Shoo-maker. 'Tis an affront to the memory of those Men, to believe they would fool and trifle in that manner; especially send such impertinent stuff as far as from *Sicily* to *Athens*, which could not decently be spoken even in merriment at a Table.

V. In the XIII Epistle, among the acquaintance of *Simon* he names *Phædrus*, the same that gives the Title to the Dialogue of *Plato*: and the xxv is writ by *Phædrus* himself to *Plato*: and both these are dated after *Socrates's* death. I will appeal now to *Athenæus*, if these two Letters can be genuine. He, among other Errors in Chronology for which he chastises *Plato*, brings this in for one; *That he introduces Phædrus discoursing with Socrates; who must certainly be dead before the days of the Philosopher.*<sup>1)</sup> How comes he then to survive him, in these Epistles; 94 and discourse so passionately of his Death? 'Tis true; for want of ancient History, we cannot back this Authority with any other Testimony. But I am sure, all those that have a just esteem for *Athenæus*, can have no slight one of this Argument against the credit of the Letters.

VI. The XIV Epistle gives *Xenophon* a long Narrative of *Socrates's* Tryal and Death; being writ presently after by one of his Scholars that was present at both.

<sup>1)</sup> Lib. xi. pag. 505. Ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ Παῖδρον κατὰ Σωκράτην εἶναι.

Among other particulars, he tells him; *That the Oration or Charge against Socrates was drawn up by Polycrates the Sophist.*<sup>1)</sup> But I doubt this will turn to a Charge against another Sophist, for counterfeiting Letters. For, I think, I can plainly prove, That at the date of this Letter there was no such report ever mention'd, that *Polycrates* had any hand in it; and, that this false Tradition, which afterwards obtained in the World, and gave occasion to our Writer to say it in his Letter, did not begin till some years after *Socrates's* condemnation.

*Diogenes Laertius* brings *Hermippus's* testimony, That *Polycrates* made the Charge.<sup>2)</sup> Συνέγραψε δὲ τὸν λόγον Πολυκράτης ὁ σοφιστής, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμιππος. But, in opposition to this, he presently subjoins; »That *Favorinus*, in the First Book of his *Commentaries*, says, That *Polycrates's* Oration against *Socrates* »is not true and real: because he mentions in it the »Walls, built by *Conon* six years after *Socrates's* »death.« To which *Laertius* subscribes his own assent, Καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον, And so it is. I may freely say, that this passage of *Favorinus* has not been yet rightly understood. It is generally interpreted, as if he denied the Oration that is attributed to *Polycrates* to be really his. But this is very far from being his opinion. For then he would be flatly confuted by *Isocrates*, a Witness unanswerable; who, in a Discourse which he addresses to this very *Polycrates*, tells him; *I perceive you value your self most upon two Orations*; The Apology of *Busiris*, and Accusation of *Socrates*. But *Favorinus's* meaning was; That *Polycrates* did not make that Oration for a true Charge to be spoke at the Tryal of *Socrates*; but writ it several years after, for no other Trial

1) Ἦν δὲ λόγος Πολυκράτους τοῦ λογογράφου. 2) *Vita Socrat.* [II 5, 38]. [λόγος added by Bentley: cf. Hercher p. 619, end of the page.]

than that of his own Wit. The words in the *Greek* can admit of no other sense; *Μὴ εἶναι ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τὸν Πολυκράτους κατὰ Σωκράτους*: ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ μνημονεύει τῶν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν, &c. Observe, that he says *μνημονεύει*, *Polycrates mentions*: if he had denied him to be the Author, he would have said in the Passive, *There is mention'd*. Besides he expressly calls it *τὸν λόγον τὸν Πολυκράτους*, only denies it to be *ἀληθῆ*. But if he had denied it to be His, he would have said, *Μὴ εἶναι Πολυκράτους τὸν λόγον τὸν κατὰ Σωκράτους*: as *Laertius* speaks in other places; *Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείαν, ἣν φησιν οὐκ εἶναι Ξενοφάντος ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος*.<sup>1)</sup> *Διαλόγους, οὓς Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἔλεγε μὴ εἶναι Αἰσχίνου*.<sup>2)</sup> This, I think, is sufficiently clear. Now we are to know, it was the custom of the old Sophists to make an ostentation of their Art, upon some difficult Subjects and Paradoxes, such as other people could speak nothing to: as the commendation of a Fever or the Gout. *Polycrates*, therefore, to shew his Rhetoric in this way, writ an Apology of *Busiris*, that kill'd and eat his Guests; and of *Clytemnestra*, that murder'd her Husband:<sup>3)</sup> and to give a proof of his skill, as well in accusing Virtue, as in excusing Vice, he writ an Indictment against *Socrates*; not *ἀληθῆ*, the true one, as *Favorinus* truly says, but only a Scholastic Exercise; such as *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Libanius*, and others writ in his Defense. So that we are no more forced to believe, that His Oration was the true Charge that was spoken at *Socrates's* Tryal; than, that he really pleaded for *Clytemnestra*, when *Orestes* was going to kill her. Nay, it appears to me, from *Isocrates* himself, that it was but a Scholastic Exercise, and after *Socrates's* death. For he blames *Polycrates*,

<sup>1)</sup> In *Xenoph.* [II 7, 57.]

<sup>2)</sup> In *Æschine.* [II 7. 60].

<sup>3)</sup> *Quintil.* lib. ii. cap. 18 [II 17, 4].

for reckoning *Alcibiades* among *Socrates's* Disciples: since, besides that no body else ever counted him his Scholar; had he really been so, he had been a commendation to his Master; and not a disparagement, which was the aim of the Sophist. So that (says he) if the dead could have knowledge of your Writings, *Socrates* would thank you. Is not this a clear indication, that *Socrates* was dead, before the Oration was made? and that this was not the true Charge? For then he would have heard it at his Tryal: and there had been no occasion to say, if the dead could have knowledge of it. In the close of all, he advises him to leave off shewing his parts upon such villainous Themes, *πονηρὰς ὑποθέσεις*; lest he do public mischief by putting false colours upon things. Here again we are plainly told, that his Action against *Socrates*, like those for *Busiris* and *Clytemnestra*, was but a Declamation, a Theme and Exercise in the School, and not a real Indictment in the *Areopagus* at *Athens*. To all which let me add, That neither *Plato* nor *Xenophon* nor any body contemporary with *Socrates*, ever once mention *Polycrates* for the Author of the Charge: which, had the thing been true, they would certainly have thrown in his teeth, considering the perpetual quarrel between Sophists and Philosophers. And 'tis well known; that the *Athenians*, in a penitential mood, either banisht or put to death all those that had any hand in *Socrates's* accusation. If *Polycrates* then were so eminently guilty, as to draw up the Impeachment; how could he escape untoucht, when all the rest suffer'd?

But when the Accusation of *Socrates*, though only a Sophistical Exercise, came abroad in the

1) *Εἰ γένοιτο ἐξουσία τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὁ μὲν χάριν ἂν εἰδείη σοι.* Isoc. Busir. [§ 5].

world; it was natural enough, in some process of time, that those that heard of it only, or but perfunctorily read it, should believe it to be the real *Charge*. We have seen already, that *Hermippus* was in that mistake, who lived an hundred years after; and with him *Quintilian*, *Themistius*, and others innumerable. *Favorinus*, it seems, alone had the sagacity, by a notice from Chronology, to find it of a more recent date than *Socrates's* Tryal. And even that very passage of *Favorinus* has lain hitherto in the dark: so that my Reader may forgive me this prolixity and niceness; since he learns by it a piece  
 99 of News. As for *Hermippus*, lest the Authority of so celebrated an Author should deterr one from so plain a truth; I will shew another slip of his, and a worse than this, in the story of *Socrates*. When *Gryllus* the Son of *Xenophon* was slain in the same battle that *Epaminondas* was; most of the Wits of that Age writ Elegies and Encomium's on him, in complement and consolation to his Father. Among the rest, *Hermippus* says, *Socrates* was one<sup>1</sup>). Which is a blunder of no less than xxxvii years, the interval between *Socrates's* death and the battle of *Mantineæ*.

*Socrates* was put to death, Olymp. xcv, 1. when *Laches* was Magistrate. This is universally acknowledged;<sup>2</sup>) and to go about to prove it, were to add Light to the Sun. And six years after this, Olymp. xcvi, 3. in *Eubulides's* Magistracy, *Conon* repaired the Walls.<sup>3</sup>) Which gave the hint to *Favorinus*, and after him to *Diogenes*, to discover the common mistake about *Polycrates's* Oration. But *Leo Allatius*,

<sup>1</sup>) *Laert.* in *Xenoph.* [II 6, 55. Cf. Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* App. p. 518.]

<sup>2</sup>) See *Diodorus*, [xiv 37] *Favorinus*, ap. *Diog. Laert.* [II 5, 39] *Aristides*, [II p. 286 Jebb] *Marmor. Arund. Euseb. Argumentum Isocr. Busir. &c.* <sup>3</sup>) *Diodor.* xiv. p. 303, [c. 85]. *Favorin. Diog. Laert.* [II 5, 39.]

to avoid the force of their Argument, undertakes an impossible thing; to prolong *Socrates's* life above twenty years beyond *Laches*: so that He might see *Conon's* Walls, and *Polycrates's* Declamation be the true Charge at his Tryal. Which he would make <sup>100</sup> out by comparing together some Scraps of different Authors, and some Synchronisms of other Men's Lives with *Socrates's*. As if those things which are only mistakes and unwary slips of the Writers, could have any force or credit against so many express Authorities. By the same way that he proceeds, I will shew the quite contrary; that *Socrates* died twenty years before *Laches's* Government. For we have it from good Hands, That *Euripides*, in a Play of his call'd *Palamedes*, using these words, 'Εξάνετ', ἐξάνετε τὸν πάνσοφον, &c. designed to lash the *Athenians* for *Socrates's* murder<sup>1)</sup>: and the whole Theatre perceiving it, burst into tears. *Socrates* therefore died before *Euripides*. But 'tis well known, that the latter died six years before *Laches* was Archon. Nay, *Socrates* must needs be dead, before *Palamedes* was acted. But that was acted Olymp. xci, 1. which is sixteen years before *Laches*.<sup>2)</sup> Have I not proved now exactly the quite contrary to *Allatius*? But still, I hope, I have more judgment, than to credit such an oblique Argument against so many direct Testimonies. If *Allatius* had looked round about him, he would not have committed so great a blunder; while <sup>101</sup> he defends his Epistles at one Post, to expose them to worse Assaults. If *Socrates* died in *Laches's* Magistracy, one Epistle must be spurious, that mentions *Polycrates*. This Breach *Allatius* would secure; and

<sup>1)</sup> *Diog. Laërt. in Socrat.* [II 5, 44] *Argum. Isoc. Busir.*  
[See Nauck fr. 591. Valckenaer's *Diatr. Eur.* p. 191. Böckh, *trag. gr. princ.* p. 185.] <sup>2)</sup> *Ælian. Var. Hist.* ii [8] *Schol. Aristoph. Ὀρνιθ.* p. 401. [v. 842].

therefore he will needs make him live several years longer. But then, say I, if we concede this to *Allatius*: not one Epistle only, but the whole bundle of them are spurious. For most of them plainly suppose, that *Socrates* died under *Laches*. Even this very Epistle complains that *Xenophon* was abroad when *Socrates* suffer'd;<sup>1)</sup> and that the Expedition of *Cyrus* hindred him from being present then at *Athens*: and a second Letter,<sup>2)</sup> to name no more, dated after *Socrates*'s death, makes *Xenophon* to have newly escaped the dangers of his long March through Enemies Countries. Now, all the world knows,<sup>3)</sup> that *Cyrus*'s Expedition and *Xenophon*'s March was in *Laches*'s time, and the year before him. So that upon the whole; there is no escape, no evasion from this Argument; but our Epistles must be convicted of a manifest Cheat.

VII. In the xvii Letter, one of *Socrates*'s Scholars; supposed to be present at *Athens* when the things he speaks of were acted, says, the *Athenians* put to death both *Anytus* and *Melitus*, the Prosecutors of *Socrates*:<sup>4)</sup> which being contrary to known matter of fact, proves the Epistle to be a forgery. *Melitus*, indeed, was kill'd; but *Anytus* was only banisht; and several Writers speak of him afterwards at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*.<sup>5)</sup>

VIII. The xviii is a Letter of *Xenophon*'s, inviting some Friends to come to see him, at his Plantation near *Olympia*. He says, *Aristippus* and *Phædo* had made him a Visit: and that he recited to them his *Memoirs of Socrates*:<sup>6)</sup> which both of them approved of.<sup>7)</sup> This alone is sufficient to blast the reputation

<sup>1)</sup> Ep. xiv. <sup>2)</sup> xviii. <sup>3)</sup> *Marm. Arund. Laert. Diodor. &c.* <sup>4)</sup> *Ἀνυτόν τε καὶ Μέλιτον ἀπέκτειναν.* <sup>5)</sup> *Laert. in Socrat. [II 5, 43] & in Antisth. [VI 1, 9]. Themist. Orat. ii. Augustin. de Civ. Dei. viii, 3.* <sup>6)</sup> *Ἀπομνημονεύματα.* <sup>7)</sup> *Ἐδόκει ἀρμόδια τινα εἶναι.*



of our famous Epistles. For, how is it likely, that *Aristippus* would go so far to see *Xenophon*, who was always his Enemy? <sup>1)</sup> Much less would he have given his approbation to a Book, that was a Satyr against himself. For the Book is yet in being; and in it he introduces *Socrates*, in a long Lecture, reprehending *Aristippus* for his Intemperance and Lust. <sup>2)</sup> Even *Laertius* takes notice, That he brought in *Aristippus*'s name upon that scandalous occasion, out of the enmity he bare him.

IX. We have already seen *Xenophon* writing *Socrates*'s Memoirs at *Scillus*, near *Olympia*. But in the XXII, to *Cebes* and *Simmius*, he is writing them at *Megara*; for there the Letter is dated. And in the XXI, to *Xanthippe*, he invites her to come to him to *Megara*. One would think, there was more Sophists than one had a finger in this Volume of Letters: or if he was but one Author, Nature gave him a short Memory without the blessing of a great Wit. 'Tis true, upon *Socrates*'s Execution, his Scholars left *Athens* for fear, and retired to *Megara*, to the house of *Euclides*: <sup>3)</sup> which occasion'd our Sophist to bring *Xenophon* thither too. But he should have remembred, that while They were scared out of *Athens* for fear of their own Lives, He was safe at a great distance in the retinue of *Agesilaus*; from whose company he went to *Scillus*, without ever residing at *Megara*. Nay, the Sophist is so indiscreet, as to bring in *Xenophon* in *forma pauperis*, to beg and receive relief from *Cebes* and *Simmius*: whereas every body knows, that he got great riches in the War, <sup>4)</sup> and lived in very great splendor and hospitality at *Scillus*.

<sup>1)</sup> *Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσμενῶς. Laërt in Aristippo.* [II 8, 65]. <sup>2)</sup> *Xenoph. Memorab. lib. ii. in princip.* <sup>3)</sup> *Laërt. in Euclid.* [II 10, 106.] <sup>4)</sup> *Laërt. in Xenoph.* [II 2, 51 sq.] *Xenoph. Exp. Cyri.* l. v. p. 350. [3, 9]

X. In the xxiv Epistle, *Plato* says, he is quite weary of a City Life; and had therefore retired into the Country, διατρίβων οὐ μακρὰν Ἐφεστιάδων, which *Allatius* translates, *non longe ab Ephestiadibus*. He ought to have said, *ab Hephæstiadis*. For the true word in the Greek, is Ἡφαιστιᾶδων. *Plato* had some  
 104 Estate there; which he disposed of in his Will: τὸ ἐν Ἡφαιστιᾶδων χωρίον, as 'tis in *Laertius*.<sup>1)</sup> *Hesychius*; Ἡφαιστιᾶδαι, Ἀθηναῖοι. *Stephanus Byz.* Ἡφαιστιᾶδαι, δῆμος Ἀθηναίων· τὰ τοπικά, ἐξ Ἡφαιστιᾶδων, &c. In the *Roman Manuscript* of *Laertius*, 'tis writ ἐνιφιστιᾶδων: which manner of spelling is found also in *Hesychius*; Ἰφίστιος, ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰφιστιᾶδαι. If the Reader does believe, that our Letter-monger, like *Hesychius*, spelt the word wrong; he will be satisfied of the forgery: For surely, *Plato* himself knew the true name of his own Estate. But if he encline to absolve the Author, and lay the blame upon the Copyers; he may please to accept of this, only as an Emendation.

XI. The xxvii Epistle is *Aristippus's* to his Daughter *Arete*: which, perhaps, is the very same that is mention'd by *Laertius*; who, among the Writings of this Philosopher, names Ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἀρήτην τὴν θυγατέρα. *Allatius*, indeed, is ready to vouch it: but I am not so easie of belief. For here are two other Letters<sup>2)</sup> of his in this Parcel, and both of them writ in the *Doric* Dialect, though directed to *Athens*: because, forsooth, he was a *Cyrenæan*, and the *Doric* his native Tongue. Pray, what was the matter then, that in this he uses the *Attic*; though  
 105 he writ from *Sicily* a *Dorian* Country, to his own Daughter at *Cyrene*? One would suspect, as I observed before, that a couple of Sophists clubb'd to this Collection. 'Tis true, we know, from *Laertius*;

1) *Vita Platon.* [III 41].

2) IX. XI.

that of xxv *Dialogues* publisht by *Aristippus*, some were in the *Doric* Idiom, and some in the *Attic*. But that, I suppose, was done because of the variety of his Persons. In some *Dialogues* the Speakers were *Sicilians*, and those were writ in the *Doric*: and where the *Athenians* were introduced, the *Attic* was proper. But now, in this Letter to his Daughter, both Parties are *Dorians*; and so this Epistle should rather be *Doric*, than either of the other two.

XII. In the same Letter he mentions her Estate in *Bernice*, τὸ ἐν Βερνίκῃ κτῆμα. There is no question but he means *Βερνίκῃ*; perhaps that City not far from *Cyrene*. But there was nothing then in all *Afric* called by that name: for *Βερνίκῃ* is the *Macedonian* idiom for *Φερνίκῃ*, the *Victorious*. In that Countrey, φ was generally changed into β: as instead of κεφαλὴ they said κεβλή; for φιλιππος, βίλιππος; for φαλαχρός, βαλαχρός; and so in others.<sup>1)</sup> So that *Βερνίκῃ* was unknown in *Afric*, till the *Macedonians* came thither: and indeed, they had their names from the Wives of the *Ptolemies*, a whole century of years after the 106 date of this Letter.

XIII. He goes on, and tells his Daughter, *That if he should die, he would have her go to Athens, and live with Myrto and Xanthippe the two Wives of Socrates*. It was a common Tradition among the Writers of Philosophic History, that *Socrates* had these two Wives at once; and from thence our Sophist made them the complement of a place in this Epistle. There are cited as Authors of this story, *Callisthenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Satyrus*, and *Aristoxenus*, who all took it from *Aristotle* in his Book *Of Nobility*, περὶ Εὐγενείας. But Polygamy being against the Law of that Commonwealth, and the story therefore im-

<sup>1)</sup> *Etym. Magn. &c.*      <sup>2)</sup> *Laërt. in Socrat.* [II 5, 26].  
*Plutarch. Aristid.* [27] *Athen.* xiii. p. 556.

probable; *Hieronymus Rhodius* produces a temporary Statute made in *Socrates's* days, That by reason of the scarcity of People, a Man might marry two Wives at a time. But notwithstanding such a flush of Authorities, *Panætius* the Stoic, a very great Man, writ expresly against all those named above;<sup>1)</sup> and, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, sufficiently confuted the Tradition of the Two Wives. For my own part, I dare pin my belief upon two such excellent Judgments, as *Plutarch's* and *Panætius's*; and upon their credit alone, pronounce this Letter to be an Imposture.

107 What grounds they proceeded on I cannot now tell; but I think there is apparent reason for rejecting the story, even laying aside their testimony. For none of *Socrates's* acquaintance, not *Plato*, not *Xenophon*, say one word of this *Myrto*. *Aristotle*, we see, was the first that mention'd her: but *Plutarch* suspects that Book to be spurious.<sup>2)</sup> So that all this Tradition rose at first from a Falsary, that counterfeited *Aristotle's* name. Besides, they do not agree in telling their tale; one says, that he had both Wives together: another, that *Myrto* was his first Wife, and the second came after her death: another, that *Xanthippe* was the first. Let either of them come first, and our Epistles are false; for here we have Both surviving him, and living together. One says, this *Myrto* was *Aristides's* Daughter;<sup>3)</sup> another, his Grand-daughter; and another, his Grandson's Daughter. Whatsoever she was; if she outliv'd her Husband, according to the Letters, pray where was her Ladyship at the time of his suffering? *Xanthippe*, like a loving Wife, attended him in the Prison;<sup>4)</sup> but the other ne'er came near him. 'Tis a mistake, sure, that has past upon the world, that *Xanthippe* was the Scold: it should seem, that

<sup>1)</sup> *Athenæus*, *Plutarch*. ib.

<sup>2)</sup> *ἐνανῶς*.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5)</sup> *Plato Apolog.*

*Myrto* had the better title to that honourable name. 108  
 But what shall we say to *Hieronymus*, who brings you the very Statute, that gave allowance of two Wives at once? *Panætius*, you see, believed it not: and why may not a Statute be forged, as easily as these Epistles? If there was such an Act, there appears no great wisdom in it. It is certain, there is near an equality in the births of Males and Females. So that if some Men had two Wives for their share, others must go without: and what remedy would that be against the scarcity of People? Besides that by such a Law, the Rich only would be accommodated, who were able to maintain a couple: the poorer sort, who are always the most fruitful, would be in worse circumstances than before. And without doubt, a very strong interest would have been made against the passing of such a Bill; as we know what the *Roman* Matrons did, when *Papirius Prætextatus* made a like story to his Mother.<sup>1)</sup> 'Tis very odd too, that no body but *Hieronymus* should ever hear of this Statute; and He too a suspected Witness, because he brings it to serve a turn, and to help at a hard pinch. But certainly such a Political Occurrence, had it been true, could never have lain hid from the whole tribe of Historians. It had very 109 well deserved not only a mention, but a remark. But how could it possibly escape the fancy and spleen of all the Comœdians of that Age? how could they miss so pleasant an argument of jest and ridicule? Those that are acquainted with the condition of those times, will look upon this as next to a Demonstration. But let us grant, if you will, half a dozen Wives to *Socrates*; yet nevertheless our Epistles will be still in the mire. For here our Sophist makes the two Women live amicably together: which is pretty hard to believe: for (as those that make them Two, tell

1) *A. Gellius*, li. i. c. 23.

the story of them<sup>1)</sup> while their Husband was alive, they were perpetually fighting. But, which is worse yet, there are other Letters in the bundle, that plainly suppose *Socrates* to have had but one Wife. He himself, writing to some body, tells him this domestic news, *That Xanthippe and the Children are well:*<sup>2)</sup> but says not a word of my Lady *Myrto*. *Xenophon* sends a Letter top full of kindness and commendation to *Xanthippe* and the Little ones;<sup>3)</sup> but it was very uncivil in him, to take no notice of the other; since, according to the story, she brought her Husband the more Children. Nay, if we allow this Letter of *Xenophon's* to be genuine, he play'd a false and dirty  
 110 trick, much against his character. For at the date of this Epistle, if we believe the very next to it, he was writing *Socrates's Memoirs*.<sup>4)</sup> So that while he here in his Letter wheedles the poor Woman, and makes her little Presents, and commends her for her love to her Husband, and for many good qualities; in his Book he traduces her to that present Age, and to all Posterity, for the most curst and devilish Shrew, *that ever was, or ever would be*.<sup>5)</sup> Nay, which makes it the baser, he was the only Man that said this of her; for neither *Plato* nor any of the old *Socratics* writ a word about her Scolding. Which made *Athenæus* suspect, it was a Calumny:<sup>6)</sup> especially, since *Aristophanes* and his Brethren of the Stage, in all their Raillery and Satyr upon *Socrates*, never once twitted him about his Wife. Well, let that be as it will: but what shall we say to *Xenophon's* double dealing? For my part, rather than I'll harbour such a thought of that great Man, I'll quit a whole Cart-load of such Letters as these.

<sup>1)</sup> *Aristoxenus* apud *Theodoret*. Serm. xii. ad *Græcos*.

<sup>2)</sup> Ep. iv.      <sup>3)</sup> Ep. xxi.      <sup>4)</sup> Ep. xxii.      <sup>5)</sup> *Xenoph.*

*Conviv.* p. 876. [c. 2].

<sup>6)</sup> Lib. v. p. 219.

XIV. Xenophon, in the xv Letter, tells this story of *Plato*, to whom he bore a grudge; That he should say, *None of his Writings were to be ascribed to himself, but to Socrates, young and handsom*; *Φησὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ποίημα αὐτοῦ, Σωκράτους μέντοι νέου καὶ 111 καλοῦ ὄντος*. Now, this sentence is taken out of *Plato's* Second Epistle to *Dionysius* the Younger: *Οὐδ' ἔστι σύγγραμμα Πλάτωνος οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ἔσται· τὰ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενα Σωκράτους ἐστί, καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος*. Here's a blunder with a witness, from the Sophist's ignorance in Chronology. For his forged Letter of *Xenophon* bears date immediately after *Socrates's* death: but the true one of *Plato*, which *Xenophon* here alludes to, is recenter by a vast while. For *Dionysius* came but to the Crown Olymp. ciii, 1. which is xxxii years after the Tryal of *Socrates*.

I must observe one thing more, that by no means should be omitted. There were formerly more Epistles of *Xenophon* extant, than appear in this Collection. A large fragment is cited in *Stobæus*,<sup>1)</sup> out of his Letter to *Crito*; two fragments out of a Letter to *Sotira*;<sup>2)</sup> and two more out of one to *Lamprocles*:<sup>3)</sup> none of which are found here in *Allatius's* Parcel. *Theodoret* produces a passage out of a Letter of his to *Æschines*; wherein he jerks *Plato* for his *Ambition and Voluptuousness*; to gratifie which, he went to Sicily, to *Dionysius's Court*<sup>4)</sup>. *Eusebius* has this passage and more out of the same Epistle:<sup>5)</sup> and the whole is extant in *Stobæus*.<sup>6)</sup> What shall we say? that 112 the true Letters of *Xenophon* were extant in those days? or that those too were a Cheat, and belong'd to the same Volume whence these of *Allatius* were taken? And so, as I observ'd before, they will be

1) Serm. 81. [84, 29.] 2) Serm. 120, 123. 3) Serm 5. [79]. 4) Ἐρως τυραννίδος, καὶ ἀντὶ λιτῆς διαίτης Σικελιώτις γαστρὸς ἀμέτρου τράπεζα. 5) Præp. Evang. xiv. 12. 6) Serm. 78. [80, 12].

older than *Libanius*'s time. I am afraid it will be thought ill manners to question the judgment of *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*. But we know, they have made other mistakes of a like nature<sup>1</sup>): and the very Letter which they cite, betrays it self to be a counterfeit. *Xenophon*, we see, reproaches *Plato*, in a Letter to *Æschines*. If this were true, it was a most rude affront to the Person he writ to, whose friendship he courts so much in the rest of his Letter. For *Æschines* himself was guilty of the very same fault, and is wounded through *Plato*'s side. 'Tis well known, that He too, as well as *Plato* and *Aristippus* and others, made a Voyage to *Sicily*, and struck in with *Dionysius*; and that purely for Money and the Table<sup>2</sup>). *Lucian* says, He was Parasite to the Tyrant<sup>3</sup>); and another tells us, he liked his Entertainment so well, that he did not stir from him, till he was deposed<sup>4</sup>). I would ask any Man now, if he can still believe it a genuine Letter; let him have what veneration he can for the Learning of *Eusebius*.

113 In the beginning of this Discourse, I have said, That I heard of none, that, since the first publication of these Letters, called them into question. But I was shewn to-day (after mine was in the Press) in Bishop *Pearson*'s *Vindiciæ Epp. Sancti Ignatii*, a Digression made on purpose against *Socrates*'s *Epistles*<sup>5</sup>). I must confess, with some shame, I had either never read that Chapter, or utterly forgot it. But I am glad now to find that incomparable Man both to think it worth going out of his way to discover this Imposture, and to confirm me in my judgment by the accession of his great Authority. There is no-

1) See *Dissert. upon Jo. Malal.* [p. 256 ed. Dyce. Soph. fr. dub. 1019 Nauck].

2) *Laërt* [II 7, 61] & *Suidas* in *Æsch. Plut. de Adulat.* [p. 688].

3) *In Parasito* [32 p. 861].

4) *Polycritus* apud *Laërt.* [II 7, 63].

5) *Par. II.* p. 12, 13.



thing there disagreeing with what I had said; but that his Lordship allows the Epistle to *Æschines*, cited by *Eusebius*, to be genuine: which I had endeavoured to convict of a forgery. I referr it to those that please to read both; whether they think I have just reason to change my opinion: especially when I shall tell them, That not *Æschines* only, but even *Xenophon* himself made a Visit to *Dionysius*. I have *Athenæus*<sup>1)</sup> for my Authority, a Witness beyond all exception. *Ξενοφῶν γὰρ ὁ Γρύλλου παρὰ Διονυσίῳ*, &c. *Xenophon* (says he) *the Son of Gryllus, when at Dionysius the Sicilian's Table the Cup-bearer forced the company to drink; Pray, says he, Dionysius, (speaking aloud to the Tyrant,) if your Butler forces Wine upon us against our wills, why may not your Cook as well compell us to eat?* So that if we suppose the Letter genuine, the absurdity will double it self; both Parties being guilty of the very same thing, that is charged upon *Plato*.

---

1) Lib. X p. 427.

OF  
EURIPIDES'S EPISTLES.

'Tis a bold and dangerous venture, to attack *Euripides's Letters*; since a very Learned Greek Professor has so passionately espoused them; that he declares it to be *great Impudence, and want of all Judgment* to question the Truth of them.<sup>1)</sup> I do not care to meddle with Controversie upon such high Wagers as those: but if I may have leave to give my opinion, without staking such valuable things as Modesty and good Sense upon it, I am very ready to speak my mind candidly and freely.

I. There are only five Epistles now extant, ascribed to *Euripides*: but without doubt there were  
115 formerly more of them; as we have seen just before, that we have not now the whole Sett of *Xenophon's Letters*. Neither can we suppose a Sophist of so barren an Invention, as to have his Fancy quite cramped and jaded with poor Five. We have here a peculiar happiness, which we wanted in the rest; to know whom we are obliged to for the great blessing of these Epistles. *Apollonides*, that writ a Treatise *Περὶ κατεφευσμένης ἱστορίας*, *About falsified History*, says, one *Sabirius Pollo*<sup>2)</sup> forged them, the same Man that counterfeited the Letters of *Aratus*. This we are told by the Writer of *Aratus's Life*, no unlearned Author: who does not contradict him about

<sup>1)</sup> *Perfrictæ frontis & judicii imminuti.* Eurip. Edit. Cantab. par. ii. p. 523.      <sup>2)</sup> *Σαβίριος Πόλλων.*

these of *Euripides*; but for *Aratus's*, he says, that, bating this *Apollonides*, every body else believed them to be genuine. I cannot pass any judgment of what I never saw; for *Aratus's* Letters are not now to be had: but if they were no better than these of our Tragedian, I should, in spite of the common vogue, be of *Apollonides's* mind; and I wish that Book of his were now extant. One may know, by the manner of the Name, that this *Sabirius Pollo* was a *Roman*: but I do not find such a Family as the *Sabirii*, nor such a Sirname as *Pollo*. What if we read *Sabinus*, or *Sabidius Pollio*?

*Non amo te, Sabidi; nec possum dicere quare.*<sup>1)</sup>

If that *Sabidius* in *Martial* was the forger of our <sup>116</sup> *Epistles*; though the Poet could give none, yet I can give a very good reason, why I do not love him.

But the Learned Advocate for the Letters makes several Exceptions against the Testimony of *Apollonides*. As first, *That we may fairly infer from it, that a great many others believed them to be true.* Alas! How many more, both Ancients and Moderns, believed *Phalaris's* to be true? If that argument would have done the work, I might have spared this Dissertation. *But prove, that these Letters now extant are the same that were forged by Sabirius.* Commend to me an Argument, that, like a Flail, there's no fence against it. Why, had we been told too, that he made *Phalaris's Epistles*: yet how could we *prove*, unless some passages were cited out of them, that they were the same that we have now? But though I cannot demonstrate that these are *Sabirius's*; yet I'll demonstrate them by and by to be an Imposture; and I hope then it will be no injustice to lay them at his door. *But 'tis an evidence, that the true Epistles of Euripides were once extant; because*

<sup>1)</sup> [*Martial. Epigr. I 32.*]

some body thought it not improper to father false ones upon him. Now, I should think the very contrary; that the Cuckow does not lay her Egg, where the Nest is already full. At least, I am resolved, I'll never go a book-hunting after the genuine Epistles of *Phalaris*; though some body has cheated the World with a parcel of false ones.

II. It might easily have happen'd, tho' we suppose the Letters spurious, that in so small a number as Five, there could be nothing found to convict them by. But so well has the Writer managed his Business; that every one of them has matter enough to their own Detection. The last and principal of them is dated from *Macedonia*, in answer to some reproaches, that were cast upon him at *Athens* for his going to *Archelaus*. As for what you write from *Athens*; says he, pray know, that I value no more, ὡν νῦν Ἀγάθων ἢ Μένσατος λέγει, what *Agatho* or *Mesatus* now say; than I formerly did, what *Aristophanes* babbled. Here we have the Poet *Agatho*, (for without doubt he means the Poet, since he has join'd him with *Aristophanes*) residing at *Athens*, and blaming *Euripides* for living with *Archelaus*. Now, could any thing be more unfortunate for our *Sabirius Pollo*, than the naming of this Man? For even this *Agatho* himself was then with *Archelaus*, in *Euripides*'s company:<sup>1)</sup> besides that they were  
 118 always good friends and acquaintance, not there only, but before at *Athens*.

But perhaps some may suspect, it was another *Agatho* a Comic Poet, that was meant in the Letter, and not the famous *Agatho* the Tragedian. This I find to be the Opinion of the Learned Person above-named.<sup>2)</sup> But I will make bold to expunge this

<sup>1)</sup> *Ælian*. ii, 21. & xiii, 4. *Plut.* in *Apophth.* [p. 177] *Schol.* *Aristoph.* Βαρπαξ. [85].

<sup>2)</sup> *Vita Eurip.* p. 29. Ed. Cant.

Comic *Agatho* out of the Catalogue of Mankind. For he sprung but up, like a Mushroom, out of a rotten passage in *Suidas*; who, after he has spoken of *Agatho* the Tragic Poet, has these words; *χωμφοδοποιὸς Σωκράτους διδασκάλου· ἐχωμφοδεῖτο δὲ εἰς θηλύτητα*: which his Interpreters (*Wolfius* and *Portus*) thus translate, *Fuit & alius Agatho, Comædiarum Scriptor*. But there's nothing like *Fuit & alius* in the Original; but the same *Agatho* is here meant, that was mentioned before. This they might have known from the following words, *ἐχωμφοδεῖτο δὲ εἰς θηλύτητα*, *he was libelled for his Effeminateness*. For whom can that belong to, but to *Agatho* the Tragædian; whow *Lucian* ranks with *Cinyras* and *Sardanapalus*<sup>1)</sup>? Do but read *Aristophanes's Thesmophoriazusæ*; and you'll see him ridiculed upon that score for some pages together. The Scholiast upon *Βάτραχοι* of the same Poet; *Ἀγάθων* (says he) *οὗτος τραγικός ποιητὴς ἐπὶ μαλακίᾳ διεβállετο*. Here you see, it is expressly said, *Agatho the Tragædian was traduced as Effeminate*<sup>2)</sup>. It follows presently in the same Scholiast; *Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἀγάθων χωμφοδοποιὸς τοῦ Σωκράτους διδασκάλου*; where we have the very words of *Suidas* applied to the Tragædian: *οὗτος, this same Agatho was a Comædian, Socrates being his Master*: not another, as the Translators of *Suidas* interpolate the Text. But is it true then, that our spruce *Agatho* writ Comedies too? Nothing like it; though the learned *Gregorius Gyraldus* affirms it from this very passage<sup>3)</sup>. 'Tis a mere oscitation of our Scholiast, and of *Suidas* that gaped after him: the occasion and ground of the story being nothing but this. *Plato's Convivium* was in the House

1) Πάναβρόν τινα Σαρδανάπαλον, ἢ Κινύραν, ἢ αὐτὸν Ἀγάθωνα τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέρραστον ποιητὴν. *Rhet. Præc.* [11].  
 2) P. 136. [Ran. v. 83].  
 3) *Dialog. de Poët.*

of this *Agatho*: in the conclusion of which<sup>1)</sup>, *Socrates* is introduced proving to *Agatho* and *Aristophanes*; That it belonged to the same Man, and required the same Parts, to write both Comedy and Tragedy; and that he that was a skilful Tragœdian, was also a Comœdian. Hence have our wise Grammarians dress'd up a fine story, That *Agatho* was a Comœdian, and of *Socrates's* teaching. And now, I hope, I have  
 120 evidently proved the thing that I proposed; to the utter disgrace of our admired Epistles.

III. *Euripides*, we have seen, did not value one farthing, what either *Agatho* or *Mesatus* said of him<sup>2)</sup>. I would gladly be better acquainted with this same *Mesatus*; for I never once met with him but here in this Letter. He must be a Brother of the Stage too, by the company he is placed in: But what was the matter? Was he so hiss'd and exploded, that he durst never shew his head since? I have a fancy, he was of the same family with *Phalaris's* two Fairy Tragœdians, *Aristolochus* and *Lysinus*<sup>3)</sup>: and that these Letters too are a kin to those of the Tyrant. But, perhaps, you'll say, this *Mesatus* is but a fault in the Copies. It may be so: and I could help you to another Tragœdian of those times, not altogether unlike him; one *Melitus*, the same that afterwards accused *Socrates*; who was likely enough to hate *Euripides*, that was the Philosopher's friend. Or I could invent some other medicine for the place: but let those look to that, that believe the Epistles true, or think them worth the curing<sup>4)</sup>.

The very Learned Defender of the Epistles, one of a singular Industry and a most diffuse Reading,  
 121 has proposed some Objections against the Letters,

1) P. 386. Τὸν τέχνη τραγωδοποιὸν ὄντα καὶ χωμφοδοποιὸν εἶναι. 2) ἢ Μέσατος. 3) Epist. lxiii, & xcvi. 4) Cf. Meineke, hist. crit. 513. — R.

communicated to him by a private Hand. That <sup>121</sup> private Person, at the request of the Editor, imparted his opinion to him in a very short Letter: to which he had no Answer returned; till he found it, with some surprize, brought upon the stage in print;<sup>1)</sup> and his Reasons routed and triumph'd. But let us see, if we can rally them again: perhaps they may keep their ground in a second Engagement.

IV. Our friend *Sabirius Pollo*, to make the whole Work throughout worthy of himself, has directed this same Letter to *Cephisophon*, who was *Euripides's* Actor for his Plays. For he had often heard of *Cephisophon*; and so he would not let him pass without a share in his Epistles. But he should have minded Time and History a little better, if he hoped to put himself upon Us for the Author he mimic's. 'Tis true, *Cephisophon* and our Poet were once mighty dear acquaintance: but there fell out a foul accident, that broke off the friendship. For *Euripides* caught him Acting for him, not upon the Stage, but in private with his Wife. Which business taking wind abroad, and making a perpetual Jest, was one of the main reasons why he left *Athens* and went to *Macedonia*. And is it likely, after all this, that our Poet should <sup>122</sup> write a Letter to him, as soon as he got thither? that he should use him as his most intimate Friend, nearer to him than his own Children? I know, there are some so fond of our Epistles, that *they value all this as nothing*. *Cephisophon* is so much in their Books; that whatsoever is said against him, must be calumny and detraction. Give me an Advocate, that will stick close and hang upon a Cause. By being their Editor, he is retain'd for the Letters; and therefore he must not desert his Client. But why shall no

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Eurip.* Edit. Cant. p. 27, & 523. [We give Bentley's letter in our Appendix].

Testimony be allowed, that touches *Cephisophon*? Are not *Aristophanes* and his Commentator<sup>1)</sup>, and *Suidas*, and *Thomas Magister*<sup>2)</sup> all lawful and good Evidence? And is there one single Witness against them in his behalf? Not a Writer is now extant, that mentions his name, but what tells the story of him: and if we must not believe them; we shall want new Evidence to prove, there ever was such a Man.

V. In a Disquisition of this nature, an inconsistency in Time and Place is an argument that reaches every body. All will cry out, that *Phalaris*, &c. are spurious, when they see such breaches upon Chronology. But I must profess, I should as fully have believed  
 123 them so; though the Writers had escaped all mistakes of that kind. For as they were commonly men of small endowments, that affected to make these Forgeries; a great Man disdaining so base and ignoble a work: so they did their business accordingly; and expressed rather themselves, than those they acted. For they knew not how to observe Decorum, in a Quality so different from their own: like the silly Player, that would represent *Hercules*: tall indeed, but slender, without bulk and substance. Let us see the conduct of this Author: In the first Letter, *Archelaus* sends *Euripides* some Money; and our Poet, as if his Profession were like a Monastic Vow of Poverty, *utterly refuses it*. And why, forsooth, does he refuse it? Why, *it was too great a Summ for his condition*. Yes, to be sure; when a Sophist makes a Present, the greatest Summ costs no more than the least. *But it was difficult to be kept, and the fingers of Thieves would itch at it*. Alas forhim; with the expence of one Bag, out of many, he might have provided a Strong Box, and new Doors and Locks to his House. But why could he not

---

<sup>1)</sup> P. 167, 184.

<sup>2)</sup> In *Vita Eurip.*



accept a Little of it? Even *Socrates* himself and *Xenocrates* took a modicum out of Presents, and return'd the rest again.<sup>1)</sup> And is a Poet more self-denying, than the most mortified of the Philosophers? But the best of all, is, *That Clito the King's chief Minister threatned to be angry with him, if he refused it.* What, could *Clito* expect before-hand, that the Present would be refused? The most sagacious States-man, sure, that ever Monarch was blest with. *Alexander* could not fore-see such a thing; but was mightily surprized, when *Xenocrates* would not receive some Money that he sent him: »What, says he, has »*Xenocrates* no Friends to give it to, if he need it »not himself?<sup>2)</sup>« As for our Poet, he had Friends, I assure you; but all of his own kidney, *men of Contentment, that would not finger a penny of it, τὸ αὐταρχεῖς ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις παρόν.* What would one give to purchase a Sett of such acquaintance? And yet, I know not how, in the Fifth Letter, their appetites were come to 'em; For in that, *Euripides* himself, from *Archelaus's* Court, shared some Presents among them; and we hear not one word, but that all was well taken.

VI. The rest of this Letter is employed in begging pardon for the two Sons of a Pellæan old fellow,<sup>3)</sup> who had done something to deserve Imprisonment. And the Third and Fourth are Common Places of Thanks for granting this request. Now, besides that the whole Business has the Air and Visage of Sophistry; for this same is a mighty Topic too in *Phalaris's* Epistles: 'tis a plain violation of good Sense, to petition for a Man without telling his Name: as if *Pella* the royal City had no Old Man in it but one. How can such an Address be real? But

1) *Laërtius, in Socrat. [25?] & Xenoc. [IV 2, 8].* 2) *Plut. Apoph. [181 E].* 3) *Πελλαῖος γέρον.*

to this they give a double Answer; *That a Sophist, if this was one, could not be at a loss for a Name: he might easily have put one here; as hereafter he names Amphias, Lapretes, and others.* But the point is not, what he *might* have done, but what he *has* done. He *might* have named some other Poet at *Athens*, and not *Agatho* that was then in *Macedonia*. All those mistakes and blunders of *Phalaris* and the rest *might* easily have been avoided, had the Writers had more History and Discretion. *But he had writ a Letter before this about the same business;*<sup>1)</sup> *and there we must suppose he had mention'd his name.* This indeed would be something, if it would carry water. But though the Sophist has told you so; do not rashly believe him. For it is plain, that pretended Letter must have been sent to *Archelaus*, before this vast Present came from him. Why then did not the same Messenger that brought the Money,  
 126 bring the Grant too of his Petition? Would the King, that did him this mighty Honour and Kindness, deny him at the same time that small and just Request? For the crime of those Prisoners was surely no hainous business. Had it been a design to assassinate the King, he would never have interceded for them. The Charge against them was a venial fault: or were it the blackest accusation, their Innocence at least would clear them: for our Poet himself tells us, *They had done no body any wrong.*<sup>2)</sup>

VII. The Second Epistle is to *Sophocles*, whom he makes to be shipwrack'd at the Island *Chios*; the Vessel and Goods being lost, but all the Men saved. That *Sophocles* was at *Chios*, we are informed by *Ion Chius* the Tragædian;<sup>3)</sup> who relates a long conversation of his there. If our Author here means

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Πρότερον ἐπεστείλαμέν σοι.*    <sup>2)</sup> *Οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν εἴδικασιν.*  
<sup>3)</sup> *Athen. XIII, 603.*

the same Voyage, as probably he does; he is convicted of a cheat. For then *Sophocles* was Commander of a Fleet with *Pericles* in the *Samian War*; and went to *Chios*, and thence to *Lesbos*, for auxiliary Forces.<sup>1)</sup> But our Mock-*Euripides* never thinks of his publick Employment; but advises him to return home at his leisure; as if it had been a Voyage for Diversion. Yes, says his Advocate; *but why might he not be at Chios another time, though no body speak* <sup>127</sup> *of it, about private Affairs?* Yes; why not, indeed? For *Sophocles* was so courteous and good-natur'd a Man,<sup>2)</sup> that, to do our Letter-monger a kindness, he would have gone to every Island in the *Archipelago*. But 'tis hard though, that a good Ship must be lost, and our Poet swim for 't, to oblige the little Sophist. For I fear the Vessel was cast away, purely to bring in the great loss of *Sophocles's Plays*.<sup>3)</sup> Alas! alas! Could he not go over the water, but he must needs take his Plays with him? And must *Euripides*, of all men, lament the loss of them; whose own Plays must, probably, have truckled to them at the next Feast of *Bacchus*? Must *Euripides*, his Rival, his Antagonist, tell him, *That his Orders about family affairs were executed*:<sup>4)</sup> as if He had been employ'd by him, as Steward of his Houshold?

VIII. The Fifth Letter is a long Apology for his going to *Macedonia*. »Can they think, says he, »that I came hither for love of Money? I should »have come then, when I was younger; and not now, »to lay my bones in a barbarous Countrey,<sup>5)</sup> and »make *Archelaus* richer by my Death.« I observed it, as no small mark of a Sophist, That our Author foretells, he was to die in *Macedonia*; where, we <sup>128</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Ibid. & *Thucyd.* i, 75. [116?]. <sup>2)</sup> *Ion Chius*, ib. *Aristoph. Ranis* [82]. <sup>3)</sup> Ἡ περὶ τὰ δράματα συμφορά.

<sup>4)</sup> Τὰ οἴκοι ἴσθαι κατὰ νοῦν ὄντα. <sup>5)</sup> Ἦνα ἐν βαρβάρῳ γῇ ἀποθάνωμεν.

know, he was worried to death by a pack of Dogs. *But what wonder, say they, if an Old Man of Seventy predict his own death?* I do not question, but our Poet might presage himself to be Mortal. But 'twas an odd guess to hit upon the time and place, when and where he was to die. For, what ground was there to be so positive? The Letter, we see, carries date just after his arrival at Court.<sup>1)</sup> He had, as yet, had very short trial, whether all things would continue to his liking. And we have no reason to suppose, that he came thither for good and all; never to see *Athens* again. Might he not, by some accident, or supplanted by some rival, lose the King's favour? Or, was he sure His life would last as long as his own? 'Twas a violent death, and not mere Age and Craziness, that took our Poet away at last: and he knew *Sophocles* to be then alive and hearty and making of Plays still; that was Fourteen years older than himself. In these circumstances to be so positive about his dying there, was a Prophecy as bold as any of the *Pythian Oracle*. *But, say they, he gives a hint too, that Archelaus might be deposed: which a Sophist would not say, because it*  
 120 *never came to pass.* That was true and came to pass every day, that he *might* be deposed: and he does not suggest, that it actually would be so; for he expressly says, *God would always stand by the King, and support him.*<sup>2)</sup> But indeed, as they interpret a passage there; it looks as if he had foreboded real Mischiefs; *Οὐδὲ ἀνιύσῃ, ὅτι οἴχεται ὁ καιρὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν, ἀνεθείς προὔδοις ἥδη.* Which last words they translate, *ubi jam destitutus fueris & abdicatus, when you are deserted and deposed.* But with all due submission, I will assume the free-

<sup>1)</sup> The original ed. adds a note of interrogation. — W.

<sup>2)</sup> Παρέσται μὲν ἀεὶ ὁ θεὸς; καὶ στήσεται κατόπιν.

dom of changing the version. For ἀνεθείς and φροῦδος belong to the word χαῖρος, and not to Archelaus: and the distinction is to be put thus; ὅτι οὔχεται ὁ χαῖρος, εἰς ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν ἀνεθείς, φροῦδος ἤδη. *Tempus ad exercendam benignitatem concessum*; »You will not grieve, that the time is gone past recalling, which was granted you by God to do good to Mankind in.« This, I suppose, is now clear enough; and Archelaus is in no danger of being deposed by this sentence. But let us examine our Author's next words; *To make Archelaus richer by my death.*<sup>1)</sup> A very good Thought indeed, and worthy of Euripides. But pray what could the King get by his death? Would the Poet be compell'd to make him his Heir; 130 as some were forced by the Roman Emperors? Or, would the King seize upon his Estate; and defraud the true Inheritor? If the Poet had such suspicions as these, he would never have gone to him. But though he had left all to him at his death; what would the King have been richer for him? For surely Euripides, having settled affairs at home, carried no great Stock with him to Macedonia; unless he thought Archelaus would make him pay for his Board. He might well expect to be maintain'd by the King's Liberality; as he found it in the Event.<sup>2)</sup> The King therefore, were he his sole Heir, would only have received again, what himself had given before. Nay, even a great part of that had been lost beyond recovery. For our Poet, by the very first Messenger, had packt more away to Athens, that Archelaus had given him, than all that he carried with him could amount to; perhaps, than all he was worth before.

IX. But he has more still to say to those, that blamed him for leaving Athens. »If Riches (says he) could draw me to Macedonia; why did I refuse these

1) Ὅτι πλείονα Ἀρχελάῳ καταλίπομεν χρήματα.

2) Ep. v

very same Riches;<sup>1)</sup> when I was young, or middle-aged;<sup>2)</sup> and while my Mother was alive: for whose  
 131 sake alone, if at all, I should have desired to be rich? He alludes here to the First Letter, (and perhaps to others now lost,) where he refuses an ample Summ of Money sent him by *Archelaus*. Alas, poor Sophist! 'twas ill luck he took none of the Money, to Fee his Advocates lustily: for this is like to be a hard brush. For how could the Poet, while young, or middle-aged, refuse Presents from *Archelaus*? since, according to most Chronologers,<sup>3)</sup> he was about Seventy; and, by the most favourable account, above Sixty; when *Archelaus* came to the Crown.

X. But what a dutiful Child had mother *Clito* the Herb-woman! For her sake alone, her Son *Euripides* could wish to be Rich; to buy her Oil to her Sallads. But what had the Old Gentleman the Father done, that he wishes nothing for His sake? And how had his three Sons<sup>4)</sup> offended him, that They have no share in his good wishes? 'Tis a fine piece of conduct, that our Sophist has shewn. He had read something of our Poet's Mother; for she was famous in old Comedy for her Lettuce and Cabbage: but having heard nothing of his Sons; he represents him through all his Letters, as if he had no Children. As here, the only motive to desire Wealth, is his  
 132 care of the *Old Woman*; and when she is supposed to be dead, all his concern is only for his *Friends*. In the First Letter, He and his Friends are such contented men, that they refuse the royal Gift.<sup>5)</sup> Not a word of the three young Sparks; who, 'tis hard to think, were so self-denying. In the Fifth, he keeps

1) Τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον πλοῦτον.

τὴν ἡλικίαν.

3) *Diod. Sicul. & alii apud Athen.* l. v. p. 217.

4) *Suidas, Tho. Magister, &c.*

2) Νέοι τε καὶ μέσοι

5) Ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις.

none of the King's Presents by him, but sends all away to *Athens*, to be shared among his Friends and Companions.<sup>1)</sup> How, again, would the young Gentlemen look, to be forgot thus by their own Father? If it be suspected, in favour of the Letters, that the Sons might be all dead before; I can soon put a stop to that, from a good Evidence, *Aristophanes*; who, in a Play made the very Year of our Poet's death, mentions the Sons as then alive.<sup>2)</sup>

XI. The *Romans* may brag as much as they please of *Mecænas* and others: but of all Patrons of Learning, *Archelaus* of *Macedonia* shall have My commendations. Within two or three days after *Euripides*'s arrival, he makes him a Present of *Forty Talents*.<sup>3)</sup> Which was a greater Summ of Money than our Poet could ever have raised before; though all that he had should have been sold four times over. The Great *Themistocles* was not worth Three Talents, before he meddled with Public Affairs:<sup>4)</sup> and Two Talents was thought a good Portion for a substantial Man's Daughter.<sup>5)</sup> *Alexander the Great*, when he was Lord of the World, sent *Xenocrates* the Philosopher a Present of Thirty Talents, or, as others say, Fifty; which *Cicero* calls a vast Summ, especially for those times.<sup>6)</sup> But *Alexander*'s natural Munificence was stimulated and exalted to that extraordinary Act of Bounty, out of a peak he had to *Aristotle*.<sup>7)</sup> How generous then, nay, how profuse was *Archelaus*; that out of his little and scanty Revenue could give as much, as his great Successor in the midst of the *Persian* Treasures? But all this

1) Τοῖς ἑταίροις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. 2) Βάτραχοι, p. 184.  
 Edit. Basil. [v. 1404]. 3) Ep. v. 4) Plut. Themist. [25].  
 5) Terent. Heaut. [V, 67]. 6) Cicero, Tusc. v. [32, 91]  
*Pecunia temporibus illis, Athenis præsertim, maxima.* 7) Laërt.  
 in Arist. [v. 1, 10].

is spoil'd again; when we consider, 'tis a Sophist's Present: who is liberal, indeed, of his Paper Notes, but never makes solid Payment.

And now, I suppose, it will be thought no great matter, whether *Sabirius Pollo*, as *Apollonides* affirms, or any other unknown Sophist, have the Honour of the Epistles. I will take my leave of Him and Them; after I have done the same kindness to *Apollonides*, that I did to *Sabirius*. For as I read the name of the one, *Σαβίδιος Πολλίων*, instead of *Σαβίριος Πόλλων*: so, for *Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς*, I dare make bold to substitute *Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς*. The former was  
 134 never heard-of but here. This latter is mention'd by *Laertius*, *Harpocration* and others. He writ several Books, and dedicated one of them to *Tiberius*.<sup>1)</sup> The time therefore agrees exactly with this emendation; for living in that Emperor's days, he might well cite a Roman Author *Sabidius Pollio*. But to take away all manner of scruple; this very Book *About Falsified History* is ascribed to *Apollonides Nicenus* by *Ammonius*;<sup>2)</sup> *Ἀπολλωνίδης*, says he, ὁ Νικαεύς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ κατεφεισμένων; just as the Writer of *Aratus's* Life says; *Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ περὶ κατεφεισμένης Ἱστορίας*.

<sup>1)</sup> *Laërt. in Timone.* [IX 12, 1]  
*Differ. Vocab.* [p. 77 Valck.]

<sup>2)</sup> *V. Κατοίχης. De*



OF  
ÆSOP'S FABLES.

I Could easily go on, and discover to you many more Impostures of this kind, The Epistles of *Anacharsis*, *Heraclitus*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Diogenes*, *Crates*, and others. But perhaps I may be exhorted hereafter to put this Dissertation into *Latin*, with large Additions: till which time I will adjourn the further Discourse upon those several Authors; and proceed now to the last thing proposed, *The Fables of Æsop*.

And here I am glad to find a good part of the <sup>135</sup> Work done ready to my hand. For Monsieur *Bachet S. de Meziriac*, has writ *The Life of Æsop*, in *French*: which Book, though I could never meet with it, I can guess from the great Learning of the Author, known to me by his other Works, to have in a manner exhausted the Subject. *Vavasor* too, *De Ludicra Dictione*, ascribes the present *Fables* to *Maximus Planudes*, and not to *Æsop* himself. See also a great deal upon this Head in the late *Historical Dictionary* of Mr. *Baile*. All which make me look upon Sir *W. T.*'s mighty Commendation of the *Æsopian Fables* now extant, which is the occasion of this Treatise, to be an unhappy Paradox; neither worthy of the great Author, nor agreeable to the rest of his excellent Book. For if I do not much deceive my self, I shall soon make it appear, That of all the Compositions of the *Æsopic Fables*, these that we have

now left us, are both the Last and the Worst. Though I do not intend a set Discourse; but only a few loose things, that I fansie may have escaped the Observation of Others.

I 'Tis very uncertain, if *Æsop* himself left any *Fables* behind him in writing: the Old Man in *Aristophanes*<sup>1)</sup> learn'd his *Fables* in Conversation, and not out of a Book:

*Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον ἢ Συβαριτικὸν*  
*Ὅν ξμαδες ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ*——

There's another passage in the same Poet,<sup>2)</sup> *Ὅδ' Αἰσωπον πεπάτηχας*; which *Suidas*,<sup>3)</sup> and from him *Erasmus*, *Scaliger*, &c. affirm to be used proverbially; *You have not read so much as Æsop*, (spoken of Ideots and Illiterates.) From whence one might conclude, that *Æsop* wrote his own *Fables*, which were in every bodies hands. But it plainly appears from the Poet himself, that it is not a Proverbial Saying: For when One had said, *He never heard before, that Birds were older than the Earth*: the Other tells him, *He is unlearned, and unacquainted with Æsop*: who said, »That the *Lark* was the first of Things; »and she, when her Father died (after he had laid »five days unburied, because the Earth was not yet »in being) at last buried him in her own Head.« Now, what is there here like a Proverb? But pray take notice, that this Fable is not extant in our present Collection; a good testimony, that Ours are not of the *Phrygian's* own Composing.

<sup>137</sup> I will mention another place of our Poet; that I may, on this occasion, correct a gross Error of the Scholiast. 'Tis extant in *Vespis*, p. 330.<sup>4)</sup>

*Οἱ δὲ λέγουσι μύθους ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' Αἰσώπου τι γελοῖον.*

<sup>1)</sup> In *Vepis*, p. 357. [v. 1260].  
 [v. 471]. <sup>3)</sup> *Παῖσαι.*

<sup>2)</sup> In *Anibus*, p. 387.

<sup>4)</sup> [v. 566.]

Where he interprets *Αἰσώπου γελοῖον*; of one *Æsop* a ridiculous Actor of Tragedy. But our Scholiast himself is more ridiculous: if it was He that writ this; and not some trifler, that foisted it in among the other's Annotations. For there was no *Æsop* a Greek Actor in the days of *Aristophanes*: he mistakes him for the famous *Æsop* in *Cicero's* time, an Actor of Tragedy on the Roman Stage; and far from being ridiculous:

*Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.*<sup>1)</sup>

But the *Æsop* meant by our Poet is the *Phrygian* himself, whose Fables were called *Jests*, *Γελοία*: so in the other passage, already cited, *Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον*. *Hesychius*, *Αἰσώπου γελοῖα· οὕτως ἔλεγον τοὺς Αἰσώπου μύθους*. *Dion Chrysostom*,<sup>2)</sup> speaking of our *Æsop*, *Ἡνεύχοντο αὐτὸν*, says he, *ἡδόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ γελοίῳ καὶ τοῖς μύθοις*. *Arienus*, in his Preface; *Æsopus, responso Delphici Apollinis monitus, RIDICULA orsus est*.

II. The first, that we know of, who essayed to put the *Æsopic Fables* into Verse, was *Socrates* the Philosopher.<sup>3)</sup> *Laertius* seems to hint, that he did but one Fable; and that with no great success; the beginning of it was this—

*Αἰσωπὸς ποτ' ἔλεξε Κόρινθιων ἄστρῳ νέμουσι,  
Μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδίχῳ σοφίῃ.*

'Tis observable again, that *Socrates* does not say, he made use of a *Book* of Fables: but, *I wrote*, says he, *ὧν ἠπιστάμην*, *those that I knew*, and that *I could first call to mind*. And this Fable too does not appear in our present Collection; if we may gather so much, from his naming the *Corinthians*.

III. After *Socrates's* time, *Demetrius Phalereus* made *Δόγων Αἰσωπείων Συναγωγὰς*, Collections of

<sup>1)</sup> [Hor. Ep. II 1, 82.]    <sup>2)</sup> Orat. lxxxii. p. 631. [II 387 Reiske].

<sup>3)</sup> Plato in Phædone. Plutarch. de Aud. Poët. [16 c] Laërt. in Socrat. [II 5, 42].

*Æsopian Fables*:<sup>1)</sup> which, perhaps, were the first in their kind, committed to writing; I mean, in form of a Book. These seem to have been in Prose: and some, perhaps, may imagine, that they are the same that are now extant. I wish they were; for then they would have been well writ, with some Genius and Spirit. But I shall demonstrate Ours to be of a Modern Date; and the Composition it self speaks too loud, that it is not *Demetrius's*.

- 139 IV. After him, there was some body, whose name is now lost, that made a new Edition of the *Fables* in Elegiac Verse; I find no mention of them, but in *Suidas*; who cites them often under the name of *Μῦθοι*, or *Μυθικά*. I will set down a few Fragments of them; both to shew that they belong to the *Æsopic Fables*, which has not yet been observed, that I know of; and to enable you to judge, whether, if we could change our modern Collection for these, we should not get by the bargain.

Τούνεκα τὴν ἰδίην οὔτις ὄπωπε δύνῃ.<sup>2)</sup>

This belongs to the Fable about the Two Bags that every Man carries; one before, where he puts other men's faults; another behind him, where he puts his own. This is mention'd by *Catullus*, *Horace*, *Phædrus*, *Galen*, *Themistius*, *Stobæus*, &c. and it is a Blot upon our Modern Sett, that there it is wanting.

Ἀλπειναῖς ἐλάταις ἔρισεν βάτος· ἡ μὲν ἔειπε<sup>3)</sup>

Καὶ ναῦς καὶ νηὺς, τεμνομένη<sup>4)</sup> τελείην.

And, *Ἀλπεινήν* ἐλάτην ἔρις ὥρορεν αἰσὺλα φάσθαι.

And, *Οὐδέ οἱ οὐδ' αἰθῶν ἄδε πάροδαίς, οὐνεκα θυμοῦ*  
*Ἐμπλετή* —————<sup>5)</sup>

- 240 And, *Πικρὴ μέντε λύκοισιν, ἀτὰρ χιμάρουσιν ἀκηδής*.<sup>6)</sup>

Some of them, it seems, were all Hexameters:

<sup>1)</sup> *Laërt.* in *Demet.* [v 5, 80]. <sup>2)</sup> *Suidas* in *Δύη*. <sup>3)</sup> *Id.* in *Ἀλπεινή*. <sup>4)</sup> *Vulgo* *τεμνομένην*. <sup>5)</sup> *Id.* in *Ἄθεν*.

<sup>6)</sup> *Id.* *Ἀκηδής*.

—“Ὅθι στυφελῶν ἐπὶ πετρῶν

’Οστραχέοντά τε νῶτα καὶ ἀγκύλα γυῖα κεῖσθῃ.<sup>1)</sup>

’Tis an easie matter to find what Fables these pieces relate to; and I think they are all extant in the present Collection.

V. This, you see by this Specimen, was no contemptible Author: and after him came one *Babrius*, that gave a new Turn of the Fables into Choliambics.<sup>2)</sup> No body, that I know of, mention him; but *Suidas*, *Avienus*, and *Jo. Tzetzes*. There’s one *Gabrius*, indeed, yet extant, that has comprized each Fable in four sorry Iambics. But our *Babrius* is a Writer of another Size and Quality; and were his Book now extant, it might justly be opposed, if not preferred, to the *Latin* of *Phædrus*. There’s a whole Fable of his yet preserved at the end of *Gabrius*, of the *Swallow and the Nightingale*. *Suidas* brings many Citations out of him; all which shew him an excellent Poet: as this of the *Sick Lion*,

— οἷά τις νούσῃ

Κάμνων ἐβέβλητ’, οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀσθμαίνων.<sup>3)</sup>

And that of the *Bore*,

141

Φρίξας δὲ χαίτην ἔκθορε φωλάδος κοίλῃς.<sup>4)</sup>

And a great many others.

VI. I need not mention the *Latin* Writers of the *Æsopian Fables*; *Phædrus*, *Julius Titiānus*,<sup>5)</sup> and *Avienus*; the two first in Iambic, the last in Elegiac: but I shall proceed to examine those *Greek* ones now extant, that assume the name of *Æsop* himself. There are two parcels of the present *Fables*; the one, which are the more ancient, οὐκ ἐνὶ in number, were first publisht out of the *Heidelberg*

<sup>1)</sup> Id. *Ερυφ. & Schol. Aristoph.* p. 220.

*Βάβριος*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Suidas* in *Λαβμ.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Suidas* in

<sup>4)</sup> *Suidas* in *Ἐκθορε*.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ausonius*, Ep. xvi.

Library, by *Neveletus*, A. D. MDCX. The Editor himself well observed; That they were falsely ascribed to *Æsop*, because they mention holy Monks.<sup>1)</sup> To which I will add another remark; That there is a sentence out of Job, *Ἰδυνοὶ γὰρ ἤλθομεν οἱ πάντες, γυμνοὶ οὖν ἀπελευσόμεθα*; *Naked we all came, and naked shall we return.*<sup>2)</sup> But because these two passages are in the *Epimythion*, and belong not to the Fable it self; they may justly be supposed to be Additions only, and Interpolations of the true Book. I shall therefore give some better Reasons, to prove they are a recent Work. That they cannot be *Æsop's* own, the CLXXXI Fable is a demonstrative proof. For  
 142 that is a story of *Demades* the Rhetor, who lived above CC years after our *Phrygian's* time. The CXCIII is, about *Momus's* Carping at the Works of the Gods. There he finds this fault in the Bull; *That his Eyes were not placed in his Horns, so as he might see where he pusht.* But *Lucian*<sup>3)</sup> (speaking of the same Fable) has it thus; *That his Horns were not placed right before his Eyes.* And *Aristotle*<sup>4)</sup> has it a third way; *That his Horns were not placed about his Shoulders, where he might make the strongest push; but in the tenderest part, his Head.* Again, *Momus* blames this in the Man; *That his Φρένες did not hang on the out-side of him, so as his Thoughts might be seen: but in Lucian,*<sup>5)</sup> the fault is; *That he had not a Window in his Breast.* I think it probable from hence, that *Æsop* did not write a Book of his Fables: for then there would not have been such a difference in the telling. Or, at least, if these that are now extant were *Æsop's*; I should guess

<sup>1)</sup> Φιλερήμοις κατὰ θεὸν Μοναχοῖς, Fab. 152.

<sup>2)</sup> See

Fab. 288. Job, i. 21.

<sup>3)</sup> In *Nigrino* [82 Jac. 74 Reitz.]

<sup>4)</sup> *De Part. Anim.* l. iii. p. 54. [55, 28 Bekk.]

<sup>5)</sup> In *Her-*

*motimo.* [20 Jac. p. 759 Reitz.]

from this specimen, that *Lucian* had the better on't, and beat him at his own play.

VII. But that they are recenter than even *Babrius*, who is himself one of the latest Age of good Writers, I discovered by this means. I observed in 'em several passages, that were not of a piece with the rest; but had a turn and composition plainly Poetical: as in the cclxiii Fable, which begins thus; Ὀνος πατήσας σκόλοπα χωλὸς ἐστήκει. This, I saw, was a Choliambic Verse; and I presently suspected, that the Writer had taken it out of *Babrius*. And I was soon confirmed in my judgment by this fragment of his, that belongs to the same Fable:<sup>1)</sup>

Ὁ δ' ἐκλυθεῖς πόνων τε κᾶνίας πάσης,  
Τὸν κνηχίαν χάσκοντα λακτίσας φεύγει.

For in the Fable in Prose there are these words; Ὁ ὄνος δὲ ΑΥΘΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΝΟΥ, ἐπὶ τὸν λόχον ΧΑΣΚΟΝΤΑ ΛΑΚΤΙΣΑΣ ΦΕΥΓΕΙ. Whence it evidently appears, that the Author of that Parcel, which was published by *Neveletus*, did nothing else but epitomize *Babrius*, and put him into Prose. But I will give you some further proofs of it. The cclxi begins thus; Ὄνῳ τις ἐπιθεῖς ξόανον ἤγε. Which, at the first reading, one perceives to be part of a Scazon: and thus it is in a fragment of *Babrius*.<sup>2)</sup>

Ὄνῳ τις ἐπιθεῖς ξόανον εἶχε κωμήτης.

In the clvi, about the Fox with the Fire-brand; Ταύτην δὲ δαίμων εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τοῦ βαλόντος ὠδήγει. 144 Who does not discover here a Scazon of *Babrius*?

Εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τοῦ βαλόντος ὠδήγει.

The ccxliiii is a manifest turning out of Choliambics into Prose; for the whole is made up either of Pieces or entire Verses:

<sup>1)</sup> *Suidas* in *Κνηχίας*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Suidas* in *Κωμήται*.

— — — — — ἡλίου πλέον λάμπει.

And, 'Ανέμου δὲ συβρέυσαντος, εὐθὺς ἐσβέσθη.

And, 'Εκ δευτέρου δ' ἄπτων τις—

And, —φαῖνε λόχνη καὶ σίγα,

Τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ φέγγος οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει.

In the οοκχιι, there are these remnants of *Babrius*:

Πόση γὰρ ὀλκῇ τ' οὐμὸν αἷμα προσθήσῃ.

And, 'Εσται μάγειρος, ὅς με συντόμως θύσει.

And, —καὶ πάλιν χερεῖ με, καὶ σώσει.

145 The οοκχιν begins thus; 'Ανὴρ μεσοπολιὸς δύο ἐρωμένας εἶχεν· ὧν ἡ μὲν μία νεᾶνις, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη πρεσβυτις: which I suppose to have been in *Babrius* thus:

'Ανὴρ μεσοπολιὸς δὺ' ἐρωμένας εἶχεν,

ᾧν ἡ μία νεᾶνις, ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτις.

Or, 'ᾧν ἡ μὲν ἦν ν:

In all these passages here are most visible footsteps by which we may trace our Imitator: but generally he has so disguised the Fables, that no body can find they ever belong'd to *Babrius*. In the οοκχλν, about the Priests of *Cybele*, there's nothing but a short dry Story, and no reliques of a Verse. But there's a noble fragment of *Babrius* belonging to the same Fable, which I will here set down, both to correct it, (for he that has given it us<sup>1</sup>) has printed it false,) and to shew you how much we have lost:

Γάλλοις ἀγύρταις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπράθη  
 ὄνος τις οὐκ εὐμοιρος, ἀλλὰ δυσδαίμων  
 ὅστις φέρη πτωχοῖσι καὶ πανούργοις  
 Πείνης ἄχος δίψης τε, καὶ κακὴν τέχνην.  
 Οὗτοι δὲ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἔθους κώμην  
 Περιώντες ἐλέγοντο· τίς γὰρ ἀγροίκων  
 Οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄττιν λευκὸν, ὥς ἐπηρώθη;  
 Τίς οὐκ ἀπαρχὰς ὀσπρίων τε καὶ σίτων  
 Ἀγνῶ φέρων δίδωσι τυμπάνῳ Ῥετῆς.<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>1</sup>) *Natal. Com.* l. ix. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup>) [Cf. *Babr.* 126 ed. *Lachm.*]



VIII. Thus I have proved one Half of the *Fables* <sup>146</sup> now extant, that carry the name of Æsop, to be above a Thousand Years more recent than He. And the other Half, that were public before *Neveletus*, will be found to be yet more modern, and the latest of all. That they are not from Æsop's own Hand, we may know from the *LXX*, *Of the Serpent and the Crab-fish*: which is taken from a *Scolion*, or Catch, much older than Æsop, that is extant in *Athenæus*<sup>1)</sup>, and must be corrected thus:

Ὁ καρκίνος ὦδε ἔφα, χαλᾷ τὸν ὄφιν λαβών·

Εὐθὺν γρὴν ἔταιρον ἔμεν, καὶ μὴ σχολιὰ φρονεῖν.

And there is great reason to believe, that they were drawn up by *Planudes*, one of the Later *Greeks*, that translated into his native Tongue *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, *Cato's Distich's*, *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and *Macrobius*. For there is no Manuscript any where, above 600 years old, that has the *Fables* according to that Copy. Besides that there are several passages, that betray a modern Writer; as in the *LXXVII*, *Βούταλις*, a *Bird*; and *XXXIX*, *Βούνευρον*, a *Beast*; both unknown to all ancient Authors: and in the *CXXIX*, *βοῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, *Crying in his heart*, a manifest Hebraism, in imitation of *Eccles. xi. 1. εἶπον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου*. The *LXXV*, about the *Æthi-* <sup>147</sup>  
*opian*, is taken almost word for word out of the *VI* of *Aphthonius* the Rhetorician; who made an Essay upon some *Æsopic Fables*, that is yet extant. The *IV*, as appears from the last sentence of it, is a Paraphrase on the *OCLXXXIV* of *Neveletus's* Parcel; which Parcel, as I have proved above, are a Translation of *Babrius*: and particularly in this very Fable there are footsteps of his Verses;

—— κατῆλθεν εἰς βαθὺν κρημνόν.

And, —— μετενόει, καὶ βοηθὸν ἐζήτει.

<sup>1)</sup> *Lib. xv. c. 15. [p. 695].*

This Collection therefore is more recent than that Other: and coming first abroad with *Æsop's Life*, writ by *Planudes*, 'tis justly believed to be owing to the same Writer.

IX. That Idiot of a Monk has given us a Book, which he calls *The Life of Æsop*, that, perhaps, cannot be match'd in any Language, for Ignorance and Nonsense. He had pick'd up two or three true stories, That *Æsop* was Slave to one *Xanthus*, carried a Burthen of Bread,<sup>1)</sup> conversed with *Cræsus*, and was put to death at *Delphi*: but the Circumstances of these, and all his other Tales, are pure Invention. 148 He makes *Xanthus*, an ordinary *Lydian* or *Samian*, to be a *Philosopher*:<sup>2)</sup> which word was not heard of in those days, but invented afterwards by *Pythagoras*. He makes him attended too, like *Plato* and *Aristotle*, by a Company of Scholars, whom he calls *Σχολαστικοί*: tho' the word was not yet used in that sense, even in *Aristotle's* time. 'Twas the King of *Æthiopia's* Problem to *Amasis* King of *Ægypt*, To drink up the Sea:<sup>3)</sup> but *Planudes* makes it a Wager of *Xanthus* with one of his Scholars. To say nothing of his Chronological Errors, Mistakes of a Hundred or Two Hundred years: Who can read, with any patience, that silly Discourse between *Xanthus* and his Man *Æsop*; not a bit better than our *Penny-Merriments*, printed at *London-Bridge*?

X. But of all his injuries to *Æsop*, that which can least be forgiven him, is, the making such a Monster of him for Ugliness: an Abuse, that has found credit so universally; that all the modern Painters, since the time of *Planudes*, have drawn him in the worst Shapes and Features, that Fancy could invent. 'Twas an old Tradition among the

1) *Eustath.* in *X Odyss.* p. 785. 2) *Ξάνθος ὁ Φιλόσοφος.*  
3) *Plutarch.* in *Conviv.* [151 B.]

Greeks, That Æsop revived again, and lived a second life.<sup>1)</sup> Should he revive once more, and see the Picture before the Book that carries his Name; could he think it drawn for Himself? or for the Monkey, <sup>149</sup> or some strange Beast introduced in the *Fables*? But what Revelation had this Monk about Æsop's Deformity? For he must learn it by Dream and Vision, and not by ordinary methods of Knowledge. He lived about Two Thousand Years after him:<sup>2)</sup> and in all that tract of time, there's not one single Author that has given the least hint, that Æsop was ugly. What credit then can be given to an ignorant Monk, that broaches a new Story after so many Ages? In *Plutarch's Convivium* our Æsop is one of the Guests with *Solon* and the other Sages of *Greece*: there is abundance of Jest and Raillery there among them: and particularly upon Æsop: but nobody drolls upon his ugly Face; which could hardly have escaped, had he had such a bad one. Perhaps you'll say, it had been rude and indecent, to touch upon a natural Imperfection. Not at all, if it had been done softly and jocosely. In *Plato's Feast*, they are very merry upon *Socrates's* Face, that resembled old *Silenus*: and in this, they twit Æsop for having been a Slave: which was no more his Fault, than Deformity would have been. *Philostratus* has given us, in Two Books, a Description of a Gallery of Pictures; one of which is Æsop with a Chorus of Animals about him.<sup>3)</sup> There he is represented *smiling and looking towards* <sup>150</sup> *the ground, in a posture of Thought*; but not a word of his Deformity; which, were it true, must needs have been touch'd on, in an account of a Picture. The *Athenians* set up a noble Statue to his Honour and Memory:

<sup>1)</sup> *Suidas* in *Αἰσ.* & *Ἀναβιωται*. *Schol. Aristoph.* p. 357, & 387. [*Av.* 471]. <sup>2)</sup> *A. D.* MOCCLXX. <sup>3)</sup> *P.* 735. [*3 Jac. et Welcker*].

*Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,  
Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi:  
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,  
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.*<sup>1)</sup>

But had he been such a Monster, as *Planudes* has made of him; a Statue had been no better than a Monument of his Ugliness: it had been kinder to his Memory, to have let that alone. But the famous *Lysippus* was the Statuary that made it. And must so great a Hand be employed to dress up a Lump of Deformity? *Agathias* the Poet has left us an Epigram upon that Statue:<sup>2)</sup>

*Εὖγε ποιῶν, Λύσιππε γέρων, Σικυώνιε πλάστα,  
Δείκελον Αἰσώπου στήσαν τοῦ Σαμίου, &c.*

How could He too have omitted to speak of it, had his Ugliness been so notorious? The *Greeks* have several Proverbs about Persons deformed; *θερσίτειον*  
<sup>151</sup> *βλέμμα, Εἰδεχθῆς Κορυδεὺς, &c.* Our *Æsor*, if so very ugly, had been in the first rank of them; especially when his Statue had stood there, to put every body in mind of it. He was a great Favourite of *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*; who employ'd him, as his Ambassador to *Corinth* and *Delphi*. But would such a Monster, as *Planudes* has set out, be a fit Companion for a Prince? or a proper Ambassador; to be hooted at by all the Boys, where-ever he came? *Plutarch* represents him as a polite and elegant Courtier; rebuking *Solon* for his gruff and clownish behaviour with *Cræsus*; telling him, he must converse with Princes, *ἢ ὥς ἡδίστα, ἢ ὥς ἡκίστα, either*

<sup>1)</sup> *Phædrus*, l. ii. ult. [Dr. B. in his edition of *Phædrus*, offers from Others an emendation of the first verse; and would read *Æsopi ingenio*: but, though *ingens* is very awkward, *ingenio* seems no better: unless we say, it must be *ingens statua* indeed, whose *basis* is *æterna*. — Ed. 1777.] <sup>2)</sup> *Anthol. lib. iv.*  
 [Anth. Gr. IV 16 Jac. IV 332 Pal.] *Εἰς Φίλοσ.*

agreeably, or not at all.<sup>1)</sup> Now, could either such a Station, or such a Discourse befit *Æsop*; if he was truly that Scare-crow, as he is now commonly painted? But I wish I could do that justice to the Memory of our *Phrygian*; to oblige the Painters to change their Pencil. For 'tis certain, he was no Deformed Person; and 'tis probable, he was very Handsom. For whether he was a *Phrygian*, or, as others say, a *Thracian*; he must have been sold into *Samos* by a trader in *Slaves*. And 'tis well known, that that sort of People commonly bought up the most Beautiful they could light on; because they would yield the most Profit. And there is<sup>152</sup> mention of two Slaves, Fellow-Servants together, *Æsop* and *Rhodopis* a Woman; and, if we may guess him by his Companion and *Contubernalis*,<sup>2)</sup> we must needs believe him a Comely Person. For that *Rhodopis* was the greatest Beauty of all her Age:<sup>3)</sup> and even a Proverb arose in Memory of it;

“Ἀπανθ’ ὁμοία, καὶ Ῥοδῶπις ἡ καλή.”<sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *Plut. in Solone* [28]. <sup>2)</sup> *Pliny xxxvi*, 12. <sup>3)</sup> *Herodotus* [II 134 sq.] *Suidas. Strabo* [p. 808] <sup>4)</sup> [Append. Prov. IV 51. *Apostol.* III 43. *Erasm. Adag.* p. 1648 ed. 1606. — D. & R.]

Bentley's Letter to Joshua Barnes, alluded to in the  
Dissertation upon the Epistles of Euripides<sup>1)</sup>  
(P. 559.)

At the Palace in Worcester,  
Feb. 22, 1693.

SIR,

That the Epistles which are ascribed to *Euripides* are supposititious, I ever believed since I first read them, and 'tis likely shall continue to do so still; but as for *arguments* to prove them spurious, perhaps there are none that will convince any person that doth not discover it by himself. 'Tis always so, when there are no external proofs and testimonies to be had; but the verdict must be given from the intrinsic evidence. Then every man passeth his own judgment according to his genius and proficiency: and there can be no final determination of such matters without an infallible judge. A late ingenious author<sup>2)</sup> admires the Epistles of *Phalaris* above any other prose in that language; and makes it an argument for the decay of human wit, because *Homer* and that work are the ancientest and the best also in their kinds. Now I would ask him, what dialect they wrote and spoke in Sicily? and if *Stesichorus* (the supposed great acquaintance of *Phalaris*) did not use the Doric? I believe if this had come into his

---

<sup>1)</sup> The original is preserved in the British Museum, *Add. Mss.* 6911. p. 34. First published in *Mus. Crit.* II 405; then by Dyce in his edition of Bentley's works vol. 2 p. 210 — 213. I follow Dyce who has, of course, modernised the spelling.

<sup>2)</sup> Sir W. Temple. — D.

mind, it might have convinced him that they could not be genuine. But what if we had wanted this argument? there had been nothing else to be done, but to let him enjoy his own opinion *sine rivali*. If a man cannot perceive by himself that they are the work of some Sophist, he may acquiesce perhaps in another man's judgment, but he cannot be convinced and understand that they are so. The sham Letters of *Theano* and *Heracitus* may be detected the same way; for the first wrote in *Doric*, and the latter in *Ionic*. Well, you say, *Euripides's* are *purely Attic*, and therefore must not be rejected on that account. To wave any controversy about so nice a matter, suppose that they be so. So are *Socrates's* as much; those also ascribed to *Themistocles* and *Diogenes*; yet who can believe them to be really theirs? Neither will the *Ionic* dialect of those that are fathered upon *Hippocrates* and *Democritus* persuade me that they are genuine.

All these are the forgeries and impostures of the Sophistæ: they searched a little into the history of the persons that they designed to personate, and so adapted their letters to their circumstances. This was in great credit among them, to follow the character of the person well, and suit the affairs of their times. A man got reputation by it, and it was owned at first by the true authors; but in time they were forgot, and the personated writers kept the titles. They made it an exercise to counterfeit thus, as much as *Ovid* did when he wrote Epistles in the names of heroes and heroines. So *Mithridates* tells you in the prologue to *Brutus's* Epistles, that he made feigned answers from the persons and critics that *Brutus* had wrote to; though any man that hath *νοῦς* and sagacity will perceive that there is a double and triple sham in that story; and, Sir, as when I read a tragedy of *Euripides*, I could tell (without any knowledge of the writer) that they are but representations, and not the true actions and discourses of the persons in the drama, because I could know that men in those circumstances could not talk at that rate; so, methinks, by the very Letters themselves I presently discern that 'tis not *Euripides* himself that here discourseth, but a puny Sophist that acts him.

And it may be that those very passages from whence you take arguments to overthrow Meursius, do give me my grounds of suspicion that they are illegitimate. As, that they are all written to Archelaus, Sophocles, and Cephisophon, which any pedant might know were persons concerned in Euripides's story, I take to be *magnum signum*. And for the argument and subject of them; in those to Archelaus we have the refusing a great present of money, and, instead of money, begging the lives and freedom of some that were condemned to die. Were not these and such-like the common themes of such scholastics and ἀρεταλόγοι? And 'tis pretty that those prisoners and their father, though the εὐγενέστατοι of their country, had no names at all, or else concealed them from their benefactor Euripides, so that he petitioned indefinitely for some young men of Pella. This Sophista was a great dunce: some service must be done to the Pellazans by all means, because he had read that Euripides lay buried at Pella; but why could not he invent some names for them, as easy as invent the whole story? But the Letter to Sophocles is most admirable. Sophocles his contemporary and ὁμότεχνος must certainly be a correspondent. But because they had no penny post at Athens, therefore a letter must be written to him, while he was absent from thence. Now, he knew that Sophocles was one of the Athenian generals in the war with the Samians, and that he touched at Chios (in Athenæus, p. 602), therefore thither a letter is directed; and let us hear about what? condoling that he had lost some plays in shipwreck. Alas, alas! so Terence lost an 108 plays in the sea, and himself too. But our sham author had forgot Sophocles's errand, that he was now the general, and not the poet; and if he had had some plays beforehand, he would not have carried them to the war; for I presume he did not use them, as our soldiers do quires of paper, for a defence against bullets. But why must Euripides of all folks be concerned for their loss, his antagonist and emulator? Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φ(θονέει), καὶ δαιδὸς δαιδῷ. You may see a lampoon of one against the other in Athenæus. If these plays had been preserved, they would have been acted against those of Euripides, as many before had been: when



sometimes one got the victory, and sometimes the other; and it was scarce thought a less prize to be crowned victor at the Dionysian feasts, than conqueror at the Olympian games. And the pleasantest of all is that τὰ οἴκοι ἴσθι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ ὅσα ἐπέστειλας ἐπιτελῇ ὄντα. It seems they are such very great cronies, that one commits the care of his domestic affairs to the other. *Mihi quidem non hercle fit verisimile*, as *Davus* says. But have we any better luck in the letter to *Cephisophon* out of *Macedonia*? This *Cephisophon* was thought once to help *Euripides* in writing plays; but at last he was taken in bed with his wife: for which poor *Euripides* was so jeered upon the stage by the comedians, that it is thought for this very reason he left *Athens*, and went to *Archelaus*. And yet this *Cephisophon* must be the man that he corresponds with from thence. And the worthy occasion of writing is, to justify his leaving *Athens* against the calumnies of his enemies. And what have we here, but more *refusing of money*, some thousands of pounds; some *stuff against covetousness*, &c. ἐκ ληχύθου τῶν σοφιστῶν; the *prating of Aristophanes* against him (ay, to be sure, do not omit that), that surely he cannot desire riches now, when his own dear mother was dead (ay, there's an argument indeed, it would have been all for the sake of gammer *Clito* the old herb-woman); and, good man, it forebodes him that he shall lay his bones ἐν γῇ βαρβάρῳ, and never see *Athens* again. Well done, Sophist, thou knewest that he was worried there by a pack of hounds, and so wouldst give us that hint.

But, Sir, you now see what I said at first, that I believe indeed that they are spurious Letters; but arguments to convince another man I have none. Therefore, when you confute *Meursius*, I desire that you would not name me; for I do not pretend to assert, but only to believe, they are shams. I am glad to hear all the fragments are prepared: they will make a little folio themselves, and will much commend your edition. Sir, I am yours to command,

RICH. BENTLEY.

Sir, I am very glad, anything that I have published can be serviceable to your design; and shall count it an honour to be mentioned in so great a work. Papers ready, I have none, and I cannot here make any review, being absent from my books of that kind, and engaged in other affairs: and 'tis likely yourself may have prevented<sup>1)</sup> me in most things. So that I can only wish you good success.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Readers of Shakespeare will be aware that he often uses *to prevent* instead of *to anticipate*.

Copy of a Letter, from Dr. Bentley to Dr. Davies; found in the latter's Study, after his death, by his Successor at *Fen-ditton* in *Cambridgeshire*: xx years after it was written.<sup>1)</sup>

DEAR SIR,

AFTER you left me this morning, I borrowed of Dr. *Sike* Mr. *Barnes*'s new edition of *Homer*; where I was told, that I should find myself abus'd. I read over his dedications and prefaces, and there I found very opprobrious words, against enemies in general, and one *Homo inimicus* in particular which I cannot apply to myself, not being concerned in the accusation. But if Mr. *Barnes* has, or does declare in company, that he means Me by those expressions; I assure him, I shall not put up such an affront, and an injury too: since I was one of his first subscribers, and a useful director to him, if he had followed good advice. He struts and swaggers, like a *Suffenus*, and challenges that same enemy to come *aperte*, and shew him any fault. If he mean Me, I have but dipt yet into his Notes; and yet I find every where just occasion of censure. Π. Ε. ver. 201 — Ἀλλὰ ἀποπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρις. Thus all editions have it: but in this we have it, in the very text; Αὐταρ ἀποπτανέουσιν· and this noble note added; Αὐταρ] Ita omnino; pro Ἀλλὰ, ut olim. So we have αὐταρ clapt in *pro imperio*; only to avoid the *hiatus* of two vowels, ἀλλὰ δ —. Now for this interpolation alone; his book deserves to be burnt. Let us examine into the passage a little; what is ἀποπτανέουσιν? He translates it, *respicient*; but says not one word to explain it. His friend *Eustathius*, to whom he owes the better half of his notes, knows not what to make of it: whether it be ἀπ—οπτανέουσιν, from ὀπτω, ὀπταίνω, i. e. ἀποβλέψουσιν; or ἀπο—πτανέουσιν, from

<sup>1)</sup> [Reprinted from the edition of 1777.]

πτῶ, πταίνω, φοβοῦμαι, i. e. πτήξουσιν· or from πέτω, πταίνω, i. e. πετασθήσονται. But who ever heard of either ὀπταίνω or πταίνω? Where does our Professor find either of them? He is wholly mute upon this word; which is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; and yet the wretch would venture blindfold to put in αὐταρ. But the true reading is thus——'Ἄλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν—ἀποπαπταίνω fut. - παπτανῶ, Ionice—παπτανέω. Παπταίνω comes forty times in Homer: and, if He had been, as he thinks himself, *Mæonides*, *sextus pænone ex Pythagoreo*, he might have found out the emendation: which is clear, *per se*; but I will prove it so, by authority. Etymol. in Ἀποπτάμενος, πέτω πεταίνω καὶ παπτανῶ παπτανούσι καὶ μετὰ τῆς προθέσεως ἀπὸ, ἀποπτανούσι. So it is printed, indeed; but it is evident, that he wrote it ἀποπτανέουσιν, and had respect to this place; as Sylburgius well observes. Again, Hesychius, in the right sense between ἀποπαξ & ἀποπαρ, has it thus; Ἀποπτανέουσιν, περιβλέφουσιν ὁπως φεύγωνσιν: correct Ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, περιβλέφουσιν—. He means this very passage; as appears by the Scholiast; ἀποπτανέουσιν· ἦτοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἀποβλέψουσιν, ἢ ἀλλαχόσε· δ' ἐστι, φεύγονται. What says our Professor to this jobb? Ἔργον Ὀμηρεῖοιο τόδ' ἐπλετο Βαρνεσίοιο; to foist in αὐταρ of his own head: and so, *quantum in se*, extinguish the true reading for ever! Which, while ἀλλὰ was preserved in the text, might sometime be retrieved.

I dipt into his second volume, and there I found this learned correction. Od. A. ver. 546. p. 307. *Agamemnon*, says the Scholiast, to judge fairly, whether *Ajax* or *Ulysses* best deserved *Achilles's* armour, Αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Τρώων ἀγαγὼν ἡρώτησεν, ἀπὸ ὁποτέρου τῶν Τρώων μᾶλλον ἐλυπήθησαν· εἰπόντων δὲ Ὀδυσσεά, he gave the armour to Him.—Here our Professor corrects it, ἀπὸ ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν οἱ Τρῶες, and thus acts *Thraso* in his note—*Ita emendo; sensu postulante: quique hoc valent, ad hos provooco*. Impertinence! to appeal to men of sense here: as if it required much sense to know, that *Ajax* and *Ulysses* were not Trojans! The business is to correct the place neatly; that is, truly; as the Author wrote it: which he has not done; but has gone clumsily about it. I'll give him the true lection, with altering half a letter; ὑπὸ ὁποτέρου τῶν Ἡρώων· from which of the two Heroes they suffered most. This

is clear and neat: but our Professor, besides his botching in the words, has sullied even the sense: for the captives were not asked, what οἱ Τρῶες, all the Trojans, thought; but what they themselves thought.—Again, over the leaf; p. 309, ver. 576. I find this worthy note: The poet had said of Τίτυς, ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα. Upon which the Scholiast; πλέθρον, ἑκτον μέρος σταδίου—ὥστε Τιτύου τὸ σῶμα κατέχειν τόπον ἐνὸς ἡμίσεος σταδίου. So all former editions. One πλέθρον being one sixth of a Stadium, nine πλέθρα make one Stadium and a half. Now comes our learned Professor's note. *Cum πλέθρον sit sexta pars Stadii, &c. Tityus occupet novem πλέθρα, sequitur, illum spatium occupare non unius dimidii; sed unius stadii et dimidii: quare inter ἐνὸς et ἡμισέος addendum erat τὸ ΚΑΙ.* Here is your Professor emeritus; that has made Greek his study, *per annos quadraginta*: to whose *pueritia* other people's manhood cannot reach! Now, to pardon him his silly interpolation of ἡμισέος for ἡμίσεος, and so making the Scholiast write Ionic; it is plain he thought, ἐνὸς ἡμίσεος signified one half; and not one and a half: a piece of ignorance, for which he deserves to be turned out of the Chair; and for which, and many others like it, *si magis me irritaverit*, I, as his principal electer and governor, may call him to account. What! he, that in his preface has bragged of perusing *Pollux, Suidas, Etymologus*; not to know, what all of them teach us! *Ἐν ἡμισυ τάλαντον*, says *Pollux* lib. ix. is *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα*, one talent and a half: not one half talent, as this booby would think it. So in those lexicographers and authors *passim*, δύο ἡμισυ, τέσσαρα ἡμισυ, εἷς ἡμισυ, 2½ 4½ 6½; δεκαδύο ἡμισυ, 12½; not twelve half, I hope. A fit man indeed, *per annos quindecim in Græca Cathedra celeberrimæ Academicæ sedere!*

From thence I dipt into his fulsome ἐπilogος: enough to make a man spew, that sees the vanity and insolence of the writer: where I met with these verses;

Δὴ τότ' ἐγὼ, τρέγλωστος ἐὼν καὶ δοιδιμος ἀνὴρ,  
 Εὐπραγῆς τ' ἔλαχον, καὶ τιμῆς κυδιανέουρας.

But what a shame is it for a man, that pretends to have been a *teneris unguiculis* a great Grammarian and a Poet; not to know, that the second syllable of εὐπραγῆς is long!

Sir, I write to you, as a common friend, and desire you to shew Mr. *Barnes* this letter: but not to let him keep it, nor transcribe it. If it be true, that he gives out, that he means Me by those villainous characters; I shall teach him better manners towards his electer. For though I shall not honour him so much, as to enter the lists against him myself; yet in one week's time I can send a hundred such remarks as these to his good friend *Will. Baxter*; whom I have known these twenty years: who, before the Parliament sits, shall pay him home for his *Anacreon*. But, if it be otherwise, that he does not describe Me under those general reproaches: a small satisfaction shall content me; which I leave you to be judge of. For I would not, without the utmost provocation, hurt the sale of his book; upon which he professes to have laid out his whole fortunes. Pray, let me hear from you, as soon as you can. I am, &c.

---

Trin. Coll.

Saturday Evening.

---

# INDEX.

[The numbers refer to the pages of the present edition. In most other respects, we reproduce Dyce's Index.]

## A

Abaris 109. 110. 477. 478. 489.  
 Adimantus, when archon, 104. 281.  
 Adrastus, tragical choruses in honour of his memory, 304. 311.  
 Aegineans, their money, 354—356.  
 Ælian, 215. 285. 342. 331. 531.  
 Æneidos, a mistake for Æneis, 57.  
 Æsara, 384.  
 Æschines, at the court of Dionysius, 552.  
 Æschylus, quoted and corrected, 180 sqq. 185 sq.  
     his improvements of tragedy, 260.  
     one of the first to introduce the new or serious tragedy, 270. 295.  
     added a second actor, 276. 298.  
     believed by many to have also added the third, *ibid.*  
     aspired after the sublime character, 315.  
     inventor of scenery and other stage-ornaments, 360. 367.  
     number of his plays, 298.  
     his age, 360.  
     date of his first victory, 368.  
 Æsop, made apologues at Samos, 473.  
     whether he left any written fables behind him, 570.

no Greek actor of that name in the time of Aristophanes, 571.  
 whose slave, 578.  
 his conversation with Cræsus, 578.  
     place of his death, 578.  
     his deformity a fiction, 578.  
     the story first broached by Plautus, *ibid.*  
     and never hinted at by any author before, 579.  
     a statue erected to Æ. by the Athenians, 579. 580.  
     epigram thereon, 580.  
     ambassador of Cræsus to Corinth and Delphi, 580.  
     his rebuke of Solon, 580.  
     his fellow-slave, 581.  
     fables of: see Æsopian fables.  
     life of, the ignorance it betrays, 578 sqq.  
     its author, 578.  
 Æsop, the Roman actor, 571.  
 Æsopian fables, by whom versified and collected, 571 sqq.  
     fable referred to by Aristophanes not in the present collection, 570.  
     a fable by Socrates, quotation from, 571.  
     those collected by Demetrius Phalereus not the same as the present, 571 sqq.

- edition in elegiac verse, cited by Suidas under the name of *Μυθοι* or *Μυθικά*, quotations from it, 572.  
 edition by Babrius in choliambics, 573.  
 quotations from it, 573.  
 compendium of, by Gabrias, in iambics, 573.  
 Latin versions, 573.  
 the Greek fables now extant, two parcels of, 573.  
 the more ancient one, when and by whom first published, 573.  
 number of fables it contains, 573.  
 falsely ascribed to Æsop, 574.  
 is nothing else but a prose epitome of Babrius, 575.  
 quotations from it, 575 sq.  
 the later parcel, by whom probably written, 577.  
 several passages in, betraying a modern writer, 577.  
 first appeared with Æsop's life, 578.  
 quotations from it, 578 sq.  
 Æthiopia, king of, his problem to Amasis, 578.  
 Agamemnon, not a play of Seneca's, 189.  
 Agatharchides, a Samian historian, 341.  
 Agatharchus, the first painter of scenes, 360 sq.  
 Agathias, the poet, quoted, 580.  
 Agatho, the tragic poet, a friend of Euripides, 556 sq.  
 no comic poet of that name, 557.  
 lashed by the ancients for his effeminacy, 557.  
 Plato's Symposium held in his house, 557 sq.  
 Agathocles, 151.  
 Agathyrside, a mistake for Agatharchides, 341.  
 Agrigentum, why called both maritime and inland, 148.  
 its situation, 154.  
 its language, 326.  
 its population, 462.  
*At* and *ε* anciently pronounced alike, 302.  
*Αἰγῶν*, a false reading for *αἰγῶν*, 35.  
*Αἰῆς* and *αἰεῖ*, whether both used by the Cretans, 341.  
*Αἰεὶς* and *αἰάτης*, adjectives in, formed from substantives in *αια*, not in *η*, 338.  
*Αἰσι* for *αις*, 396.  
*Αἰσώπου γελοῖον*, meaning of, 570.  
*Ἀκμή*, import of, 116.  
 of Pythagoras, why brought so low by Christian writers, 126.  
*Ἄκουε, σῖγα*, 235.  
*Ἀκούετε, λεώς*, 235 sq.  
 Alæsa, a town in Sicily, 154–159.  
 when and by whom built, 154.  
 its situation, 156.  
 Alcæus, a native of Lesbos, 342.  
 quoted, 377.  
 Alcman, age of, 102.  
 Aldobrandinus refuted, 118 sq.  
 Alexander, his remark on Xenocrates's refusal to accept a present from him, 561.  
 his munificence to the same, 567.  
 Alexander Ephesius quoted, 164.  
 Alexandrian MS., 21.  
 Alexias, when archon, 365.  
 Alexis, quoted and corrected, 171 sq.  
 his violation of chronology, 172.  
 Aliene, the word defended, 53.  
 Allatius, Leo, first published the Epistles of Socrates and others, 534.  
 was fully persuaded of their genuineness, 534.  
 his inference from a passage of Libanius, 536 sq.



- blunder of, 543 sq.
- Ἀλκμήνη*, a play of Thespis, a mistake, 265 sqq. 274.
- Allegory, use of, defended, 214.
- Alphabet, Greek, not perfected in Thespis's time, 268.
- consisted of only 18 letters in that of Solon, 397.
- letters said to have been added, and by whom, 268.
- how before expressed, *ibid.*
- Alsop, Anthony, edits the *Æsopæan fables*, 43.
- Aluntium, 155 sqq.
- Ἀλφ* for *ἄλφ*, 447.
- Amasis, king of Egypt, 121.
- Ἀμῆ*, Doric for *ἔμῃ*, 363.
- Ammonius's commentary on Aristotle, quoted, 80 sq.
- Amorphus, false reading for Phormis, 234.
- Ἀν* never put by the Dorians for *ων* in the gen. plur. of the third declension, 35.
- Anacharsis, spurious epistles of, 569.
- Anapæstic verse, 179—189.
- last syllable of, not common, 179.
- never ends in a tribrach, trochee, or cretic, in the Greek poets, 179.
- only twice in a trochee in Seneca, 188.
- exceptions to this rule mere mistakes, 184.
- all passages containing them in the Greek drama quoted and corrected, 185 sqq.
- those in Seneca quoted, 188.
- the rule frequently violated by modern writers, 179. 189.
- Anaxagoras, age of, 296.
- acquainted with Themistocles, 297.
- and with Pericles, 296.
- Anaxandrides, chronology violated in plays of, 172.
- Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, age of, 190. 191. 195. 202. 367.
- takes Zancle from the Samians, 190. 196. 202.
- first changes its name to Messana, 190. 192. 195. 205. 206.
- invites Hamilcar into Sicily, 197.
- his war with the Locrians, *ibid.*
- his victory at Olympia, 198.
- a saying of, 194.
- his death, 207. 368.
- his sons, when and by whom driven out of Messana, 207.
- Anaximenes, the historian, his forgery upon his rival Theopompus, 82.
- Andromachus, a Tauromenite, settles the old Naxians in Taurominium, 217.
- father of Timæus the historian, 484.
- Andronicus Rhodius, his paraphrase of Aristotle's *Ethics*, its genuineness doubtful, 341.
- quoted, 486.
- Ἀνδροφόνος*, 395.
- Ἀνεθεῖς*, its meaning explained, 564.
- Annius of Viterbo, his forgery, 79.
- ανος* for *ἄνθρωπος*, 409.
- ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι*, import of, 174.
- Ἀντιγονίδας*, from nom. sing. in *ις*, not *ίδης*, 174.
- Antimachus, saying of, 167.
- Antisthenes, founder of the sect of Cynics, 62.
- Anytus, prosecutor of Socrates, banished, 544.
- Ἀπήνη*, a chariot of mules, why impressed on some coins of the Messenians, 199.
- when and by whom first used at the Olympian games, 200.
- when put down, 200.

- the same as *ἄμαξα*, *plaustrum*, 239.
- Aphepsion, or Apsephion, when archon, 302.
- Aphthonius, the rhetorician, his essay upon same Æsopic fables, 577.
- Ἀπίλλειν (= ἀποκλείειν), 396.
- Apollonides, Nicenus, his treatise *περὶ καταφεισμένης ἱστορίας*, 554. 568.
- pronounces the Epistles of Euripides and of Aratus to have been forged by Sabirius Pollo, 554.
- a book of his dedicated to Tiberius, 568.
- Ἀποφράς, 399.
- Aratus, an epic poet, 380.
- Aratus, epistles of, according to Apollonides, spurious, 554.
- Arcadius, the grammarian, quoted, 450 sq. 456.
- Archagetas, surname of Apollo, tutelard god of the Naxians, 222.
- Archebolion, a false reading for Archilochium, 255.
- a mistake for Archebulion, 257.
- Archebulion, verse so called, different from the Saturnian, 257.
- examples thereof, *ibid.*
- Archelaus, king of Macedonia, his invitation to Socrates, 535. 536.
- entertains Euripides and Agatho at his court, 556.
- Archestratus, the Syracusan, corrected and explained, 141 sq.
- Archilochus quoted, 256.
- corrected, 313.
- his iambics, 230. 231.
- only two of those now extant proverbial sentences, 231.
- not understood by the vulgar in the time of Oppian, 402.
- Archilochian verse the same with the Saturnian, 256. 257.
- Architeles, 501.
- Archytas of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, preceptor to Plato, 140. 141. 142.
- Aresas, a Pythagorean, 139.
- Arete, daughter of Aristippus, 546.
- Aretine, Francis, his Latin version of Phalaris's Epistles, 406.
- Arion Methymnæus, pretended inventor of the dithyramb, 313.
- Aristæus, successor of Pythagoras, age of, 138.
- Aristeas, his story of the Septuagint a clumsy forgery, 79.
- Aristippus, his dialogues, in what idiom written, 547.
- entertained at the court of Dionysius, 552.
- Aristocles the Cydonian, his statue of Hercules, 204.
- Aristolochium and Aristodolium, false readings for Archilochium, 255.
- Aristolochus, a tragic poet never heard of, 254 sq.
- Aristophanes quoted, 180. 181. 260. 286. 287. 307. 316. 364. 377. 475.
- corrected, 188. 288. 290. 315. 316. 317.
- explained, 287 sqq. 290 sq. 457.
- date of his *Plutus*, 169.
- date of his *Ranæ*, 242. 246.
- date of his *Aves*, 246.
- prolegomena to, quoted and corrected, 320.
- curious oration of his in Plato's Symposium, 411.
- Scholias on, 88.
- Aristophanes the grammarian, his *Διδασκαλῖαι*, 230.
- Aristophon, when archon, 497 sq.
- Aristotle, quoted, 229. 230. 322. 434. 445. 450. 486.
- corrected, 287. 373.
- defended, 422 sq.
- works forged in his name, 80.

- when set up his school at Athens, 137.  
 made laws for the Abderitans, 472.  
 Phalaris's Epistles unknown in his age, 486.  
 his successors, 140.  
 his *περί εὐγενείας* suspected by Plutarch to be spurious, 548.  
 attended by a company of scholars, 578.  
 Aristoxenus, no Pythagorean, 388.  
 Arrian, quoted, 220.  
 Arundel Marble, quoted and appealed to, 59. 104. 105. 238. 259. 266. 267. 272. 310. 319. 323. 447. 473.  
 readings of, restored and explained, 106. 239. 240. 267. 272.  
 its authority questioned, 102—105. 532.  
 defended, 272—279.  
 emendations of, rejected, 238 sq.  
 in noticing the victories of tragedians, never gives the name of the play, 267.  
 records only their first victories, 282.  
*As* of acc. plur. short in Doric, 182. 447.  
*As*, Roman, its metal and value, 433. 339.  
 its divisions, 455 sq.  
 the same as the libra, 439. 456.  
 Asandrastus, a mistaken name, 200 sq.  
 Asinus ad Lyram, 463.  
 Aspasius quoted, 486. 504.  
 Asson, a mistake for Assos, 57.  
 Ἀστυπάλαια, not Ἀστυπάλη, 338.  
 Astypalæa, place of that name, meant in the Epistles of Phalaris, 159.  
 no city of Crete, 158. 327. 335—339. 462.  
 an island of the Sporades, 159. 327. 469.  
 colonised by the Megarians, 329.  
 not the birth-place of Phalaris, 335.  
 its language, 340.  
 ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, 229—246.  
 Athenæus quoted, 115. 160. 163 sq. 169. 172. 174. 262. 287. 315 sq. 321. 357. 363. 380. 500.  
 corrected, 141. 264. 357. 363.  
 explained, 62. 125. 141 sq. 163 sq. 168. 171. 173. 363. 368.  
 defended, 61 sq. 167—173. 538.  
 Ἀθήνησι, not ἐν Ἀθήναις, 238.  
 not ἐν Ἀθήνησι, 376.  
 Athenians, anciently the same people with the Ionians, 327 sq.  
 colonies of, 228.  
 when invaded Sicily, 207.  
 when defeated there, 374.  
 their hatred to the Ægeians, 354 sq.  
 send an embassy to Macedonia for the ashes of Euripides, 487.  
 erect a cenotaph to his memory, banish those concerned in the accusation of Socrates, 541.  
 put Meletus, his prosecutor, to death, 544.  
 erect a statue to the memory of Æsop, 579 sq.  
 Athens, the μέτοικοι, or strangers of, their number and occupation, 174.  
 Atossa, the Persian empress, invented epistles, 503 sq.  
 eaten by her son Xerxes, 504.  
 her age, 504.  
 ἀντιλεβώδης, ἀντίλεβος, 142.  
 Attic dialect, 325—391.  
 the favourite dialect of the Sophists, 325.  
 solecisms in, affected by them, 325. 331.  
 examples of these, 332.  
 not yet in fashion in the time of Phalaris, 331. 389.

- no Attic prose then but Draco's  
and Solon's laws *ibid.*  
why adopted by several Dorian  
authors, 329. 339—389.  
originally the same with the  
Ionic, 396.  
changes in, 392—402.  
three sorts of, within 200 years,  
398 sq.  
causes of its changes, 398—400.  
Attic, New, 391—419.  
not in use in Phalaris's time,  
391 sq.  
words in the Epistles of Phalaris  
in a sense peculiar thereto,  
392 sq.  
distinction of, from the Old,  
common in Greek writers,  
398 sq.  
Attica, number of its inhabitants  
in the time of Demetrius Pha-  
larius, 399.  
*Αἰτεσίων*, 99.  
*Αἰτομέλινα* explained, 362.  
*Αἰτὸς ἔφα*, 347.  
*Αἰτοσχεδιάσματα*, import of, 299.  
first gave rise to tragedy, *ibid.*  
*Αἰτοσχεδιαστικά*, import of, 305.  
Avienus, his Latin Æsopian fables  
in elegiac verse, 573.  
preface to, quoted, 571.

## B

- B instead of φ in the Macedonian  
dialect, 547.  
Babrius turned the Æsopian fables  
into choliambics, 573.  
by what authors mentioned, 573.  
of what age, 575.  
quoted, 575.  
corrected, 576.  
Bacchic hymn, what meant thereby,  
312.  
Bacchus and the Satyrs the sub-  
jects of all tragedies before the  
time of Phrynichus and Æschy-  
lus, 295.  
three choruses of, 261. 318.  
when celebrated, 261.  
Bacchylides, got his livelihood by  
the Muses, 463 sq.  
*Βάχχαις*, *Βραγγία*, *Baxylia*, 265.  
*Baxyeia*, false reading for *Baxylia*,  
265.  
Bachet, Monsieur, his Life of Æsop,  
569.  
*Βαλαχρός*, Macedonian idiom for  
*φαλαχρός*, 547.  
בנות, *banoth*, daughters, 407.  
Barnes, Joshua, the epistles of  
Euripides held by him to be ge-  
nuine, 555.  
his arguments answered, 555 sqq.  
Bentley's letter to him, 582—586.  
*BACIAEΩC ΦΙΝΤΙΑ*, import of,  
152.  
Beech-tree, the, lopping fatal to,  
215.  
Bellerophontes, 506 sq.  
Bennet, Mr., bookseller, refuted,  
5 sqq. 9 sqq. 13. 19 sq.  
Bentley, Dr., personal charges  
against, examined and answered,  
1—41.  
respecting the MS. of Phalaris,  
14. 15. 16—24.  
respecting the MS. of Albertus  
Rubenius, 27—31.  
respecting the Alexandrian MS.,  
40.  
Complaints against his pedantry  
answered, 51 sqq.  
causes that delayed his edition  
of Manilius, 39.  
his works all published at the  
desire of others, 54.  
time spent by him in writing his  
first Dissertation, 65.  
prepares an edition of Manilius,  
28. 39.  
his Notes on Callimachus, 66.

- his candour in producing a passage from an unpublished MS. that makes against himself, 236.
- his fragments of Callimachus printed before any part of his Dissertation was written, 250.
- has no desire to have his Dissertation in Latin, *ibid.*
- frankly confesses an error, 414.
- does not write books for fame, 416.
- Βερενίκη*, Macedonian for *φερωνίκη*, 547.
- Βερενίκη*, a mistake for *Βερενίκη*, 547.
- Berosus a forgery, 84.
- Bes, 450.
- Bias, preceptor of Pythagoras, 118.
- Βίλιππος*, Macedonian, for *Φίλιππος*, 547.
- Βιβεῖν*, afterwards *βιδάσασθαι*, import of, 396.
- Bis terque, import of, 184.
- Books, forgery of, in fashion at the time of the Attali and the Ptolemies, 78. 80 sq. 351.
- motives that led thereto, 78 sq.
- instances of, 79 sq.
- Βοῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, a Hebraism, 577.
- Βούνευρον*, a beast, the word unknown to ancient authors, 577.
- Βούταλις*, the word unknown to ancient authors, 577.
- Boxhornius deceived by a forged poem, 86.
- Boyle, Mr., *passim* in the Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris.
- Βρέντιοι* or *Βρέττιοι*, 362.
- Brothers, the two pious, story of, 221 sq.
- Brutus, answers to, a forgery, 76.
- Buchanan, his violation of anapestic measures, 133. 189.
- Bulagoras, a Pythagorean, 140.
- Bull: see *ταῦρος*.
- Busiris, apology of, by Polycrates, 540.

C

- Cadmus the Coan, 202.
- Cælius Rhod., his distrust of the Epistles of Phalaris, 85.
- Calf: see *μόσχος*.
- Callias, when archon, 297.
- Callimachus, quoted, 247.
- corrected and explained, 35. 37.
- Camarina, why called both maritime and inland, 148.
- Cambyses, when in Egypt, 121.
- Cappellus, Iacobus, deceived by the spurious Phalaris, 85.
- Carcinus, a tragic poet, 262.
- why called *ὀρχηστράκιος*, 287.
- his three sons, why called *ὀρχησταί*, 262.
- Caro, Annibal, verses of, quoted, 64.
- Carthalo, the Carthaginian admiral, his victory over the Romans, 150.
- Carts used in processions at the festivals of different deities, 307.
- comic and tragic poets carried about in, 239. 308.
- Casaubon, Is., emendations of, rejected, 142.
- Castelvetro, Ludovico, character of, defended, 63 sq.
- Catana, whence colonised, 374.
- place of Stesichorus's death, 461.
- story of its contest with Himera for his ashes, 461 sqq.
- Cedar, lopping fatal to the, 216.
- Centussis, not a coin, but a sum, 458.
- Ceos, language of, 342.
- Cephisophon, his friendship with Euripides, 559 sqq.

- the circumstance which broke it  
off, 559.  
this mentioned by all authors  
who speak of him, 560.  
Chabrias, when archon, 246.  
Chalcidians of Eubœa found Naxos,  
222.  
Chalcidic towns in Sicily and Italy,  
368.  
the laws of Charondas made for  
them, *ibid.*  
*Χαλκοῦς*, value of, 436.  
Chares, when archon, 234.  
Charondas, the lawgiver, age of,  
367. 368. 373 sq.  
no Thurian, 369.  
his laws, 351—353. 363 sqq.  
when and for whom made, 367 sq.  
not received by the Thuriens, 368.  
to what form of government ad-  
apted, 370 sq.  
in what dialect written, 374 sq.  
used to be sung *παρ' ὄλον* at  
Athens, 376.  
written in verse, 378.  
particular laws of, noted, 371 sqq.  
copy of his laws supposititious,  
364—380.  
*Χερωνεύς*, false reading for *Χαιρωνεύς*,  
495.  
*Χοροὶ γυμναστικοὶ κέρτομοι*, 311.  
Chorus, comic, 318 sq.  
cyclian, 318.  
the same as the dithyramb, 318.  
had its prize and judges at the  
Dionysia, 318.  
tragic, 304. 305. 312. 315. 317.  
318.  
triple, what meant thereby, 319.  
comic, cyclian, tragic, of musi-  
cians, expenses of each, 364.  
365.  
choruses, three, of Bacchus, what  
meant thereby, 262. 319.  
Chrysippus, the Stoic, a racer in  
his youth, 114.  
*Χς* for *Χριστός*, 409.  
*Χθόντης*, 268.  
Cicero, M. Tullius, quoted, 157.  
159. 250. 334.  
corrected, 165.  
undecided respecting Zaleucus,  
345. 351.  
Cimon fetches the bones of Theseus  
to Athens, 302.—304.  
Cinesias the dithyrambic poet, 316.  
317.  
Cleanthes, the Stoic, a boxer in  
his youth, 114.  
Clearista, wife of Nicocles, 462. 463.  
Clemens Alexandrinus, quoted, 116.  
162. 175. 267. 503.  
explained, 115. 116. 117.  
deceived by a tragedy falsely as-  
cribed to Thespis 272.  
Clisthenes the Athenian, age of,  
143.  
not the Clisthenes mentioned in  
the Epistles of Phalaris, 143.  
144.  
Clito the herb-woman, mother of  
Euripides, 566.  
Clytemnestra, apology of, by Poly-  
crates, 540.  
Cluverius, his works on Sicily, 56.  
Co, when used for *con* in Latin, 53.  
Codicilli, 506.  
Coin, its greatest weight, 457.  
Columella quoted, 357.  
Comedy, age of, 230—246.  
by whom and when invented,  
230.—233. 261.  
at first extemporal, 232. 235.  
nothing of the kind written be-  
fore the time of Epicharmus,  
233.  
its first measures, 232. 233. 236.  
its first prize, 240. 276. 322. 323.  
in what it had its origin, 240.  
more recent than tragedy, 232.  
233.  
Greek writers of, do not always

- observe the rules of chronology, 172.  
 instances of this, 172.  
 the old, number of plays in, 230.  
 its resemblance to the Roman satira, 306.  
 the middle, number of plays in, 230.
- Comias, when archon, 294.
- Comic chorus; see Chorus.
- Comic poets, carried their plays about in carts, 308.
- Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 542.
- Cotemporary, a barbarism, 53.
- Crates, the philosopher, verses of, quoted, 503.  
 spurious letters of, 569.
- Cratinus, a comic poet, a false reading for Carcinus, 262.
- Crete, why called *Ἐκατόμυλος*, 336.  
 language of, 328. 339.
- Critics, ancient, province of, 78.
- Cræsus, when began to reign, 122. 294.  
 story of, 209.  
 his conversation with Solon, 294.  
 his friendship with Æsop and Solon, 464.  
 his overthrow by Cyrus, 109. 272. 279.  
 contemporary with Phalaris, 500.
- Crotonians, when conquered by Dionysius the Elder, 140. 141.
- Cujacius, the Latin version of Phalaris ascribed to him, a forgery, 405. 406.
- Cyaxares, age of, 96.
- Cyclian chorus; see Chorus.
- Cylon, his conspiracy against the Pythagoreans, date of, 130.  
 murder of, when expiated, 118.
- Cypress, lopping fatal to, 210. 214. 215.
- Cypria, a poem of doubtful authorship, 82.
- Cypselus, age of, 97.
- Cyrus, commencement of his reign, 97.  
 his victory over Cræsus, 272. 279.  
 his expedition, date of, 544.

## D

- Δαίμων ἕτερος* 246.—250.  
 the phrase explained, 246. 247.  
 when and by whom first used, 247.  
 a poetical quaintness in it, 246. 248.  
 what this depends upon, 248.
- Δαρετίου*, corrupt reading for *Δαμαρετίου*, 443.
- Darius, age of, 273.
- Daughter, license in the use of the word, 408.
- Davis, Dr. letter to him by Bentley, 587—590.
- Decius Jubellius, 151.
- Decussis, not a coin, but a sum, 458. 458.  
*Δεδότω*, *δεδύχω*, formation of, 363.  
*Δεδύκτορον*, its value, 429. 439. 447. 452. 457.  
 its metal, 439.
- Δεκάς*, a name of measure and quantity, not a species of money, 456.
- Delphi, temple of, plundered by the Phocæans, 500.
- Delphos, a mistake for Delphi, 56.
- Δέλτος*, 505.
- Demareta, wife of Gelon, piece of money coined by her, 434. 443.
- Δημαρέτιον νόμισμα*, 443.
- Demetrius the Magnesian, 391.
- Demetrius Phalereus, his collection of Æsopian fables, 571.  
 probably the first of their kind in the form of a book, 572.

- seem to have been in prose, 572.  
 not the same with those now  
     extant, 572.  
 Democedes, the Crotonian physi-  
     cian, 502.  
 Democritus, spurious letters of,  
     569.  
     the first who used the phrase  
         *λόγος ἔργου σκιά*, 225.  
     age of, 226.  
*Δημόλογος*, false reading for *Δει-  
     νόλογος*, 445 sq.  
 Demosthenes, quoted, 365. 373. 498.  
     age of, 350.  
     date of his *De Corona*, 497.  
 Denarius, Roman, its value, 436.  
     439. 442. 451.  
     its metal, 439.  
     etymology of the word, 442.  
 Deunx, etymology of, 450.  
 Dextrans, etymology of, 450.  
*Δεασκαλῖαι*, 230. 237.  
*Δέχη*, an action at law, joined with  
     the name of things, not of per-  
     sons, 373.  
 Dinolochus, a Sicilian comic poet,  
     446.  
     his *Medea* quoted, 445.  
 Diocles, when archon, 242.  
 Diodorus of Agyrium, why he aban-  
     doned the Doric dialect, 329.  
 Diodorus the Aspendian, age of, 141.  
 Diodorus Siculus, quoted, 157. 207.  
     348. 350. 352. 367. 372. 374. 375.  
     377. 378. 383. 484.  
     corrected, 302. 377. 378.  
     his account of Phintia defended,  
         150—153.  
     of Taurominium, 219—225.  
     imposed upon by a forgery of  
         Zaleucus's laws, 351.  
     his copy of Charondas's laws a  
         forgery, 353.  
     his age, 432.  
     why he reckoned by Attic mo-  
         ney, 438.  
     of high credit in a point of chro-  
         nology, 533.  
     the Epistles of Ph. unknown in  
         his time, 485.  
 Diogenes, spurious letters of, 569.  
 Diogenes Laërtius quoted, 115. 225.  
     250. 302. 358. 380 sq. 391.  
     explained, 129. 130.  
     corrected, 115. 125.  
*Διώκω*, 67. import of, 414—419.  
 Diomedes the grammarian quoted,  
     312.  
 Diomedes Scholasticus, his opinion  
     of a passage of Susarion con-  
     troverted, 236.  
 Dion of Syracuse acquainted with  
     Plato and Speusippus, 390.  
 Dion Chrysostom defended, 75.  
     quoted, 571.  
 Dionysia trina, 261. 319.  
     when celebrated, 261.  
 Dionysius Halicarnassensis quoted,  
     433.  
     corrected and explained, 497.  
     his dialect, 390.  
     a reading in, defended, 120 sq.  
 Dionysius Metathemenos forged a  
     tragedy in the name of Sopho-  
     cles, 82.  
 Dionysius of Syracuse, age of, 90.  
     the first Sicilian tyrant that styled  
         himself *βασιλεὺς* on his money,  
             152.  
     allegorical message of, to the  
         Locrians, 214.  
     his destruction of Naxos, 223.  
     entertained Plato and others at  
         his court, 551 sq.  
     author of several tragedies, 472.  
 Dionysius Thrax, story of, 165.  
 Dioscorides the epigrammatist  
     quoted, 241. 310. 324.  
     corrected, 260.  
     explained, 319.  
 Diphilus the comedian, his viola-  
     tion of chronology, 172.



a comedy of, quoted, 446.  
*Δις καὶ τρις*, meaning of, 184.  
 Dithyramb, what meant thereby, 269. 312. 313.  
   its inventor unknown, 313.  
   prize of, 317 sqq.  
   why called *βοηλάτης*, 318.  
   chorus belonging to, not tragic, but cyclian, 313.  
 Dithyrambic verse, example of, 313.  
*Διξός* for *δισσός*, whose idiom, 455.  
 Dodrans, etymology of, 450.  
 Dodwell, Mr., noted, 66 sq.  
   imposed upon by the spurious Epistles, *ibid.*  
   mistake of, 115 sq.  
   his opinion concerning the age of Phalaris examined, 95.  
 Dolon the inventor of comedy, a mistake, 240.  
 Doric dialect, the language generally of Sicily, 326.  
   character of, 329.  
   not suited for history or heroic poetry, 329.  
   why exchanged by certain Dorians for another dialect, 329. 339.—391.  
   never changes *ων* into *αν* in gen. plur. of the third decl. 35.  
   from a preterperfect tense of verbs forms another present, 363.  
   frequently shortens *ας* of the accus. plur. 447.  
 Drachm, a sort of money not in use among the Dorian Greeks of Sicily and Italy, 356.  
   Attic, or *λεπτή*, weight of, 355.  
   its weight diminished by Solon, 442.  
 Ægeinean, weight of, 355.  
   the latter why and by whom called *παχέα*, *ibid.*  
 Alexandrian, value of, 431.

no coin of that name in the old Sicilian money, 422. 426. 433.  
   whether ever coined there, 428.  
 Draco the lawgiver, age of, 348.  
   his laws written, 377.  
   the language thereof, 389.  
*Δρασάζειν*, afterwards *ἀποδιδράσκειν*, import of, 396.

## E

Ecclesiastical writers, by what induced to assign a late date to Pythagoras, 126.  
*Ἐγεπυκῆς*, etymology of, 215.  
*Ἐδεχθῆς Κορυδαύς*, a proverb, of ugliness, 580.  
*Εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι*, meaning of the phrase, 473.  
*Ἐκλαττίζειν*, *ἐκλαττισμός*, *ἐκλαττίσματα*, 290.  
*Ἐκτρίψειν*, 213. 214.  
*Ἐλεγειον*, different from *μέλος*, 463. 474.—476.  
   how used in the sense of epitaph, 474.  
*Ἐμ* for *ἐν*, 447.  
*Ἐμμανίδαι*, 93.  
 Empedocles of Agrigentum, an epic poet, 380.  
   quoted, 126. 381.  
   corrected, 126.  
   his *Φυσικά*, 381.  
   his *Καθαρμοί*, probable subject of, 382.  
   why he adopted the Ionic dialect, 329.  
   why expelled from the Pythagoreans, 387.  
*Ἐμφυσιοῦτοι*, from *φύσις*, a barbarism, 379.  
*Ἐν Ἀθήναις*, *Ἀθήνησι*, *ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι*, 238. 376.  
 English language, character of, 52.  
   changes in, 393.

- chiefly in the spelling, 397.  
principal cause of its changes, 403.
- Enna, 145.  
*Ἐντέχνης*, 115.  
*Ἦος* for *εως*, what idiom, 398.  
Epaminondas, age of, 135.  
*Ἐπέσθων* explained, 37.  
*Ἐπη*, *ἐποποιία*, and *ποίημα ἐπικόν*.  
of the same import, 380.  
Ephēbi, at what year so called, 113.  
*Ἐφεσσία*, 115.  
*Ἐφεστιάδων*, a mistake for *Ἡφαι-  
στιάδων*, 546.  
Epic poem, 380.—382.  
Epic poets, authors belonging to  
that class, 380.  
not admitted into the Pythago-  
rean sect, 387.  
*Ἐπιχαίρεσσις*, 47.  
Epicharmus, inventor of comedy,  
233. 234.  
age of, 198. 234. 269.  
long life of, 234.  
added certain letters to the al-  
phabet, 269. 397.  
his language, 325.  
many pieces forged in his name,  
82.  
not the Epicharmus of the Epist-  
les, 145.  
fragments of, quoted, corrected  
and explained, 447. 448. 451.  
Epicurus, age of, 115.  
Epigenes the Sicyonian, the pre-  
tended inventor of tragedy, 254.  
263.  
Epigenes cited by Athensæus, not  
the Sicyonian, but the Athenian  
comic poet, 263.  
quoted and corrected, 264.  
*Ἐπικοπή*, lopping, what meant there-  
by, 215.  
*Ἐπικτήτου σέλος* explained, 90.  
Epimenides the Cretan, quoted, 83.  
346.  
corrected, 341.  
his poems written in Ionic, not  
Cretic, 341.  
why, 391.  
his letters to Solon forgeries 391.  
398.  
expiates the murder of Cylon  
at Athens, 118.  
one of the preceptors of Pytha-  
goras, *ibid.*  
age of, *ibid.*  
*Ἐπιωρεῖν*, afterwards *δυόσαι*, im-  
port of, 396.  
*Ἐπίσσεψις*, false reading for *ἐπι-  
σσηψις*, 373.  
*Ἐπίσκηψις*, the law so called, 373.  
when enacted, 374.  
Erasmus, his opinion of the Epist-  
les of Phalaris, of Seneca and  
others, 76.  
mistaken, 570.  
Erythia, wife of Phalaris, inconsis-  
tent accounts of, in the Epistles,  
462. 463. 469.  
Eryxidas, or Eryxias, of Chalcia,  
when victor at Olympia, 127.  
Eteonicus, 229.  
*Ἡθοποιῖαι*, of the Sophists, 78.  
EtymologiconMagnum, quoted 160.  
312.  
explained, 321. 322.  
refuted, 323.  
Eualcidas, 103.  
Euagoras, a Zanclean, 205.  
Eubulus quoted, 160.  
explained, 168.  
age of, 168.  
Eubulides, when magistrate, 542.  
Euclides, when archon, 398.  
Endoxus the Cnidian, a lawgiver,  
his poverty, 472.  
Euphorion, quoted, 164.  
Eupolis the comedian, fabulous  
story of, 345.  
Euripides, age of, 230. 364.  
quoted, 181. 229. 230. 243.

corrected, 186. 187.  
 four plays of, acted in one year, 245.  
 his Philoctetes, when acted, 230. 245.  
 his Phœnissæ, when acted, 246.  
 his Palamedes quoted, 543.  
 this play when acted, *ibid.*  
 noted for the lowness of his style and characters, 314. 364.  
 his Cyclops, a play of the satyrical kind, 306.  
 a cenotaph erected by the Athenians to his memory, 467.  
 resides with Archelaus, 556.  
 a friend and acquaintance of Agatho, 556 sq.  
 not likely to be concerned at the loss of Sophocles's plays, 563.  
 one cause of his leaving Athens, 551.  
 his age when Archelaus came to the crown, 566.  
 worried by a pack of dogs, 564.  
 date of his death, 566.  
 his sons alive in the year of his death, 567.  
 epistles of, spurious, 554 sqq.  
 by whom espoused as genuine, 554.  
 forged by Sabirius Pollo, 554 sq.  
 their number, 554.  
 every one of them contains matter enough for a detection of its spuriousness, 556.  
 at variance with known facts, 567.  
 their extravagance and air of sophistry, 560. 561. 567.  
 quoted and explained, 564.  
 Eurymenes, a scholar of Pythagoras in boxing, 115.  
 Eusebius, quoted, 92. 312.  
 his histories not to be depended on, 294.  
 his judgment questioned, 552.

Euseboneora, a mistake for Eusebon Chora, 222.  
*Ἐσσεβῶν χώρα*, 222.  
 Eustathius, age of, 88.  
 quoted, 162. 215.  
 appears to have used the Epitome only of Athenæus, 164. 177. 178.  
 Euthymus, when victor at Olympia, 205.  
*Ἐξαμάξειν*, a barbarism, 307.  
*Ἐξ ἀμάξης με ὕβρις*, origin of this proverb, 307.  
*Ἐξέφηβος*, 112.

F

Father, license in the use of the word, 408.  
 Fazellus, Thomas, deceived by the spurious Phalaris, 85.  
 Festus corrected and explained, 449.  
 his authority defended, 428.  
 First inventor, the expression justified, 58.  
 Fœminilis, barbarous word coined by Queen Elizabeth, 252.  
 Forgeries in the earlier times of Greek literature, 82.  
 Fortunatianus, quoted, 256.  
 Fuit, import of, 117.

G

Gabrias, his compendium of the Æsopian fables in iambics, 573.  
*Γαλάτῃ*, false reading for *Γαλάτεια*, 446.  
 Galen, quoted, 78. 81.  
 Gela, why called both maritime and inland, 148.  
 by whom and when destroyed, 150. 151.  
 Gellius, Aulus, quoted, 358. 201.  
 corrected and explained, 496.

- Gelo the Syracusan, 531. 532.  
 acquires the government of Syracuse and Gela, 97.  
 age of, 197, 202.  
 date of his victory over the Carthaginians, 442. 532.  
 his donary to Apollo at Delphi, 443. 502.
- Geloans, not different from the Phintians, 153.
- Generation, a, how many years it consisted of, 98. 137.
- Γενέσθαι, γένεσις*, import of, 115.
- Genitive, plural, formation of, in Doric, 35.
- Γεφυρίζειν*, import of, 308.
- Gevartius, his papers, 28.
- Gillus, of Crotona, 128.
- Glaucippus, when archon, 365.
- Goat: see *τράγος*.
- Gold, scarce in Greece in the time of Phalaris, 500. 501.
- Golden verses, not Pythagoras's, 386. quoted, 347.
- Grævius, J. G., his dedication of Rubenius, 29.  
 his letters to, and character of, Dr. Bentley, 30. 33 sq. 50  
 his mistake in ascribing to him a correction of Callimachus, 36.
- Greek language, changes of, in the different ages, 393—400.  
 instances of such changes, 392. 395. 396.  
 cause of its corruption, 401.  
 later writers of, imitated the old ones, 402.
- Gregorius Gyraldus mistaken, 557.
- Gregory of Nazianz quoted and explained, 90. 91.
- Grotius, his violation of anapestic measures, 179. 189.  
 his mistake of a passage in Diodorus, 378.
- Gryllus, son of Xenophon, elegies written on him, 542.
- Ευμνικοί*, 290.
- Gyraldus, Lilius, his testimony of L. Castelvetro, 63.  
 mistaken regarding Epigenes, 263. 264. 265.  
 his distrust of the Epistles of Phalaris, 86.

## H

- Ἄλα, ἄλῃην, ἄλός*, double meaning of, 37.
- Hamilcar the Carthaginian general routed by Gelo, 197.
- Ἀπαξ καὶ δις*, import of, 184.
- Harduin, Monsieur, his work on coins noted, 343.
- Ἀρμονία τοῦ κόσμου*, a Pythagorical expression, 494. 495. 497.
- Haud multum, 136. 137.
- Ἄτερος* for *ἔτερος*, what idiom, 249.
- Hebrew language, the primitive language of mankind, 401.  
 its long duration unchanged, 401.  
 cause thereof, 401.
- Hegestratus, when archon, 294.
- Helianax, brother of Stesichorus, 472.
- Ἡλικία*, import of, 115.
- Ἡλικίαι*, 129.
- Hellanicus the historian, age of, 503. 504.
- Ἡμι*, form of compounds with, 447.
- Ἡμιλίτριον*, its value, 445. 454.  
 its metal, 439.
- Hephæstion, quoted, 97. 444.
- Ἑπταδάχμως*, Doric for *ἑπταδράχμους*, 432.
- Heracleon or Herculean bowl, why so called, 166.
- Heraclides of Pontus put forth tragedies in the name of Thespis, 82. 265.  
 himself deceived by a similar forgery, 82.  
 no remains of Thespis's heard of before his time, 265.

- quoted, 372.  
 his age, 482.  
 Heraclitus, epigram on, 167.  
   spurious letters of, 569.  
*Ἡρακλῆς*, a mistake for *Ἡρωίνης*, 264.  
*Ἡράκλειος*, how formed, 162.  
 Herculean cup, one single cup so called, 163. 164.  
   the same with the Sun's cup, 165.  
 Hercules, story respecting, 164. 165.  
 Hercules Cētæus, not a play of Seneca's, 184. 189.  
 Hermesianax, the Colophonian poet, quoted, 125. 249.  
 Hermippus, his story of Pythagoras, 123.  
   quoted, 249.  
   mistaken about Polycrates's oration against Socrates, 539. 542.  
   another mistake of, 542.  
 Hermodamas, a preceptor of Pythagoras, 118.  
 Hermogenes quoted, 291.  
 Herodotus quoted, 59. 209. 467. 473. 475.  
   explained, 311.  
   age of, 207.  
   an example of his use of prolepsis, 311.  
   not understood by the vulgar in the time of Oppian, 402.  
 Hesiod, the Orchomenians advised by the oracle to fetch his bones, 467.  
 Hesychius, quoted, 35. 160. 249. 254. 445. 450. 452. 453.  
   corrected, 290. 354. 450.  
   mistaken, 453.  
*Ἡταριστρίαι*, 412.  
*Ἐξάλιτρα*, *ἔξ τάλαντα*, false readings for *ἔξ ἄντα*, 425. 451. 456.  
*Ἐξάμηνος*, *ἑξαμήνιος*, *ἑξαέτης*, &c. meaning of, 457.  
*Ἐξάντων*, false reading for *ἔξ ἁντων*, 451.  
*Ἐξᾶς*, 451. 452.  
   whose money, 437.  
   its value, 439. 453. 454. 455.  
   its metal, 439.  
 Hicetas, tyrant of Syracuse, 151.  
 Hiero, tyrant of Agrigentum, 151. 197.  
   his patronage of learning, 134.  
   his age, 95. 198. 202. 500.  
   not the Hiero mentioned in the Epistles of Phalaris, 145.  
   his donary to Apollo at Delphi, 500.  
 Hiero of Syracuse, when he began to reign, 532.  
   his race-horses and tent at the Olympian games, 531.  
   when victorious at the Pythian games, 531.  
 Hierom, St., quoted, 93.  
 Hieronymus Rhodius, produces a temporary Athenian statute allowing polygamy, 548.  
   this suspected to be a forgery, *ibid.*  
 Himera, 155. 159.  
   a maritime town, 156.  
   its language, 326.  
   afterwards called Thermæ, 461. 468.  
   the birth-place of Stesichorus, 461.  
   story of its contest with Catana for his ashes, 460 sqq.  
 Hippias, eldest son of Pisistratus, age of, 292.  
 Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, age of, 197.  
   besieges the Zancleæans, 202.  
 Hippocrates, spurious letters of, 569.  
 Hippostratus, 99. 107.  
 Historians, the early, make every body's speeches for them, 210.  
   sometimes disagree in putting different speeches into the mouth of the same person, 213.

- Οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα, οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλη*, what meant by these phrases, 25.  
 Homer, quoted, 165. 167. 181. 328. 397. 403. 408. 416. 505.  
   his age, 331.  
   the poems Cypria and Cechalia Capta said to be forgeries, 82.  
   not understood by the vulgar in the time of Oppian, 402.  
   his death, 473.  
   temples to his memory, date thereof, 467.  
   Scholiast on, quoted, 358.  
*Ὅμολια*, false reading for *Ἡμιωβόλια*, 423.  
 Horace quoted, 18. 47. 63. 124. 233. 239. 261. 309. 367. 377. 416. 571.  
*Ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖ*, origin of this proverb, 308.  
 Hospitallus, Michael, his forged poem De Lite, 86.  
*Ῥαλαῖοι*, false reading for *Ῥβλαῖοι*, 146.  
 Hybla, a town in Sicily, 147.  
   not mediterranean, but maritime, 149.  
*Ῥέλη*, 344.  
 Hyllus the Rhodian, his victory at Olympia, 113.  
*Ῥοδιαίρεσις τοπικαί*, 326.

## I

- Iambic verse not used in tragedy and comedy till long after their invention, 232.  
   suitable for business and discourse, *ibid.*  
 Iamblichus censured, 127. 477 sqq. 489.  
   corrected, 126. 131. 140.  
   a Platonic, not a Pythagorean, 387.

- James, St., book of Revelation ascribed to him, a forgery, 493.  
*Ιας* and *ανδρος*, Greek names in, equivalent to one another, 201.  
   examples thereof, *ibid.*  
*יגהר שחרר* Igar Sahdutha, 401.  
 Ignatius quoted, 417.  
 Ignore, the word rejected, 53.  
*Ἰλεια*, a mistake for *Ἰλίσια*, the Ilian games, 115.  
*Ιν*, accusative of words in, sometimes long, 181.  
 Inghiramius, his forgery, 79.  
*Ιο* mistaken by copiers for *ω*, 451.  
 Job, passage in the Æsopian fables borrowed from, 574.  
 Ionians, anciently one and the same people with the Attics, 327. 396 sq.  
   when and by whom carried into Asia, 331.  
 Ionic dialect, once the fashionable language of epic poetry, 391.  
   character of, *ibid.*  
   adopted by several Dorian authors, 329. 391.  
   originally the same with the Attic, 331. 397.  
   gradual changes in, 397 sq.  
   had four idioms, *ibid.*  
*Ἰφίστιος*, *Ἰφιστιάδαι*, mistakes in Hesychius for *Ἡφίστιος*, &c. 546.  
 Isæus the orator corrected, 366. 373.  
*Ἰσαις*, Doric and Æolic accusative for *Ἰσας*, 361.  
 Isocrates, quoted, 541.  
   his censure of Polycrates, *ibid.*  
*Ἰσομυλήσιον*, 356.  
*Ἰσοταραντῖνον*, 357.  
 Iterum atque tertium, import of, 184.  
 Juvenal, quoted, 65.  
 Justin, corrected, 132.  
 Justinian, quoted, 498. 499.

## K

- Κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικίων* explained, 129.  
*Κατὰ τὸν Δημόκριτον, κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλον, &c.* import of, 227. 228.  
*Καταμαρτύριον*, false reading for *ψευδομαρτυριῶν*, 373.  
*Καδιμᾶσε*, falsely accented for *καθίμασε*, 35.  
*Καθίμασε*, import and quantity of, 36.  
*Κεβλή*, Macedonian for *κεφαλή*, 547.  
*Κενοτάφιον*, 467.  
*Κεφφαττελεβώδης*, 142.  
*Κηφεύς*, false reading for *Νικαεύς*, 568.  
 King, Dr., his account of a conversation between Dr. Bentley and Mr. Bennet examined, and its inconsistencies exposed, 18—22.  
*Κιθαρωδοί*, harpers, contended for a calf, 319.  
*κλειος*, adjectives in, formed from names in *κλης*, 163.  
*Κναξζβί*, 268.  
*Κοινή διάλεκτος*, a language of the learned, 402. 403.  
*Κόνω*, last syllable of, sometimes long, 181.  
*Κόσμος*, the world first called so by Pythagoras, 359. 494. 497. reason thereof, 359.  
*Κῶμοι, κωμῆται*, 323. 324.  
*Κωμωδία*, of the same import as *τρογῳδία*, 314. 319. 320. 323. at first the common name of both comedy and tragedy, 323. etymology of, 323.  
*Κρατίνος*, false reading for *Καρκίνος*, 262.  
*Κρόνους τὸν νοῦν*, false reading, 288.  
*κς* for *κύριος*, 409.

- Κυκλικῶν*, false reading for *κυκλίων*, 316. 317.  
 its first syllable often short, 316.  
*Κύκλιοι χοροί*, 316.  
*Κύων*, its import in a passage of Athenæus, 62.  
*Κύρβεις* of Solon, 397.

## L

- Laches, magistrate, when Socrates was put to death, 542.  
*Λαχεΐνιον*, temple of Juno Lacedæa, where situated, 362.  
 Lactantius De Mortibus Persecutorum, 483.  
 Lampsaceni, threatening message of Croesus to, 209. 210.  
 Languages, living, their perpetual change, 393. 394.  
 Lasus Hermionensis, pretended inventor of the dithyramb, age of, 313.  
 Lawgivers anciently of the middle rank of citizens, 472.  
 Laws sung before the knowledge of letters, 376. 377.  
*Λέγεται*, import of, 169. 170.  
 Leon the Salaminian, 537.  
 Leontines, 154.  
 Leontiscus, victor at the Olympic games, 205.  
 age of, 206.  
*Λεπταὶ καὶ παχεῖαι δραχμαί*, 354.—356.  
 Lesbos, language of, 345.  
 the metropolis of the Æolian cities, *ibid.*  
*Λέσβος*, in a passage in Ælian and Suidas a mistake for *Λέβεδος*, 343.  
 Letters of the alphabet; see: Alphabet.  
 Leucon and his ass, 46 sq.

- Λεῦκος*, false reading in Hesychius for *Ζάλευκος*, 354.  
*Libanius*, quoted and explained, 536.  
 an evidence against the genuineness of Socrates's epistles, 536 sq.  
 his defence of Socrates a scholastic exercise, 540.  
*Liberalia trina*, 261. 320.  
*Libra*, libella, its metal and value, 439.  
 the same as the *as*, 439. 456.  
*Λίτρα*, 356. 445. 446. 447.  
 whose money, 434. 435. 436. 445.  
 its value, 439. 441. 450. 451.  
 its metal, 439. 440.  
*Livy* quoted, 433.  
*Locrians of Italy*, laws of, 344—363.  
 origin of these, 347.  
 the first laws that were written, 348.  
 a remarkable law of, 348.  
 only one new law made by them in CC-years, 349.  
 what this was, 351.  
 their good government, 352.  
 species of money in use among them, 356.  
 had neither the *δραχμή* nor *δβολός*, 356.  
 their language, 361—362.  
 their songs called *μοιχικοί*, 363.  
*Λόγος εἰδωλὸν τῶν ἔργων*, whose saying, 228.  
*Λόγος ἔργου σκιά*, 226 sqq.  
 explained, *ibid.*  
 when and by whom first used, 226—229.  
*Λόγος ἔρμου αἰκίη*, a mistake, 227.  
*Logotheta*, Symeon Metaphrastes, age of, 89.  
*Λοχρικὸν ᾠσμα*, a Locrian song, an example of, corrected and explained, 363.  
*Lucian*, the Epistles of Phalaris ascribed by some to him, 85. 86.  
 quoted, 160.  
 his story of an embassy from Phalaris to Delphi, 487. 488.  
 his Dialogues of the Dead, 487.  
 the Epistles unknown to, or suspected by him, 482. 486. 487.  
*Lucian's ass*, 51.  
*Lucretius* quoted, 50. 248.  
*Lycon of Troas*, a peripatetic, a wrestler in the Ilian games, 115.  
*Lycurgus* quoted, 475.  
*Lygdamis*, tyrant of Naxos, 121.  
*Lyncæus Samius* quoted and explained, 174.  
*Lysias the orator*, age of, 373. 394.  
 quoted, 394. 395.  
 corrected, 395.  
 the best pattern of the Attic tongue fashionable in his time, 398.  
 his oration against Theomnestus, when made, 394. 395.  
*Lysinus*, a tragic poet of the name never heard of, 254. 255.  
*Lysippus*, his statue of *Æsop* at Athens, 580.  
*Lysis*, two Pythagoreans of this name, 134.  
 the scholar to Pythagoras not the preceptor to Epaminondas, 135 sq.
- M**
- Macedonian dialect*, peculiarity of, 547.  
*Macrobius* corrected and explained, 164.  
*Mæno*, 151.  
*Μαχαρίτης*, import of, 89.  
*Malalas, Johannes*, corrected, 297.  
*Mallius, Th.*, treatise on, 28 sq.  
*Mamercus* = *Μνάμαρχος*, 126.  
*Mamertines of Messana*, 151.  
*Manilius* the Roman poet, character of, 77.



edition of, prepared by Dr. Bentley, 28.  
 Mantinea, battle of, when fought, 135.  
 Marathon, battle of, when fought, 118.  
 Marmora Oxoniensia: see Arundel Marble.  
 Maronites of Mount Libanus, their language, 401.  
 Martial quoted, 555.  
*Μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν*, θεοῦ, origin of this saying, 497 - 499.  
*Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος*, probably a mistake for *Μηδικὰ Ἀρεσίου*, 301. 302.  
 Melanchrus, 97.  
 Melissus the philosopher acquainted with Themistocles, 297.  
*Μελέται* of the Sophists, 325.  
*Μέλητος*, *Μέλιτος*, 316.  
 Meletus the tragic poet, 558. 316. 317.  
 Melitus put to death by the Athenians, 544.  
*Μέλος* and *μελωδία*, signification of, 483.  
*μέλος* different from *ἐλεγεῖον*, 474. 475.  
 Menagius, his character of L. Castelvetro, 64.  
 distrusts the Epistles of Phalaris, 85.  
 Menenius Agrippa, his poverty, 473.  
*Μήποτε*, import of, 171.  
 Mesatus, mentioned in Euripides's epistles, no such person, 558.  
 Massana, Messenians: see Zancle, Zancleans.  
*Μεταφρασις*, 89.  
 Metasthenes, a forgery, 84.  
 Metelli, the, quoted, 256.  
 Meursius mistakes Scaliger's *Ὁλυμπιάδων Ἀναγραφὴ* for an ancient piece, 200. 302.

his false corrections in consequence, 302. 303.  
 Micrythus, 201.  
 Mien of a face, the phrase defended, 60.  
 Milesian cloths, 356.  
 Milesians and Samians take Zancle, 190. 191.  
 are driven out by Anaxilas, 190. 196. 203.  
 Mileton, Miletum, mistakes for Miletus, 57.  
*Μιλήτου ἔλωσις*, the taking of Miletus, title of a tragedy of Phrynichus, for which he was fined 1000 drachms, 280. 284. 289.  
 Miletus when sacked by the Persians, 196.  
 Milo the Crotonian, 26. 27.  
 Miltiades, when archon, 191.  
 threat of Croesus respecting, 209 - 211.  
 Mina, Attic, value of, 365. 422. 431.  
 division of, 426. 427.  
 no such name or sum in Sicily or the Doric colonies of Italy, 427.  
 Minos, king of Crete, not introduced into the old tragedy, 299.  
 interlocutor in Plato's dialogue of that name, 300.  
*Μισοτύραννος*, 325.  
*Μνάμαρχος*, 126.  
 Mnasalcas, an epigram of, quoted, 476.  
*Μνῶν*, false reading in Suidas for *νοῦμνων*, 440.  
 Momus, his jeering at the works of the gods, the fable differently told by authors, 574.  
 Money, scarce at Athens in the time of the tragedians, 365.  
 public, not the custom in Phalaris's time for princes to set their images thereon, 152.  
 by whom first coined at Rome, 456.

- why authors in Attic, or the common dialect, reduce the sums of money of any country to the Attic account, 432 sq.
- ancient historians expressed themselves in round sums, not aiming at perfect accuracy, 451.
- Μοῦχοι, μοχεύτριαι*, 412.
- Μόσχος*, a calf, the prize of harping, 319.
- Moschus the poet, dialect in which he wrote, 325. quoted, 476.
- Mother, license in the use of the word, 408.
- Mucianus, Licinius, imposed upon by a sham letter of Sarpedon's, 506 sq.
- Mumpsimus, absurd blunder for sumpsimus, 56.
- Muretus, his forged iambics, 86.
- Μῦθοι καὶ πάθη*, by whom first brought on the stage, 295.
- Μῦθοι, μυθικά*, 572.
- Μυριάμπορος*, meaning of, 457.
- Myrto, pretended wife of Socrates, 547 sqq.
- never spoken of by any of Socrates's acquaintance, 548 sq.
- N**
- N before *M*, *B*, *H* or *Φ* changed into *M* in ancient writing, 447. in modern Greek pronounced like *M* in those cases, *ibid.*
- Nævius, the first Latin poet who used Saturnian verse, 256. corrected, *ibid.*
- Naogeorgus, his Latin version of Phalaris, 405 sq.
- Naxians, the inhabitants of Naxos, afterwards called Tauromenites, 216—225.
- Naxos, 216 sqq.
- by whom founded, 222 sq.
- when and by whom destroyed, 223.
- Neapolitan talent, 441.
- Nearchus, tyrant of Velia, age of, 225.
- Negoce, the word defended, 53.
- Νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα*, 260.
- Nestorean cup, a particular cup described by Homer, 165. no sort of cups so called, *ibid.*
- Νεστορίς*, a word only of grammarians, 165.
- Neveletus, more ancient parcel of the present Æsopian fables first published by him, 574. thinks them spurious, *ibid.*
- Νευρίδας ἔχειν*, a corrupt reading, 271.
- Nicander, an epic poet, 380.
- Nicocles, the Syracusian, his application for a poem from Stesichorus an improbable story, 462. 463. 464.
- Νοήσιμα ἔτα* and *νορήσιμα ἔτα*, false reading in an epigram of Dioscorides, 260.
- Nominative without a verb, or instead of an oblique case, Attic solecisms, 332.
- Νομωδός*, a law-singer, 377.
- Nonnus the poet, character of, 90.
- Nonnus, the commentator on Greg. Naz. not Nonnus the poet, 89. his mistakes, 90. the same commentary attributed to one Maximus, 91.
- Nonuncium, not a legitimate word, 450.
- Nossis the poetess, a Locrian, 361—363.
- epigrams of, corrected and explained, 362 sq.
- her dialect, 363.
- her age, 362.

her mother, daughter, 362.  
*Nóστοι* of Stesichorus, 156.  
*Νοῦμμος*, 356. 448. 449.  
 whose money, 437.  
 its derivation, 437.  
 its value, 423. 339.  
 its metal, 423. 424.  
 Tarentine, its impress, 448. 449.  
 Numa, age of, 120 sq.  
 some writings of his said to have  
 lain in a stone coffin for 490  
 years, 491. 492.  
 various accounts as to their num-  
 ber, 492.  
 the story examined and refuted,  
*ibid.*  
 Nummus, Roman, value of, 439.  
 452.  
 why called Sestertius, *ibid.*  
 of what metal, 459.  
 when first coined, *ibid.*

O

*Ὀβολός*, not in use among the Dorian  
 Greeks of Sicily and Italy, 356.  
 Attic, value of, 354.  
 Ægeinean, value of, 354.  
 Attic and Ægeinean, their pro-  
 portion to each other, 451.  
 Ocellus Lucanus, 143.  
 his *De Natura Universi*, in what  
 Dialect originally written, 384  
 —387.  
 Octans, 454. 455.  
 not used of money, 455.  
 Octavia, not a play of Seneca's,  
 189.  
 Octussis, not a coin, but a sum,  
 458.  
*Œchalia capta*, a poem ascribed  
 to Homer, 82.  
*Οἰκῆτος* for *θεράποντος*, 396. 397.  
 a doubly Ionic form, 397.  
*Ὀλεθρον εὔρε*, 247.—249.

Olympiodorus quoted, 135. 360.  
*ὦν* never changed into *αν* in the  
 genitive plural of the third de-  
 clension by the Dorians, 35.  
 One as good as a multitude, the  
 phrase defended and illustrated,  
 167.  
 Oppian, his use of antiquated  
 words, 402.  
 not understood by the vulgar in  
 his own time, *ibid.*  
*Ὀρχηστικοί*, some poets why so  
 called, 288.  
*Ὀρχηστικωτέρα*, the first poetry of  
 the stage so characterised, 288.  
 Orchomenians, advised by the  
 oracle to fetch the bones of  
 Hesiod, 467.  
*Ὀρφανία*, import of, 482.  
 Orpheus, poems said to have been  
 forged by Pythagoras in his  
 name, 82.  
 an epic poet, 380.  
*Ὀδδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*, 263.  
*Ὀδύχεια*, 356. 451.  
 its derivation, 437.  
 whose money, 437.  
 its metal, 439.  
 Ovid, character of, 77.  
 quoted, 218. 223.  
 explained, and mistakes in the  
 Oxford edition of, exposed,  
 43. 44.  
 his love-letters, 79.  
 instances of prolepsis from, 218.  
 his authority defended, 224.  
 Scholiast on, quoted, 223.  
 Our, the word, great license in  
 the use of, 26. 45.

P

Pace, Sir Richard, quoted, 56.  
*Παχεία δραχμή*, 356.  
 Pæon instead of dactyl, 444.

- Παῖδας*, false reading in Pollux for *πέδας*, 445.  
*Παίδων ἐρασταί, παιδερασταί*, import of, 392. 409—414.  
 Palm-tree, lopping fatal to the, 210.  
 Palmerius, his emendation of the Arundel Marble rejected, 239.  
 Pamphilus the Alexandrian quoted and explained, 160—163.  
 Panætius the Stoic confutes the tradition of Socrates's two wives, 548.  
*Παναθήναια* when celebrated, 261.  
 Papirius Prætextatus, 549.  
*Παράβασις*, the part of a play so called, 237.  
   measures used therein, 237.  
 Parmenides, an epic poet, 380.  
 Paterculus, Velleius, when and by whom first quoted, 483.  
 Pausanias, three of Themistocles's letters on the subject of his story, 532.  
   date of his death, 533.  
 Pausanias, his account of Anaxilas and Messana refuted, 191—209.  
 Pearson, Bishop, a mistake of, 417.  
   his emendation of a saying of Hierocles corrected, 496.  
   holds the Epistles of Socrates to be spurious, 552.  
 Pedant, description of a, according to Boyle, 51 sqq.  
*Πείρας δευτέρας λαβεῖν*, not true Greek, 378.  
 Pelopidas, his application to Phalaris for a poem from Stesichorus, 460. 471.  
*Πενταετία*, what meant by it, 124.  
*Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*, 443. 444.  
   whose money, 437.  
   by whom coined, 433. 443.  
   its value, 433. 443. 451.  
   its metal, 439.  
*Πεντούχιον*, 449.  
   called by the Latins quincunx, 450.  
   its value, 439.  
   its metal, 493.  
*Περασμένως*, afterwards *φανερῶς*, import of, 396.  
 Perfect tense of verbs, formation of a Doric present from, 363.  
 Periander of Corinth, age of, 96.  
 Perictyone, a Pythagorean, the fragments of her writings forgeries, 383.  
 Perillus inventor of the brazen bull, 349.  
   the first that suffered in it, 427.  
*Περαικοῖς*, false reading for *Φουκοῖς*, 381.  
 Petavius mistaken, 303.  
 Petronius Arbiter, the Belgrade supplement to, a forgery, 80.  
*Πεύκη*, 210.  
*Πεύκης τρόπον κόπτειν*, 210.  
*Φ* changed into *B* in the Macedonian idiom, 547.  
 Phædon when archon, 301.  
 Phædrus, who gives the title to the dialogue of Plato, 538.  
   dead before the days of Socrates, 538.  
 Phædrus when and by whom first mentioned, 483.  
 Phaer, his translation of Virgil, 57.  
*Φαίωνος*, corrupt reading for *Ἰφροφίωνος*, 302.  
 Phalaris, *passim*.  
 Phalarism, 26. 38.  
 Phavorinus quoted, 539.  
   explained, 539.  
   detects the common mistake about Polycrates's oration against Socrates, 539 sq.  
 Pherecydes, preceptor to Pythagoras, 118.  
   age of, 118.  
*Φιάλιον χρυσοῦν*, 501.  
 Philargyrius quoted, 312.

- Philip of Macedon, age of, 136.  
his golden cup, 501.  
*Φιλόσοφος*, the word, when and by  
whom first used, 250.  
not heard of in the time of Æsop,  
578.
- Philostratus, his style, 331.  
solecisms of, 332.  
is silent as to Æsop's deformity,  
579.
- Philoxenus, his Glossary quoted,  
239.
- Phintia, Phintis, 145. 146—154.  
a town in Sicily, 146.  
when and by whom built, 146.  
not two towns of that name, 147.  
148.  
why called both maritime and  
inland, 148.  
the residue of the Geloans trans-  
planted thither, 152.
- Phintians, 145—154.  
the same people with the Geloans,  
152.
- Phintias tyrant of Agrigentum, 145.  
age of, 147.  
built the town of Phintia, 145 sqq.  
for the residue of the Geloans,  
152.
- Φλεγμώ*, 268.
- Phocæans plunder the temple of  
Delphi, 500.
- Φωνή χρησθαι τῇ πατρίᾳ*, what  
meant thereby in Jamblichus,  
386.
- Phormus, more correctly Phormis,  
the Syracusan, mentioned as one  
of the inventors of comedy, 233.  
an officer in the service of Gelo,  
202. 234.
- Photius suspects the Epistles of  
Phalaris, 87.  
author in, corrected, 384.  
quoted, 445. 451.
- Phraortes, time of his reign, 480.  
*Φροῦδος* explained, 564.
- Phrynichus the tragic poet, age  
of, 273. 278. 280. 281.  
scholar of Thespis, 262. 277.  
called *ἀρχησιτικός*, 262.  
celebrated for his songs, 287.  
one of the first to introduce the  
new and serious tragedy, 270.  
295.  
the first that made women its  
subject, 267. 276.  
when he first wrote, 278.  
the goat no longer the prize of  
tragedy in his epoch, 277.  
his victory, 281.  
fined for his *Μελήτου ἔλωσις*, 280.  
period between his first and last  
plays, 283.  
quoted, 281. 291.  
not two tragedians of this name,  
283. sqq.
- Phrynichus, the Athenian general,  
284. 285.
- Phrynichus the comic poet, 284.
- Φυσίω*, its first syllable long, 379.
- Physicians, how hired and remune-  
rated in the time of Phalaris,  
502.
- Pindar, age of, 110.  
quoted, 59. 247. 318. 352.  
explained, 479.  
got his livelihood by the Muses,  
464.  
his character of Phalaris, 464.  
the Epistles unknown to him,  
481.  
Scholiast on, quoted, 199. 200.  
corrected, 200.
- Πίναξ πτυκτός*, what meant thereby,  
505. 506.
- Pine-tree, lopping fatal to, 209. 210.
- Πτος*, a Doric word, 449.
- Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, when  
he usurped the government, 97.  
294.  
story of his wounding himself,  
295.

- his sons, when expelled, 304.  
Pitch-tree, lopping fatal to, 209. 210.  
Pittacus, tyrant of Lesbos, age of, 97.  
*Πίτυος δίκην ἐκτρέβειν*, whose saying, 209—216.  
Planudes, Maximus, the present fables of Æsop ascribed to him by Vavasor, 568.  
his translations into Greek, 577.  
the later portions of the present fables probably written by him, 577.  
author of the Life of Æsop, 578.  
his age, 579.  
makes Æsop a monster of ugliness, 579 sq.  
Plato quoted, 59. 90. 118. 266. 352. 411. 495.  
explained, 119. 299.  
saying of, 228.  
age of, 138.  
a disciple of Archytas, 140.  
a wrestler at the Isthmian games, 115.  
his statement respecting the age of tragedy given by him as a paradox, 262 sq. 298.  
his estate near Athens, 546.  
the Epistles of Phalaris unknown to him, 481 sq.  
his usage of the words *πρόνοια*, *στοιχεῖον*, 494—497.  
his story of Socrates at the battle of Delium, 536.  
the story in the opinion of Athenæus a fiction, 536.  
wrote a defence of Socrates as a scholastic exercise, 540.  
epistle of, to Dionysius, quoted, 551.  
its date, 551.  
entertained at Dionysius's court, 552.  
attended by a company of scholars, 578.  
makes no allusion to the deformity of Æsop, 579.  
Plato, the comedian, quoted, 258.  
Plays, first subject of, 269.  
at first carried about the villages in carts, 239.  
of the old and middle comedy, number of, 230.  
*Πλήκτρον, πλήσσω*, 290.  
Pliny quoted, 208. 215. 506.  
corrected, 506.  
mistaken in making Thericles a turner, 160.  
Plural, use of, for the singular, a license familiar in languages, 25. 45.  
Plutarch quoted, 117. 162. 171. 174. 225. 241. 294. 308. 341. 358. 380. 410. 433.  
corrected, 209. 301.  
explained, 301.  
censured, 295.  
is silent as to the deformity of Æsop, 579.  
imposed upon by Heraclides Ponticus, 270.  
*Ποδοράχη*, afterwards *ξύλον*, import of, 395.  
*Πωλεῖσθαι*, afterwards *βαδίζειν*, import of, 396.  
Politianus ascribes the epistles of Phalaris to Lucian, 85.  
*Πολλὰ καὶνὰ τοῦ πολέμου*, 216.  
Pollux, Julius, quoted, 162. 175. 354. 445. 453.  
corrected, 271. 290. 423. 436. 445. 448. 449.  
imposed upon by Heraclides Ponticus, 271.  
explained and defended, 422—427.  
Polyænus, his relation of Polycrates examined, 121.  
Polybius quoted, 468. 484.

- age of, 485.  
 defends the story of Phalaris's Bull, 484.  
 the Epistles unknown in his time, 485.
- Polyclitus, 159. 420.  
 story of his rich reward from Phalaris absurd, 499 - 503.
- Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, age of, 121 sq.  
 his father, 122.
- Polycrates did not draw up the charge against Socrates, 539 sq.  
 such a report not mentioned till some years after Socrates's condemnation, 539.  
 his accusation of Socrates not a real charge at the trial, but written afterwards as a scholastic exercise, 540.  
 so his apologies of Busiris and Clytemnestra, 540.
- Polygamy against the law of Athens, 547 sq.  
 its impolicy, 549.
- Πομπεύειν* and *πομπεία*, import of, 308.
- Πορνεῖα*, false reading for *πρόνοια*, 496.
- Πόρνος ἐν παισὶ*, import of, 410.
- Porphry quoted, 330. 383.
- Ποτί*, Doric for *πρός*, 363.
- Ποτῶκω*, formation of, 383.
- πρ* for *πατήρ*, 407.
- Pratinas, his plays, 270.  
 why called *δρχηστικός*, 287.
- Proclus quoted, 352.  
 corrected and explained, 405.
- Προδεδωκῶτα*, 55.
- Προδίδωμι*, import of, 67, 414—417.
- Prolepsis, use of, 218. 311.
- Πρόνοια*, Divine Providence, first used by Plato in this sense, 494—497.
- Protagoras, a lawgiver to the Thuri-ans, at first a porter, 473
- Προτρέπω*, import of, in New Attic, 403 sqq.  
 in the sense of exhorting never takes a dative after it, 406.
- Proverbial *gnomæ* mostly borrowed from the stage, 229.
- Proverbs, Greek and Latin, the use of them defended, 54.
- Psamnis, when victor at the Olympic games, 200.
- Ψευδομαρτύρων*, false reading for *Ψευδομαρτυριῶν*, 372. 373.
- Πτήσσω*, import of, 289.
- Ptolemy quoted, 469.
- Pugillares, 506.
- Pyrrhichists, 365.
- Pythagoras, age of, 111 sqq.  
 a native of Samos, 387.  
 table exhibiting a view of his life, 111 sq.  
 to whom scholar, 118 sq.  
 his *ἡλικία* or *ἀμῆ*, 115 sq. 117.  
 this, why postdated by ecclesiastical writers, 126.  
 when first in Italy, 119.  
 in Sicily, 133 sq.  
 his victory at Olympia *πυγμῇ*, 113.  
 the first that boxed *ἐντέχνως*, 115.  
 why called *χομήτης*, 114.  
 his stay in Egypt, 127. 128.  
 his marriage with Theano, 115.  
 his sons, *ibid.*  
 his death, 129.  
 contemporary with Phalaris, 271.  
 not with Numa, 120.  
 not concerned in deposing Phalaris, 108.  
 stories respecting him, 123, 217.  
 his advice to his scholars, 170.  
 their devotion to him, 347.  
 their number at Crotona, 131.  
 had no society of scholars in Italy after Cylon's conspiracy, 110.

- his followers almost all destroyed then, 110.  
 the first who called himself *φιλόσοφος*, 250 sq.  
 and the world *κόσμος*, 358, 497.  
 his division of man's life, 117, 129.  
 said to have forged poems in the name of Orpheus, 82.  
 not the author of the Golden Verses, 387.  
 epistle ascribed to him, a forgery, 388.  
 Pythagoras Rheginus, a statuary, age of, 206.  
 Pythagorean sect, continuance of, and succession in, after Pythagoras's death, 139 sq.  
 excluded all epic poets, 387.  
 its decay, to what attributed, 330.  
 age of the last of, 138.  
 Pythagoreus, 257.  
 Pytharatus, when archon, 115.  
 Python of Astypalæa, said in the Epistles to have poisoned Phalaris's wife, 462 sqq.

## Q.

- Quadrans, Roman, its value, 439.  
 its metal, 439.  
 Quincunx, its metal and value, 439.  
 Quinquessis, not a coin, but a sum, 458.  
 Quintilian, mistaken respecting Polycrates's accusation of Socrates, 541.

## R.

- Recognosce, the word rejected, 53.  
 Rhegians, how long under the tyranny of Anaxilas, 207.  
 with the Zancleans drive his sons out of Messana, 207.

- their government and laws, 372 sqq.  
 reduce the weight of their brass litrae, 442.  
 Rhegian talent, 440.  
 Rhodopis the fellow-slave of Æsop, proverb in memory of her beauty, 581.  
 Romans, the, increase and enhance the value of their brass money, 429.  
 the metal and value of their coins, 439.  
 had no such sum as a talent, 441.  
 took their names and species of money from the Dorians of Sicily and Italy, 455.  
 Roman language, its changes, and their cause, 400.  
 Rubenius, Albertus, his Ms. treatise on Th. Mallius, 28 sq.

## S.

- Sabirius Pollo said to have forged the epistles of Euripides and Aratus, 554 sq.  
*Σαβίριος Πόλλων*, probably a mistaken reading for *Σαβίδιος Πολλίων*, 554.  
 Salmasius, character of, defended, 62.  
 his false corrections of Epicharmus, 446 sq.  
 mistakes of, 453 sq.  
 Sannyrion, the comic poet, 315.  
 316. 317.  
 date of his play called *Danaë*, 242.  
 Sappho the poetess, a native of Lesbos, 342.  
*Σάρα*, false reading for *Αισάρα*, 384.  
 Sardes when burnt, 103.  
 Sarpedon, pretended letter of, 506 sq.  
 Satira, the Roman, nature of, 306 sq.  
 when first abusive, 307.



- what it somewhat resembled among the Greeks, *ibid.*
- Saturnian verse, 255—258.  
called also Archilochian, 257.  
found in what Greek authors, 256.  
by whom first used among the Latins, 256.  
examples of, 256.  
its inventor, 256.
- Satyrica, the Greek, nature of, 306.  
not to be confounded with the Roman satira, *ibid.*
- Scaliger, Jos., character of, defended, 62.  
'a very great poet', 77.  
his opinion of Manilius, 77.  
deceived by some forged iam-bics of Muretus, 86.  
his violation of anapæstic measures, 178, 189.  
mistakes of, 245 sq. 302, 355.  
his *Ὀλυμπιάδων Ἀναγραφὴ* mistaken for an ancient piece, 245, 302.  
this quoted, 302.  
an opinion of his defended, 453 sqq.
- Scaliger, Jul., quoted, 301.
- Scaurus, Æmilius, his argument against Varius Suetonensis, 13.
- Σχολαστικοί*, scholars, the word not used in this sense in the time of Aristotle, 578.
- Scipio, story of, 334.  
brazen bull found by him in Carthage, supposed by some to have been Phalaris's Bull, 485.
- Scolion, corrected, 577.
- Scylax, corruption of the present copy of, 337.  
quoted, 342.
- Scymnus Chius quoted, 329. 348. 368. 374.
- Scythes, tyrant of the Zancleæans, 196 sq.
- Selden, Mr., deceived by the spurious Epistles, 85.  
his false readings of the Arundel Marble, 238. 239. 259. 267. 274. 276.
- Σελευκίδας*, from nom. sing. in *ἔς*, not *ἰδης*, 175.
- Semel atque iterum, import of, 184.
- Semissis, sembella, its metal and value, 439.
- Seneca, the tragedian, his structure of anapæstic verse, 179. 188.  
no tribrach or cretic found at the end thereof in his genuine plays, 188.  
a trochee when admitted there, 188.  
quoted, 183, 188.  
explained, 183.  
his neglect of synalcepha, 189.
- Septuagint, the, quoted, 407.  
its Hebraisms, 407.
- Septuennio, false reading for septuncio, 449.
- Septunx, derivation of, 449.
- Servius, quoted, 256.
- Servius Tullius, age of, 455.  
first coined money at Rome, *ibid.*  
his classification of the Roman citizens, 433.
- Sestertius, 423. 439.
- Sextans, its value, 439.  
its metal, *ibid.*
- Sextantarii asses, 443.
- Sherburn, Sir Edward, his translation of Manilius, 28.  
his loan of books and papers to Dr. Bentley, 27—31.
- Σ*, termination of dat. plur., length of, before consonants, 180.
- Sibylline Oracles, a forgery, 79.
- Sicilian money, 419—460.  
table of, giving its metal and value, 439.
- Sicily, language of, 325, 326.  
ancient medals of, 325.

- whence colonised, *ibid*  
 Sicyonians, pretended inventors of  
 tragedy, 305.  
 Sigonius, his forged essay De Con-  
 solatione, 80.  
 Silli, their resemblance to the Ro-  
 man satira, 306.  
 Similitudes, how to be interpreted,  
 47.  
 Simonides, the lyric poet, age of,  
 102 - 106.  
 a native of Ceos, 342.  
 quoted, 103, 104. 105. 108. 227.  
 443.  
 corrected, 318. 443.  
 said to have invented the art  
 of memory, 103. 105.  
 certain letters of the alphabet  
 invented by him, 268. 397.  
 story of, 198.  
 his victories by dithyrambs, 307.  
 got his livelihood by the Muses,  
 464.  
 a friend of Hiero and Pausanias,  
 465.  
 Simplicius quoted, 380.  
 Smyrna, marble of, quoted, 447.  
 Socrates refused his company to  
 Archelaus, 534 sq.  
 dead before Polycrates's oration  
 was made, 540.  
 his trial, date of, 542.  
 his death, date of, 542, 544.  
 his scholars retired to Megara  
 after his death, 545.  
 story of his having two wives  
 at one time examined and re-  
 futed, 547 - 550.  
 his custom with respect to pre-  
 sents sent him, 560.  
 the first who put the Æsopic  
 fables into verse, 571.  
 fable quoted, *ibid*.  
 his face a subject of raillery, 579.  
 Socrates and his scholars, epistles  
 of, spurious, 534 sqq.  
 when first printed, 534  
 defended as genuine by their  
 editor, 534.  
 unknown to Athenæus, 536.  
 silence of the ancients respecting  
 them, 536 sq.  
 their extravagance, 536.  
 at variance with known facts, 537.  
 and with the best authorities, 538.  
 inconsistent with the character  
 of their supposed writers, 538.  
 their violations of chronology,  
 538 sqq.  
 Solecisms, Attic, affected by the  
 sophists, 331.  
 definition and examples of, 332.  
 Solinus, mistake of, 127.  
 quoted, 216.  
 Solon, when archon, 97. 293. 348.  
 prohibits the acting of plays, 293.  
 when he conversed with Cræsus,  
 294.  
 his friendship with Cræsus, 465.  
 his death, 294.  
 sayings of, 48. 228. 295.  
 laws of, written on wooden tables,  
 376.  
 these quoted, 395.  
 their language, 389. 395 sq.  
 obsolete words found therein,  
 395 sq.  
 only eighteen Greek letters in  
 his time, 397.  
 his *Κύρβευς*, *ibid*.  
 Son, license in the use of the word,  
 406.  
 Sophists, their habit of making  
 counterfeit speeches, &c., 78.  
 affect Attic solecisms, 325. 331.  
 accustomed to make a show of  
 their art on difficult subjects  
 and paradoxes, 540.  
 their propensity of the extra-  
 vagant, 529.  
 those who practised forgeries

- generally men of small endowments, 560.
- Σοφίσειν*, to make wise, when first used in this sense, 417 sq.
- Sophocles quoted, 123. 182. 249. corrected, 186.
- age of, 364.
- his victory over Æschylus, 303.
- added a third actor, 276.
- aspired after the sublime character, 315.
- period between his first and last plays, 282.
- one of the Athenian generals in the Samian war, 563.
- Σοφόκλητος*, its formation, 162.
- Sophon, language of, 325.
- quoted, 445.
- Spanhemius, Ezekiel, his character of Dr. Bentley, 49.
- Spartans buy gold of Cræsus to gild the face of Apollo's statue, 500.
- Σφαγαῖον*, obsolete form for *σφαγᾶς*, 396.
- Sprat, Dr. Thomas, 'our English Cicero', 59.
- Stanley, Mr., his correction of an epigram of Dioscorides, 260.
- Στάσιμον*, its change of signification, 396.
- Στατήρ*, not a Sicilian word, 448.
- Stephanus Byzantius quoted, 375.
- corrected, *ibid.*
- Stephanus, Henr., his testimony of L. Castelvetro, 64.
- Stesichorus, a melic or lyric poet, 463 sq.
- his age, 101.
- his language, 325.
- his fable of the horse and stag, 101. 461.
- places of his birth and death, 461.
- got his livelihood by the Muses, 464.
- his motive for going to Greece, story of his poem on the wife of Nicocles, 463.
- of the contest for his ashes, 461.
- his statue extant at Himera in the time of Cicero, 461.
- his friendship with Phalaris a fiction, 464 sq.
- Stesimbrotus defended, 296.
- Stipendiarii, import of, in Pliny, 208.
- Stobæus deceived by the spurious Phalaris, 84 sq.
- quoted, 358 sq. 364. 378 sq. 384.
- corrected, 341. 358. 370 sq. 379.
- Zaleucus's procemium there a forgery, 358 sqq.
- Charondas's procemium there a forgery, 367 sqq.
- Στοιχείον*, element, first used by Plato in this sense, 494 sq.
- Strabo quoted, 327. 342. 352. 377.
- Stratoniceus the musician, story of, 236.
- Style, arguments drawn from, their force,
- Suidas quoted, corrected, and censured, 83. 93. 96. 171. 375.
527. 557. 572 sqq.
- age of, 89.
- deceived by the spurious Phalaris, 84 sq.
- mistaken,
- the only old writer who mentions Themistocles's letters, 527. 528.
- Sun, the, fabulous tradition respecting his cup, 164.
- Superbus, age of, 126.
- Susarion, his pretensions to the invention of comedy, 235.
- his plays only extemporal farces, not written, *ibid.*
- did not bring comedy into Athens, 238.

- did not erect a stage there, 238.  
 why called an Icarian, 238.  
 the prize he contended for, 241.  
 his age, 241.  
 a distinct poet from Sannyrion, 242.  
 in his epoch the first rise of  
   comedy, *ibid.*  
 five supposed iambs of his quot-  
   ed and corrected, 235.  
 these not part of a play, 236.  
 Sybaris, war of, with Crotona, 130.  
 Sybarites afterwards called Thu-  
   rians, 368 sqq.  
   laws used by them, 369 sqq.  
 Symeon Metaphrastes, 89.  
 Symmachus, victor at Olympia, 205.  
   age of, *ibid.*  
 Synalcepha, examples of neglect  
   of, 189.  
 Syracuse, language of, 326.  
 Syracusan talent, 454.  
 Syriac language, its long duration  
   unchanged, 401.  
   cause thereof, 402.  
   said to be yet spoken, 401.
- T**
- Tà ἐξ ἀμαξῶν*, origin of this pro-  
   verb, 307.  
 Tabellae, 506.  
 Tabulae triumphales quoted, 257.  
*Tάλαντον*, 440—442.  
*Tάλας*, quantity of last syllable of,  
   182.  
 Talent, what originally meant by  
   the word, 440.  
   talent of silver and talent of  
   brass of the same value, 435 sq.  
   great, what meant thereby, 441.  
   Sicilian, 439—442.  
   not a coin, but a sum, 435.  
   its division, 426.  
   its value, 439.  
   its metal, *ibid.*  
   two sorts thereof, 427.  
   Attic, its value, 421 sq.  
   its division, 426.  
   Attic, Sicilian, which meant in  
   Phalaris, 420. 437.  
   Neapolitan, Syracusan, Rhegian,  
   values of, 440.  
   the Neapolitan the same with  
   the *old*, and the Syracusan  
   with the *later* Sicilian talent,  
   441.  
*Ταραντίνιον*, *Ταραντίνον*, *Ταραν-  
   τινίδιον*, 357.  
 Tarentines, their cloths, 357.  
*Τὰς Φρυγῶν ἔκτομας* explained, 90.  
 Tatian quoted, 503.  
 Tauromenites, called Naxians, in  
   the days of Phalaris, 220.  
   medals of, 222.  
 Taurominium, Tauromenium, how  
   written, 217.  
 Taurominius, the river Onabala,  
   when first so called, 221.  
*Ταῦρος*, a bull, prize of the dithy-  
   ramb, 318.  
 Taurus, the Platonic philosopher,  
   a saying which he used to repeat,  
   496 sq.  
*Τάξις*, 358.  
*Τελεβώδη*, a false reading, 142.  
 Telemachus deposed Phalaris, 98.  
   106 sq. 292.  
   his descendants, 98. 292.  
 Temple, Sir Wm., his opinion of  
   the epistles of Phalaris, 23. 73.  
   his use of Delphos for Delphi,  
   56 sq.  
   his commendation of the *Æso-*  
   pean fables a paradox, 569.  
 Terence quoted, 23. 54. 59. 228.  
   408.  
 Terillus, tyrant of Himera, 197.  
 Tertullian, quoted, 123.  
 Teruncius, its metal and value, 439.  
 Testament, New, Greek of, quoted,  
   407 sq.

- Tetράδεντα*, mistake for *Τράδεντα*, 130.
- Tetrans, 453 sqq.
- Τετράς*, 453.
- whose money, 455.
- its value, 439.
- its metal, *ibid.*
- Thales the Milesian, age of, 119.
- preceptor to Pythagoras, 118.
- nothing written by him, 359.
- a friend of Periander, 465.
- Thales the Cretan, age of, 349. 375.
- Theætetus, epigram of, quoted, 113.
- Theagenides, when archon, 104.
- Themis, or Theomis, mistake for Thespis, 297.
- Themistius quoted, 498.
- mistaken respecting Polycrates's accusation of Socrates, 544.
- Themistocles at the charge of a tragedy by Phrynichus, 281.
- acquainted with Anaxagoras and Melissus, 297.
- his flight into Asia, in whose reign, 528.
- number of the cities given to him there, 528.
- his reception at Argos, 529.
- advised the Greeks to plunder Hiero's tent at Olympia, 531.
- date of his banishment, 531 sq.
- accused of conspiring with Pausanias, 532.
- amount of his fortune before he meddled with public affairs, 567.
- epistles of, spurious, 527—534.
- when first printed, 527.
- believed by their editor to be genuine, 527.
- suspected by some, 527.
- Suidas the only old writer who mentions them, 527. 528.
- if known to ancient authors, would have prevented their disputes about the time of his flight, &c., 528.
- why they all bear date after his banishment, 528. 529.
- the subject of many of them worthless, 530.
- their extravagance, 529. 530.
- their violations of chronology, 530—534.
- Theocritus quoted, 182. 430. 476.
- explained, 430.
- corrected, 430.
- language of, 325.
- an epic poet, 380.
- his Pharmaceutria, *ibid.*
- Theodemus, or Eudemus, when archon, 349.
- Theodoret, his judgment questioned, 552.
- his mistake respecting the Locrians, 350.
- Theopompus, when archon, 365.
- Theophrastus explained, 160. 371.
- corrected, 371.
- his authority much superior to that of Ælian, 531.
- Theramenes, 538.
- θρας* for *θεραπαίνας*, no abbreviation of the kind in Greek MSS., 409.
- θηρες*, import of, 110.
- Thericlean cups, 160—189.
- whose invention, 163.
- named from the inventor, 163.
- cups afterwards so called from their shape, 160.
- size of, 173.
- θηρίκλειος*, the word, derivation of, 162.
- Thericles, inventor of the Thericlean cups, 163.
- a Corinthian potter, 160.
- age of, 168 sqq.
- not the same with the Athenian archon of that name, 173 sq.

- Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, age of, 100.  
 genealogy of, 99.  
 his victory at Olympia, 100.
- Thersias, or Thersander, the first victor at Olympia with the ἀπήνη, 199.
- Θερσίτεων βλέμμα, a proverb of ugliness, 580.
- Theseus, his tomb at Athens, 303.  
 when built, 303 sq.
- tragedies not acted at, 304.
- Thespis, the inventor of tragedy, 232. 239 sq.  
 age of, 232. 271 sqq.  
 an Icarian, 239.  
 carried his plays about the villages in carts, 239.  
 called ὀρχηστικός, 287 sqq.  
 his plays all satirical, 270 sqq.  
 styled χῶμοι, 323.  
 never had women for their subject, 267 sq.  
 plays forged in his name by Heraclides, 82.  
 the alphabet not completed till after his time, 268.  
 his acting hindered by Solon, 293.  
 date of his first play, 271. 295.  
 supposed fragments of his quoted, 267. 270. 271.  
 another fragment, corrected, 271.
- Thrasidæus, 133.
- θς for θεός, 409.
- Thucydides quoted, 190. 355.  
 not understood by the vulgar in the time of Oppian, 528. 533. 402.
- θυγάτηρ, import of, in New Attic, 407 sq.
- Thurians, when and by whom colonised, 353. 369. 374.  
 when subverted, 252.  
 money of, like the Attic, 374.  
 their language, *ibid.*
- their misgovernment, 352.  
 their lawgiver and laws, 369—366.
- Thurii, when built, 352.
- Timeæus, Sicilian historian, age in which he wrote, 484.  
 denies the story of Phalaris's Bull, 484 sq.
- Timon, a writer of silli, 306.
- Τίνας ἀνέκτοι λόγους of the Sophists, 79.
- Titianus, Julius, his Latin Æsopian fables in iambics, 573.
- Tragedy, age of, 254—324.  
 by whom invented, 259—271.  
 not older than Thespis, 254. 309 sq. 359 sq.  
 what it arose out of, 241. 298. 305. 312.  
 its first form, 232. 261.  
 its first prize, 321. (and *passim*.)  
 its first subject, 269.  
 its first measures, 232.  
 by whom improved, 294 sq.  
 expense and furniture of, 373 sqq.  
 in its infancy had nothing pompous or ornamental, 363 sq.
- Tragic chorus: see chorus.
- Τράγος, a goat, the first prize of tragedy, 321.  
 not continued to the time of Phrynichus,
- Τραγωδία, the word not older than tragedy itself, or Thespis, 254. 309 sq. 359 sq.
- its derivation, 323.  
 never means comedy, 320 sq.  
 a metaphorical signification of, 363 sq.
- this when first used, 364.
- Tressis not a coin, but a sum, 458.
- Triens, Roman, value of, 452.  
 metal of, 453.
- Τριάς, 453.  
 whose money, 453.  
 its value, 459.

its metal, 439.  
*Τρία τάλαντα*, false reading for  
*τριᾶντα*, 426.  
*Τριῖνοι* for *τριῖνοι*, 455.  
 Trochaic foot, proper for dancing,  
 232.  
*Τρυγῶν*, the same as *κωμῶν*,  
 314. 324.  
 never means tragedy, 314.  
 its derivation, 323 sq.  
*Τρυγῶν*, a less honourable name  
 than *κωμῶν*, 315.  
*Τρυγῶν*, a false reading, 323.  
*Τρῦξ*, wine, the prize of comedy,  
 323.  
 Tynnondas, tyrant of Eubœa, age  
 of, 97.  
 Tyrants, thirty, date of their usur-  
 pation and expulsion, 394.  
 Tzetzes, Joh., quoted and explain-  
 ed, 91.  
 corrected, 318.  
 deceived by the spurious Phala-  
 ris, 85.

## U.

Uncia, its metal and value, 439.

## V.

Valerius Maximus, mistake of, 225.  
 Valesius, Hen., his false emenda-  
 tion of Dionysius Hal., 120.  
 Vavator ascribes the present *Æso*-  
 pean fables to Planudes, 568.  
 Velia, an Ionic colony of the Phocæ-  
 ans, 343 sq.  
 Vibius Sequester corrected, 221.  
 Virgil quoted, 148. 162. 181. 211.  
 300. 307.  
 explained, 308.  
 examples from, of prolepsis, 218.  
 of neglect of synalcepha, 189.  
 Vitruvius quoted, 459.

explained, 455 sq.  
 Vizzanius, his edition of Ocellus  
 Lucanus, 385.  
 preface of, quoted, 386.  
 his interpretation of a passage  
 of Jamblichus, 386 sq.  
 Vossius, Ger., mistakes of, 263 sqq.  
 300.

## W.

We, the frequent use of, for I, 25.  
 Wendelinus, discourse by, on Ma-  
 nilius, 39.  
 Wolfius, a mistake of, 87.  
 Wotton, Mr., his testimony that  
 the Dissertation was written at  
 his request, 8.  
 his censure of Sir Wm. Temple  
 defended, 56.  
 address to, why omitted in second  
 edition, 74.

## X.

Xanthippe, wife of Socrates, 548.  
 Xanthus, master of *Æsop*, 578.  
 Xenocles, the tragic poet, authors  
 who mention him, 257.  
 his victory over Euripides ac-  
 counted for, 258.  
 plays of, *ibid.*  
 Xenocrates when victor at the  
 Olympian games, the philoso-  
 pher, 100. 106.  
 Xenophanes, a writer of silli, 306.  
 an epic poet, 380.  
 Xenophilus, age of, 137.  
 the last Pythagorean, *ibid.*  
 Xenophon, his defence of Socrates  
 a scholastic exercise, 540.  
 his march, date of, 544.  
 his memoirs of Socrates, motive  
 for introducing Aristippus in  
 them, 545.

his splendour and hospitality at  
 Scillus, 545.  
 the only author who represents  
 Xanthippe as a scold, 550.  
 his character of her, suspected  
 by Athenæus, *ibid.*  
 letters of, cited in Stobæus, Theo-  
 doret, and Eusebius, not found  
 in Allatius's collection, 551 sq.  
 visits the court of Dionysius,  
 553.  
 Xerxes, said to have eaten his  
 mother Atossa, 504.

## Z

*Zappaios*, a barbarism for *Zappεύς*,  
 91.  
 Zaleucus the Locrian lawgiver, his  
 existence doubted, 344. 345.  
 age of, 348.  
 no Pythagorean, 344. 349.

his book of laws a forgery, 344.  
 —366.  
 Zancle, the earlier name of Mes-  
 sana, 190. 191.  
 when and by whom first called  
 Messana, 191. 193 sqq.  
 no example of its being called  
 so before the age of Anaxilas,  
 202.  
 no colony of the Messenians of  
 Peloponnesus settled there,  
 206.  
 Zancleans, 190 — 209.  
 dispossessed of their city by the  
 Samians and Milesians, 191.  
 195.  
 these again driven out by Anaxi-  
 las, 190 sqq.  
 no proof of a people bearing  
 this name after Zancle was  
 called Messana, 205. 208.  
 Zimisce the emperor, age of, 89.



# ERRATA.

P. XII	line	9	from top read	ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ
»	9	»	below »	is positive
»	24	»	23 » top »	satisfied (in Italics)
»	25	»	6 » below »	Ego &
»	ib.	»	4 » » »	says, <i>It</i>
»	32	»	2 » » »	not (instead of of)
»	ib.	»	1 » » »	of (instead of not)
»	35	»	14 » top »	sic
»	37	»	1 » » »	Εὐδῆμος
»	39	»	19 » » »	be (instead of by)
»	45	»	5 » » »	LABORE
»	46	note	1 read	characteristic
»	48	line	9 from top read	ἀδικουμένοις
»	49	»	23 » »	dele the words Himself; and I as Little as he thinks
»	50	»	20 » »	read eruditissimas
»	57	»	1 » below »	that (instead of hat)
»	61	»	9 » top »	censur'd
»	ib.	»	18 » » »	if an (instead of iftan)
»	63	»	22 » » »	Ingrati —
»	74	»	8 » » »	break dis-proof
»	76	»	4 » » »	read other
»	ib.	»	16 » » »	Judgment
»	77	»	19 » » »	sweetness
»	82	»	12 put full stop after	Homer
»	222	»	5 put full stop after	Pious
»	225	»	18 from top read	σωφρονεστέροις
»	239	»	22 » » »	ἈπηνΑΙΣ
»	241	»	20 » » »	ἕθλος (instead of ἄθλος)
»	261	»	15 » » »	dele i. e.
»	302	»	7 » below read	283 in the margin
»	314	»	10 » top »	297 » »
»	367	»	7 » » »	Charondas's
»	392	»	12 » below »	perhaps
»	ib.	»	11 » » »	my
»	425	»	11 » » »	Examiner
»	465	»	6 » top »	Simonides's.

**BERLIN:**  
**PRINTED BY J. DRÆGER (C. FEICHT).**







